

What Khrushchev Said at Private Session

By SAM RUSSELL

MOSCOW (By Air Mail).—All over the Soviet Union meetings are now being held to discuss the results of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, planning the way ahead for the peaceful economic development of the country. At these meetings of members of the Communist Party, of the Young Communist League and non-Party work-

ers, particular attention is being devoted to the whole question of development of democracy inside the Party and the principle of collective leadership.

These meetings, which will be attended by a total of over 30 million people, are also discussing the report given by the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mr. Khrushchev, to a special private session of the Congress on the cult of the individual and its consequences.

In this report Khrushchev made a detailed analysis of the activity of Stalin, particularly underlining Stalin's achievements in the civil war, in the fight against the policy of Trotsky and in the fight for the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture.

The mistakes of Stalin, particularly in the period after the 17th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1934, were also dealt with in the greatest detail to show the evils of the cult of the individual and the vital necessity for the observance of the Leninist principle of collective leadership.

In a resolution which was adopted, the 20th Congress last month declared that it considered the Central Committee of the Party "was absolutely right in combating the cult of the individual."

It instructed the Central Committee "not to relax the struggle against the survival of the cult of the individual and in all its activities to proceed from the conception that the genuine makers of the new life are the popular masses led by the Communist Party."

The nation-wide discussion which is now taking place is the practical down-to-earth implementation of this decision.

Particular attention is being given to the various perversions of history which took place during the 20 years when Stalin placed himself above the Party, ignoring the principle of collective leadership.

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THIS period of arbitrary rule resulted in many serious mistakes and injustices. It led to the Soviet Union being unprepared for the Nazi attack.

Warnings of the impending Nazi attack, which came from Soviet sources, as well as from Sir Winston Churchill and Sir Stafford

Cripps, were ignored, and only the heroism of the entire Soviet people enabled this to be rectified at a terrible cost, and for final victory to be achieved.

A film on the defense of the frontier town of Brest-Litovsk entitled "The Immortal Garrison," now being completed at the Mosfilm Studios here, shows how unprepared Soviet troops were and what terrible casualties they suffered as a result.

Nowhere, perhaps, were the evil effects of the cult of the individual seen so much as in the weakening of the rule of Socialist law and in the failure to protect the people against arbitrary action.

False charges were fabricated against honest leading workers and rank-and-file Soviet citizens. In the past three years the Central Committee has checked up on a number of questionable cases and has found that they were rigged.

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STEPS have now been taken to restore justice. Innocent people who had been convicted have been rehabilitated, while proper control by the Party and Government has been established over the work of the state security agencies.

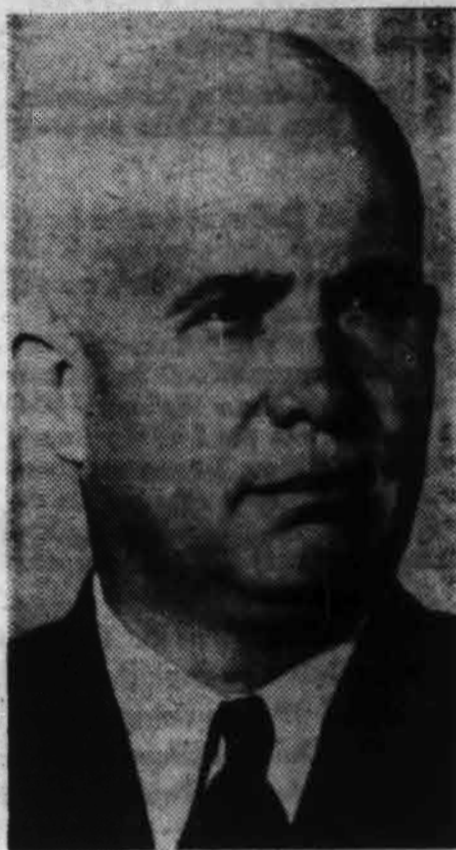
The supervisory powers of the Procurator's Office, which were trampled on before, have now been completely re-established and strengthened.

It is in this new atmosphere that the discussions of the report of the 20th Congress are now being conducted by the seven million members of the Communist Party, the 18 million members of the Young Communist League and millions of non-Party workers.

The raising of this whole question of the cult of the individual and the role of Stalin over the past 20 years has not been an easy matter either for the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party or for the rank and file.

But this cancer had to be eliminated from Soviet life, and its evil effects had to be exposed. The details that were given by Mr. Khrushchev in his report to the special session cannot be ignored.

The 20th Congress was the culmination of three years work, during which the Central Committee led the entire Party and the country in re-establishing democracy in the Soviet Communist Party.



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THE RESULTS of this policy are seen in the bold plans for the future in the economic and cultural field and in the plans for advancing the well-being of the people.

Many difficult questions still remain to be answered, but Mr. Khrushchev has shown in his report to the special session that the questions will be answered.

The whole history of the Soviet Communist Party over the past 20 years is now being re-examined without fear or favor, relying on facts and not on fiction.

The fight against Trotskyism is shown to have been absolutely correct, for if Trotsky's policy had been accepted the Soviet Union would have been left without a heavy industry and would have been at the mercy of the capitalist powers.

But justice is to be done to those gallant fighters for the revolution who, under the pretext of combating Trotskyism, were falsely declared to be "enemies of the people."

And whatever the hostile capitalist press may ask, this frank discussion of past mistakes is the triumphant proof of the soundness of the Soviet Union and that, after a lapse of 20 years, true democracy has been restored.

Letters from Readers On Stalin Reevaluation

The following are some of the letters which we have received from our readers concerning the reevaluation of Stalin. We will print others each week. Readers are invited to send in their letters. Try to keep them brief (preferably not more than 200 words), so there will be more space for the other fellow.—THE EDITORS.

The Duty To Raise Questions

New York.

Dear Editor:

I was glad to read Alan Max's article in the Daily Worker (March 13) also Ring Lardner Jr.'s letter in The Worker (March 18). This is the beginning of the kind of discussion Communist and Progressives need.

I, also, cannot agree with James Allen that "I have no sense of embarrassment." I think every Communist has the DUTY to question why and how this cult of the individual was allowed to arise and continue by the leaders of the Soviet Union who now denounce this.

The crux of the matter is that our policy made it "unnecessarily more difficult to win the ear of our fellow Americans" as Max puts it. In this connection I would like to ask why Joe Clark, who gives us a sober and sensible estimate of the recent Congress in The Worker (March 18) never wrote of any of these serious short-comings during or after his long stay in Moscow as your correspondent.

In the past any attempt by a Communist to suggest that a realistic attitude toward short-comings in the Soviet Union was essential in reaching and convincing people, was regarded as a betrayal of socialism.

The way for us, American Communists to advance our own "inner democracy" is to make sure that from this point on, it is not regarded as heresy for any one to expound an idea different from that of the leadership or critical of any aspect of life in the socialist sector of the world.

Socialism has proved itself to the whole world; it is not

necessary to gild the lily.

—T. M.

Search For Own Mistakes

La Porte, Ind.

Dear Editor:

Congratulations to Ring Lardner, Jr., for opening up criticism to which none should be excepted. Particular attention needs pointing to the issue of bureaucracy, as sharply cited by Foster.

In this digging, let's search for the reasons growth has been so limited out of New York. Is it partly because professional and middle-class background people, however well-trained and well-intentioned, assume political leadership where working class leadership material abounds but is kept from developing? How else explain how one working-class leader in the Midwest is driven from the labor movement, to cite but one of many examples?

Changes are taking place with world-shaking results. Our future never looked brighter. Let's measure up to it with really honest criticism and self-criticism.

A HOOSIER WORKER.

Says Stalin Was Justified

Dear Sir:

The critics of Stalin are ungrateful sons of a great father. Let any one of them boast he could have done better. Twisted minds unconscious of historical realities, unable to see greatness in all its manifestations can stoop to criticism.

But the masses of the USSR are enlightened and the reaction will be overwhelming. A self-proclaimed collective lead-

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