

MIKOYAN ATTACKS STALIN'S POLICIES

Denounces Economic Theory, Handling of Foreign Affairs and Rewriting of History

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—The Twentieth Congress of the Communist party has heard a direct attack on Stalin's most important economic work as well as his handling of foreign policy.

In a lengthy speech delivered Thursday and published today in Pravda, the party newspaper, Anastas I. Mikoyan said some of the late Premier's basic economic theories were misleading and incorrect.

Mr. Mikoyan, a First Deputy Premier and one of Stalin's veteran collaborators, was especially critical of the ideas expounded in "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R." This main economic work by Stalin was published on the eve of the last party congress in 1952.

Turning to current foreign policy, Mr. Mikoyan hailed the introduction of a "fresh new stream." He said the party's Central Committee was now pursuing an "active, flexible foreign policy high in principle, restrained, calm in tone and without sharp words."

The Soviet Government, he said, has freely acknowledged "mistakes and shortcomings" in its foreign policy and has rectified them. He cited as an example the resumption of friendly relations with Yugoslavia.

Mr. Mikoyan said research, especially the writing of history, had been stifled in the period before 1952. He complained especially about Soviet histories of the Communist party in Transcaucasia and Baku regions. As-

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serting that these works distorted facts, he said "some people were arbitrarily glorified while others were not mentioned at all."

The First Deputy Premier also implied that distorted versions of the Russian civil war of 1918-20 were also current.

In this connection, he said that "several complex and contradictory events" of that period were explained by Soviet historians, not by changes in the correlation of class forces at different periods "but by the alleged treacherous activity of individual party leaders of that time, who were unjustly declared enemies of the people many years after the events described."

Mr. Mikoyan gave no explicit indication of the persons to whom he was alluding.

He said sharp departures from the Leninist principle of intra-party democracy had been permitted in the last twenty years. Part of the blame for the "unsatisfactory state of ideological work," he continued, should be put on the situation created during a number of preceding years.

This apparently was an allusion to the close ideological control enforced on all creative activity during the Stalin regime.

The speaker expressed regret that "during the last fifteen to twenty years our people have had little, very little recourse to the treasure trove of Leninist ideas for the understanding and explanation of the phenomena of internal life of our country as well as the international situation."

Shortcomings Uncovered

He said the new Soviet leadership had uncovered the mistakes and shortcomings that had poled up. "It has resolutely sought to eliminate such evils in all sectors of national life," he added.

Mr. Mikoyan's dissection of the Stalin era was the most thoroughgoing yet heard at the present party congress. His repudiation of Stalin's basic economic thesis will certainly have far-reaching consequences when party propagandists produce the next textbook of Marxist economics demanded Tuesday by the party chief, Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Turning to foreign policy problems, Mr. Mikoyan asserted that the Soviet Union now had the ability to deliver atomic and hydrogen bombs by aircraft or rockets "to any spot in the world." This deterrent power, he declared, has "restrained" American monopolies from unleashing a new war.

Mr. Mikoyan said the American people were against war and sincerely wanted broader cultural contacts with the Soviet Union. He asserted that exchanges of delegations between the two countries were "just creaking along" because of opposition by the State Department.

The First Deputy Premier declared that hydrogen or atomic war would lead to widespread devastation, "but it cannot lead to annihilation of mankind or its civilization." Such a war, he said, would destroy "the obsolete and evil" capitalist system now in its imperialist stage.

Soviet leaders have wavered

in their interpretation of this point. Former Premier Georgi M. Malenkov enunciated the thesis in 1954 that a new world war would mean the destruction of entire world. He later repudiated this view and said only the capitalist world would be wiped out.

In a joint communiqué in December by Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin, Mr. Khrushchev and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Moscow appeared to revert to the view that war would cause equally catastrophic destruction in East and West.

In his discussion of recent Soviet history, Mr. Mikoyan said:

"In the course of nearly twenty years, we had in fact no collective leadership. The cult of individuality flourished, and this could not fail to exert an extremely negative influence on the situation in the party and on its activities."

Western observers said that the Mikoyan speech represented a further step in the transformation of Communist doctrine begun Tuesday by Mr. Khrushchev.

For the first time Soviet leaders are linking Stalin's name directly with many of the evils and mistakes associated with the old regime.

These observers considered Mr. Mikoyan's allusion to revolutionary leaders later accused of treachery to be especially interesting. It was not known precisely to whom he referred, but both Trotsky and Bukharin would fit this description.