

The Statement of the Soviet Communist Party

Following is the text of a resolution by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party "on overcoming the personality cult and its consequences," as broadcast by the Moscow radio and translated in London:

I

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that the decisions of the historic Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have met with full approval and ardent support by the whole of our party, the whole of the Soviet people, fraternal Communist and Workers parties, the working people of the great commonwealth of Socialist countries, by millions of people in capitalist and colonial countries.

And this is understandable, since the twentieth party congress, which marks a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, has given a thorough analysis of the present international and internal situation, has armed the Communist Party and the whole of the Soviet people with a majestic plan for the further struggle of building of communism, has opened new prospects for joint actions of all parties of the working class for eliminating the threat of another war, and for the interests of the working people.

Implementing the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are attaining new and outstanding successes in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life of the country. The Soviet people have rallied still closer around the Communist Party and are displaying high creative activity in the struggle for the implementation of the tasks set by the Twentieth Congress.

The period which has elapsed since the congress has at the same time revealed the great living force of its decisions for the international Communist and workers movement, and for the struggle of all progressive forces for the strengthening of universal peace. Important fundamental theoretical theses on peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars during the present era, and on the various forms of transition of countless to socialism, set forth by the congress, are having a beneficial influence on the international situation, are promoting the easing of tension and the strengthening of the unity of action of all forces struggling for peace and democracy, for a further consolidation of the positions of the world system of socialism.

WHILE AMONG the Soviet people, among the working people in the people's democracies and throughout the world, the historic decisions of the 20th Congress have caused great enthusiasm and a new upsurge of creative initiative and revolutionary energy, in the camp of the enemies of the working class they have given rise to alarm and rancor. Reactionary quarters of the United States and several other capitalist countries are clearly perturbed by the great program of struggle for strengthening peace mapped out by the 20th Congress. Their anxiety grows as this program is being actively and consistently put into effect.

Why is it that the enemies of communism and socialism are concentrating their attacks on the shortcomings about which the Central Committee of our party spoke at the 20th Congress? They are doing so in order to distract the attention of the working class and its party from the major questions advanced by the 20th Congress of the party which are clearing the way to further successes of the cause of peace, socialism and unity of the working class. The decisions of the 20th party Congress,

the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Government, have caused confusion in the imperialist quarters of the United States and other states.

The courageous and consistent foreign policy of the USSR in insuring peace and cooperation between states, irrespective of their social order, finds support among the broadest people's masses in all countries of the world, is widening the front of peace-loving states, and is causing a deep crisis of the "cold-war" policy, the policy of setting up military blocs and the arms drive.

IT IS NOT fortuitous that the loudest hue and cry around the struggle against the personality cult in the USSR has been raised by United States imperialist circles. The presence of negative phenomena, connected with the personality cult, suited their book, so that by exploiting these facts, they could struggle against socialism. Now that our party is courageously overcoming the consequences of the personality cult, the imperialists see in it a factor which is accelerating the progress of our country to communism, and which is weakening the position of capitalism.

Endeavoring to weaken the great attracting force of the decisions of the 20th Congress and their effect upon the broadest people's masses, the ideologists of capitalism are resorting to all sorts of tricks and devices to distract the attention of the working people from the advanced and inspiring ideas posed before mankind by the Socialist world.

Of late the bourgeois press has launched an extensive slanderous anti-Soviet campaign, which the reactionary circles are trying to base on certain facts connected with the condemnation by the Soviet Communist party of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin.

The promoters of this campaign are making every effort to confuse the issue and conceal the fact that the question at issue is a past stage in the life of the Soviet country. They also want to pass over in silence and to distort the fact that the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government during the years since Stalin's death have, with exceptional persistence and determination been liquidating the consequences of the personality cult and are successfully implementing the new tasks in the interest of strengthening peace, building communism, in the interest of the broad people's masses.

Launching a slanderous campaign, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are again, though unsuccessfully, endeavoring to cast a shadow on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to undermine the trust of the working people in the first Socialist country in the world, the U.S.S.R., and to sow confusion in the ranks of the international Communist and workers movement.

THE EXPERIENCE of history teaches that the enemies of international proletarian unity have in the past repeatedly tried to make use of what they thought were favorable moments for undermining the international unity of the Communist and worker parties, for splitting the international working movement and for weakening the forces of the Socialist camp, but every time the Communist and Workers parties discerned the maneuvers of the enemies of socialism, closed their ranks still closer, demonstrating their indestructible political unity and unswerving loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The fraternal Communist and Worker parties also discerned this maneuver of the enemies of socialism in time and are giving it the rebuff it deserves. At the same time it would be wrong to close one's eyes to the fact that certain of our friends abroad have not got to the bottom of the question of the personality cult and its consequences and are tolerating at times a wrong

interpretation of certain of its aspects.

In its criticism of the personality cult the party proceeds from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Already for more than three years our party has been waging a consistent struggle against the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, firmly overcoming its evil consequences.

Naturally, this question occupied an important place in the work of the Twentieth Congress and its decisions. The congress noted that the Central Committee, quite rightly and timely, came out against the personality cult, the spread of which belittled the role of the party and the popular masses, lowered the role of collective leadership in the party and frequently brought about grave omissions in work and gross violations of socialist laws.

The congress empowered the Central Committee to carry out consistent measures to ensure the complete elimination of the personality cult, so alien to Marxism-Leninism; to liquidate its consequences in all spheres of party, state and ideological work, and to implement strictly the norms of party life and the principles of the collectivity of party leadership laid down by the great Lenin.

In the struggle against the cult of personality the party leadership is guided by the known tenets of Marxism-Leninism on the roles of the popular masses, party and individual personalities in history, on the inadmissibility of the personality cult of a political leader, however great his merits.

THE FOUNDER of scientific communism, Karl Marx, stressing his dislike of "any personality cult," used to say that he and Friedrich Engels joined the League of Communists "on condition that everything contributing to the superstitious worship of authorities be thrown out of the Charter."

In founding our Communist Party, V. I. Lenin fought unrelentingly against the anti-Marxist conception of the "hero" and the "crowd" and resolutely condemned the practice of setting the individual hero over the popular masses.

"The wisdom of tens of millions of creators," V. I. Lenin used to say, "creates something immeasurably higher than the greatest foresight of genius."

In putting forward the question of the struggle against the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, the Central Committee proceeded from the fact that the personality cult contradicts the nature of Socialist order and became an obstacle on the way to the development of Soviet democracy and the advancement of the Socialist society toward communism.

The 20th Congress, on the initiative of the Central Committee, deemed it necessary to speak out courageously and frankly about the grave consequences of the personality cult and the serious errors tolerated during the latter period of Stalin's life, and to call upon the entire party to make a joint effort to put an end to everything the personality cult entailed.

At the same time the Central Committee was fully aware that the frank admission of errors tolerated would be linked to certain shortcomings and losses which might be exploited by enemies. The courageous self-criticism in the question of the personality cult was a new and brilliant proof of the force and strength of our party and of the Soviet Socialist regime. One can say with assurance that not a single one of the ruling parties of the capitalist countries would ever have risked taking a similar step. On the contrary, they would have tried to conceal such unpleasant facts from the people and pass over in silence such unpleasant facts.

But the Soviet Communist party, brought up on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism,

told the whole truth, no matter how bitter. The party resolved to take this step exclusively on its own initiative, being guided by the consideration that if the stand taken against the cult of Stalin caused some temporary difficulties, it would still, from the point of view of the vital interests and ultimate aims of the working class, have a vast positive result.

This creates firm guarantees that in the future phenomena similar to the personality cult can never appear in our party and our country and that in the future the leadership of the party and the country will be carried out collectively on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist policy and wide inner party democracy, with the active creative participation of millions of workers.

HAVING TAKEN a resolute stand against the personality cult and its consequences, having openly subjected to criticism the mistakes to which it gave rise, the party has demonstrated once more its devotion to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the people, its solicitude for creating the best conditions for the development of the party and Soviet democracy in the interests of successful Communist construction in our country.

The Central Committee notes that the discussion in party organizations and at general meetings of workers of the question of the personality cult and its consequences took place amid great activity of party members and nonparty men, that the Central Committee line found full approval and support among the party and people.

The publicizing by the party of the facts of the violation of Socialist law and other errors connected with the personality cult of V. J. Stalin naturally cause feelings of bitterness and profound regret. But the Soviet people understand that the condemnation of the personality cult was necessary in the interests of the construction of communism, whose active participants they are.

The Soviet people see that the party has in recent years insistently carried out practical measures aimed at removing the consequences of the personality cult in all spheres of party, state, economic and cultural construction. As a result of this work the party, whose internal forces are no longer fettered, has come still closer to the people and is now in a state of unprecedented creative activity.

II

HOW COULD the personality cult of Stalin, with all its negative consequences, arise and acquire such currency under the conditions of a Soviet Socialist regime?

When examining this question one must bear in mind both the objective and concrete conditions in which the building of socialism in the USSR took place, as well as some subjective factors connected with the personal qualities of Stalin.

The October Socialist Revolution entered history as a classic example of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, carried out under the leadership of the working class. By the example of the heroic struggle of the Bolshevik party, the first Socialist state in the world, Communist parties in other countries and all progressive and democratic forces are learning the experience of solving the vital social questions arising from present-day social development.

In the course of almost 40 years, the building of a Socialist society of workers of our country, vast experience has been accumulated which is being creatively studied and assimilated by workers of other Socialist states, in accordance with their concrete conditions.

This was the first experience in history of building a Socialist society which was formed in the process, the test in practice of

many truths hitherto only known to Socialists in general outline and theory. For more than a quarter of a century, the Soviet land was the only country which paved for mankind the way to socialism. It was like a besieged fortress situated in a capitalist encirclement. After the abortive intervention of 14 states in 1918-1922, the enemies of the Soviet country in the West and East continued to prepare new "crusades" against the USSR.

ENEMIES sent into the U.S.S.R. a large number of spies and diversionists who tried in every way to undermine the first Socialist state in the world. The threat of a new imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. became particularly intense after the advent to power of fascism in Germany in 1933, which proclaimed as its aim the destruction of communism, the destruction of the Soviet Union, the first workers' state in the world. Everyone remembers the formation of the so-called anti-Comintern pact and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, which were actively supported by the forces of all international reaction. In an atmosphere of a growing threat of war, the rejection by the Western powers of the measures to curb fascism and organize collective security repeatedly proposed by the Soviet Union, the state was compelled to strain every nerve to strengthen defense and struggle against the intrigues of the harmful capitalist encirclement. The party had to train the whole people in a spirit of constant vigilance and readiness in the face of foreign enemies.

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous because for a long time an embittered class struggle had been going in the country and the question of who would gain the upper hand was being decided.

After the death of Lenin, hostile trends became active in the party, Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists whose position was a rejection of Lenin's theory of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country.

This would actually have led to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The party unleashed a merciless struggle against these enemies of Leninism.

FULFILLING Lenin's behests, the Communist party set a course towards the Socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture and the realization of a cultural revolution.

In the course of solving these majestic tasks of building a Socialist society in one separate country, the Soviet people and the Communist party had to overcome unimaginable difficulties and obstacles. In the shortest space of time, our country, without any economic help whatsoever from abroad, had to liquidate its centuries-old backwardness and reshape the entire national economy on new Socialist foundations.

This complicated national and international situation demanded iron discipline, evergrowing vigilance and a most strict centralization of leadership which inevitably had a negative effect on the development of certain democratic features.

In the course of a fierce struggle against the whole world of imperialism, our country had to submit to certain restrictions of democracy, justified by the logic of the struggle of our people for socialism in circumstances of capitalist encirclement. But these restrictions were already at that time regarded by the party and people as temporary, subject to removal as the Soviet state grew stronger and the forces of democracy and socialism developed throughout the world. The people deliberately accepted these temporary sacrifices in view of the ever-new successes daily achieved by the Soviet social order.

All these difficulties on the

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path of building socialism were overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist party and its Central Committee, which consistently carried out Lenin's general line.

The victory of socialism in our country in conditions of enemy encirclement and a constant threat of attack from outside was a world-historic deed on the part of the Soviet people. During the first five-year plans, as a result of intense and heroic efforts by the people and party, our economically backward country made a gigantic leap in its economic and cultural development. On the basis of the successes in Socialist construction the living standards of the workers were raised and unemployment was liquidated for good. The profoundest cultural revolution took place in the country.

IN A SHORT space of time the Soviet people reared numerous cadres of a technical intelligentsia, which took its place on the level of world technical progress and put Soviet science and technology among the first in the world. The inspirer and organizer of these victories was the great party of Communists. On the example of the USSR, workers and peasants who had taken power into their own hands could successfully build and develop their Socialist state without capitalists and land-owners, expressing and defending the interests of wide people's masses. All this played a great inspiring role in the growth and influence of Communist and Workers parties in all countries of the world.

Holding the position of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the party for a lengthy period, J. V. Stalin, together with other leaders, actively struggled for the realization of Lenin's behests. He was devoted to Marxism-Leninism, and as a theoretician and good organizer headed the struggle of the party against the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists and against the intrigues of capitalist encirclement.

In this political and ideological struggle Stalin acquired great authority and popularity. However, all our great victories began to be incorrectly connected with his name. The successes attained by the Communist party and the Soviet country and the adulation of Stalin went to his head. In this atmosphere the cult of Stalin's personality began gradually to take shape.

The development of the personality cult was to an enormous extent contributed to by some individual traits of J. V. Stalin, whose negative character was already pointed out by V. I. Lenin. At the end of 1922 Lenin sent a letter to the current party congress, in which he said:

"Comrade Stalin, by becoming General Secretary, has concentrated vast power in his hands. I am not certain that he will always be able to use his power sufficiently carefully."

In a postscript to this letter written at the beginning of January, 1923, V. I. Lenin reverted to the question of some personal traits of Stalin intolerable in a leader.

"Stalin is too rude," wrote Lenin, "and this shortcoming which is quite tolerable in our midst and among us Communists, becomes intolerable in the office of the General Secretary. I therefore invite the comrades to think of a way of removing Stalin from this post and appointing to the post another person who in all other respects differ from Comrade Stalin—to wit, is more polite, more attentive toward comrades and less capricious."

AT THE 13th party congress, which was held soon after V. I. Lenin's death, his letters were made known to the delegates. As a result of the discussion of these documents it was recognized as expedient to leave Stalin at his post

as Secretary General, on condition, however, that he took Lenin's criticism into consideration and drew all the necessary conclusions.

Having remained at the post as General Secretary, Stalin, in the first period after Vladimir Ilyich's death, took into account his critical remarks. Later on, however, Stalin, having excessively overrated his merits, believed in his own infallibility.

Plenary sessions of the Central Committee and congresses of the party were held irregularly, and later they were not convened for many years. In fact, Stalin found himself outside criticism.

Great harm to the cause of Socialist construction and the development of democracy inside the party and the state was inflicted by Stalin's erroneous formula that as the Soviet Union moved toward socialism the class struggle would allegedly become more and more acute. This formula, which is only correct for certain stages of the transition period, when the question of "Who will beat whom?" was being solved, when a persistent class struggle for the building of the foundations of socialism was in progress, was put forward . . . in 1937 at a moment when socialism had already triumphed in our country and the exploiting classes and their economic base had been liquidated.

In practice, this erroneous theoretical formula was the basis for the grossest violations of Socialist law and mass repressions.

IT WAS in these circumstances that special conditions were created in particular for the state security organs, in whom enormous confidence reposed as a result of their indubitable services to the people and country in the defense of the conquests of the revolution.

For a considerable period of time the state security organs justified this confidence and their special position did not cause any danger. The situation changed when the control of them by the party and Government was gradually replaced by the personal control of Stalin and the normal administration of justice was often superseded by his personal decisions.

The situation became even more complicated when the criminal band of the agent of international imperialism, [Lavrenti P.] Beria, was put at the head of the state security organs. Serious violations of Soviet law and mass repressions occurred. As a result of enemy machinations, many honest Communists and Soviet non-party men were slandered and suffered innocently.

The twentieth party congress and the entire policy of the Central Committee after the death of Stalin bear vivid testimony to the fact that within the Central Committee of the party a Leninist core of leaders had come into being who correctly understood pressing requirements in the sphere both of internal and external policy.

It cannot be said that there was no counter-action against the negative manifestations which were connected with the personality cult and put a brake on the advance of socialism.

MOREOVER, there were certain periods, for instance during the war years, when the individual acts of Stalin were sharply restricted, when the negative consequences of lawlessness and arbitrariness were substantially diminished.

It is known that precisely during this very war period members of the Central Committee and also outstanding Soviet war commanders took over certain sectors of activity in the rear and at the front, made independent decisions, and through their organizational, political, economic and military work, together with local party and Soviet organizations, insured the victory of the Soviet people in the war. After victory the negative

consequences of the cult of personality re-emerged with great force.

The Leninist core of the Central Committee immediately after the death of Stalin set a course of resolute struggle against the personality cult and its grave consequences.

It might be asked why these people did not take an open stand against Stalin and remove him from the leadership? This could not be done in the circumstances which had arisen.

Facts undoubtedly bear out that Stalin was guilty of many lawless deeds, particularly in the later period of his life. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a person which always acted in defense of the USSR against the intrigues of the enemies and struggles for the cause of socialism. At times he applied in this struggle unworthy methods and violated the Leninist principles of party life. Therein lay the tragedy of Stalin.

But all this made the struggle against the lawless deeds perpetrated at the time more difficult, since the success of Socialist construction and the consolidation of the USSR were attributed to Stalin. Any action against him in those conditions would not have been understood by the people, and this does not mean there was a lack of personal courage involved.

It is obvious that anyone who had acted in that situation against Stalin would not have received support from the people. Moreover, such a stand would in those conditions have been regarded as a stand against the cause of Socialist construction and a blow against the unity of the party and the whole state, extremely dangerous in the presence of capitalist encirclement.

IN ADDITION, the successes which the working people of the Soviet Union attained under the leadership of their Communist party aroused justifiable pride in the heart of every Soviet person and created an atmosphere in which individual mistakes and shortcomings seemed less important against the background of enormous successes, while the negative consequences of these mistakes were quickly made good by the colossal growth of the vital forces of the party and Soviet society.

One should also bear in mind that many facts and wrong actions of Stalin, especially as regards the violation of Soviet law, became known only in recent times, after his death, mainly in connection with the exposure of the Beria gang and the establishment of party control over the organs of state security.

Such are the main conditions and causes which resulted in the emergence and currency of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin. Obviously, everything that has been said explains, but in no way justifies, the Stalin cult and its consequences, which have been so sharply and justly condemned by our party.

III

INDISPUTABLY the personality cult has inflicted serious harm on the cause of the Communist Party and Soviet society. It would, however, be a serious mistake to deduce from the past existence of the cult of personality some kind of changes in the social order in the USSR or to look for the source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social order. Both alternatives are absolutely wrong, as they do not accord with reality and conflict with the facts.

In spite of all the evil which the personality cult of Stalin has done to the party and the people, it could not change and has not changed the nature of the social order.

Even Stalin was not big enough to change the state. No personality cult could change

the nature of the Socialist state, based on public ownership of the means of production, the union of the working class and peasantry, and the friendship of peoples, although this cult did inflict serious damage on the development of Socialist democracy and the upsurge of the creative initiative of the millions.

To imagine that an individual personality, even such a large one as Stalin, could change our politico-social order means to enter into profound contradiction with the facts, with Marxism and with truth and to give way to idealism. This would mean to attribute to an individual personality such excessive and supernatural powers as an ability to change the order of a society and a social order in which the many - million strong masses of working people are the decisive force.

AS IT IS KNOWN, the nature of the social-political regime is determined by the nature of the means of production, to whom the means of production belong and in the hands of what class political authority is vested. The whole world knows that in our country, as a result of the October Revolution and the victory of socialism, the Socialist means of production have been consolidated and that for nearly 40 years already our authorities has been in the hands of the people. Thanks to this, the Soviet social regime is gaining in strength from year to year and its productive forces are growing. This is a fact which even our ill-wishers cannot fail to admit.

The consequences of the personality cult were, as is known, certain serious mistakes in the leadership of various branches of the party and Soviet state, both in the internal life of the Soviet country and in its foreign policy. One can, in particular, point to serious shortcomings countenanced by Stalin in the direction of agriculture, in organizing the country's preparedness to repel the Fascist invaders, in the gross arbitrariness which led to a conflict with Yugoslavia, in individual sides of the Soviet state's life, particularly in the last years of I. V. Stalin's life, in the development of Soviet society. But, it goes without saying, they did not divert it from the correct road towards communism.

Our enemies assert that the personality cult of Stalin was not engendered by finite historical conditions which have already sunk into the past but by the Soviet system itself, by what they consider to be its link to democratism and so on.

Such slanderous assertions are refuted by the entire history of the development of the Soviet state. The Soviet as a new democratic form of state authority arose as a result of the creative revolutionary activity of the broadest popular masses who had risen to the struggle for freedom. They were and remain organs of genuine popular authority. It is precisely the Soviet regime which created the possibility of discerning the immense creative energies of the people.

It set in motion inexhaustible forces inherent in the popular masses, drew millions of people towards conscious direction of the state, into creative participation in the construction of socialism. In a historically short space of time the Soviet state came out victorious from the most difficult of tests and passed its baptism of fire in the World War II.

When the last exploiting classes were liquidated in our country, when socialism became the dominant system in the entire national economy, while the international situation of our country had radically changed, the scope of Soviet

democracy expanded incalculably and is continuing to do so.

UNLIKE any kind of bourgeois democracies, Soviet democracy not only proclaims the right of all members of Soviet society, without exception, to work, education and leisure, participation in state affairs, freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom of consciousness but also a real possibility for the free development of personal abilities and other democratic rights and freedoms, but also insures them materially.

The essence of democracy lies not in formal indications but in whether the political authority services and reflects in action the will and basic interests of the majority of the people and workers. The entire internal and foreign policy of the Soviet state proclaims the fact that our regime is a truly democratic popular regime.

The highest aim of the Soviet state is to raise the population's living standards in every respect and secure a peaceful existence for its people.

A testimony to the further development of Soviet democracy are the measures which are being put through for the party and government for extending the rights and competence of union republics, the strict adherence to law and reorganization of the system of planning with the aim of fostering local initiative, activating work in local soviets and developing criticism and self-criticism.

IN SPITE and regardless of the personality cult, the mighty initiative of the popular masses led by the Communist party and engendered by our regime has performed its great historical task, overcoming all barriers on the way to the construction of socialism. And in this the democratic nature of the Soviet regime finds its highest expression.

The outstanding victories of socialism in our country did not come of themselves. They were gained thanks to the tremendous organizational and educational work of the party and its local bodies, thanks to the fact that the party has always brought up its cadres and all Communists in a spirit of loyalty to Marxism and Leninism, in a spirit of devotion to the cause of communism.

The Soviet society is strong through an awareness of the masses. Its historic destinies were determined and are still being determined by the creative labors of our glorious collective farm peasantry and popular intelligentsia.

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By liquidating the consequences of the personality cult, for restoring Bolshevik norms of the party life and by deploying Socialist democracy, our party achieved a further strengthening of its ties with broad masses, rallied them still closer under the great Leninist banner.

The fact that the party itself boldly and openly posed the question of liquidating the personality cult, the question of inadmissible mistakes made by Stalin, is a convincing testimony that our party firmly stands on guard for Leninism, the cause of socialism and communism, the maintenance of Socialist law and interests of the people, and the safeguarding of the rights of Soviet citizens. This is the best proof of the force and viability of the Soviet Socialist regime. It speaks at the same time for the determination to eradicate to the end the consequences of the personality cult and not allow mistakes of such a nature to be repeated in the future.

The condemnation by our party of the personality cult of Stalin and its consequences evoked the approval and wide response of all brotherly Communist and Workers' parties. Noting the significance of the Twentieth Congress to the entire international Communist and workers' movement, the Communists of foreign countries regard the struggle against the personality cult and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of Marxist and Leninist principles, for a creative approach to the solution of contemporary problems of the international workers' movement, for its affirmation and further development of principles of proletarian internationalism.

IN STATEMENTS of a number of brotherly Communist parties, approval and support is expressed for the measures against the personality cult carried out by our party.

The organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Daily, describing the conclusions reached and discussing the decisions of the Twentieth Congress held by the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, says in an editorial entitled "Historic experience of dictatorship of proletariat."

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following Lenin's behests, deals seriously with some grave errors countenanced by Stalin in directing Socialist construction and the consequences they have provoked. Because of the gravity of these consequences, the Soviet party was faced with the need, while admitting the great services of J. V. Stalin, to reveal with all urgency the essence of the mistakes Stalin allowed to occur and to urge the entire party to beware of a repetition of this, and to urge it resolutely to eradicate the consequences engendered by these shortcomings."

"The Communists of China profoundly believe that after sharp criticism developed at the Twentieth Congress, all active factors which were severely restricted in the past because of certain politi-

cal mistakes will indubitably be set in motion everywhere, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be united as never before in the struggle to build a great Communist society as never before seen in history, in a struggle for a stable peace throughout the world."

"The merit of the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party," reads a statement by the Politburo of the French Communist Party, "lies in their having undertaken to correct the mistakes and shortcomings connected with the personality cult, a fact that testifies to the force and unity of the great party of Lenin, to the confidence which it enjoys among the Soviet people, and swells its authority among the international workers' movement."

THE GENERAL SECRETARY of the National Committee of the United States Communist Party, Eugene Dennis, noting the tremendous significance of the 20th congress, states in the well known article: "The 20th congress strengthened universal peace and social progress. It marked a new stage in the development of socialism and in the struggle for peaceful coexistence which started in the time of Lenin, was pursued in subsequent year and is becoming more and more effective and successful."

AT THE SAME time it should be noted that when discussing the question of the personality cult a correct interpretation of the reasons which engendered it has not always been given.

For instance, a substantial and interesting interview given by Comrade [Palmiro] Togliatti [Italian Communist leader] to the magazine Nuovi Argumenti contains, alongside many of the most important and correct deductions, also some incorrect ones.

One cannot, in particular, agree with Comrade Togliatti when he asks whether Soviet society has not reached "certain forms of degeneration?" There are no foundations for such a question.

It is all the more incomprehensible because in another part of his interview Comrade Togliatti says quite correctly: "It must be deduced that the essence of the Socialist regime was not lost, since none of the preceding gains were lost, nor did the regime lose support of the working masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals who form Soviet society. This support proves in itself that, in spite of everything, society retained its main democratic character."

And indeed without the support of the broadest popular masses of the Soviet regime for the policy of the Communist Party, our country would not have been able to create in an unprecedentedly short space of time a powerful Socialist industry or to carry out collectivization of agriculture and it would have been unable to gain a victory in the World War II, on whose outcome the fate of all mankind rested.

As a result of the complete rout of Hitlerism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the forces of the Communist movement developed extensively, grew in scope and became mass Communist parties in Italy, France and other capitalist countries. People's democracies were established in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, a world system of socialism arose and was consolidated, and the national liberation move-

ment which led to the disintegration of the colonial system attained unprecedented successes.

IV

The Soviet party congress, which condemned the personality cult, the Communists and all Soviet people see in them a proof of the increased force of our party, its Leninist adherence to principles, its unity and integration. "A party of the revolutionary proletariat," V. I. Lenin said, "is sufficiently strong to criticize itself openly, to call mistakes and weaknesses by their right names." Guided by this principle of Lenin's, our party will continue to disclose boldly, to criticize openly and to remove resolutely the mistakes and blunders in its work.

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE considers that work accomplished up to now by the party on the elimination of the personality cult and its consequences already have given positive results.

Proceeding from the decision of the 20th party Congress, the CPSU Central Committee urges all party organizations:

Consistently adhere in all our work to the most important tenets of Lenin's Marxist-Leninist teachings on the people as creators of all the material transformations of society for the victory of communism.

Insistently to continue Lenin's principles of party leadership pursued in past years by the CPSU Central Committee—the highest principle of collective leadership—in order to maintain the norm of party life laid down by the charter of our party for development or criticism and self-criticism.

To reestablish fully the principles of Soviet Socialist democracy expressed in the constitution of the Soviet Union, to correct to the end the violations of revolutionary Socialist law.

To mobilize our cadres and all Communists as well as broadcast to the masses of workers the struggle for the practical implementation of tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, developing for this purpose the creative initiative and energies of masses—the true creators of history.

THE 20th PARTY CONGRESS indicated that the most important feature of our era is the conversion of socialism into a world system. The most difficult period in the development and establishment of socialism is behind us. Our Socialist country has ceased to be an isolated island in an ocean of capitalist states.

At present more than a third of all mankind is building a new life under the banner of socialism. The ideas of socialism penetrate the thoughts of many millions of people of capitalist countries. The idea of socialism immensely influence the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are opposing all forms of colonialism.

The decisions of the 20th party Congress were received by all advocates of peace, socialism and in all democratic progressive circles as an inspired program for consolidating universal peace, for the interest of working people in the triumph of the cause of socialism.

Under contemporary conditions, wide inspired prospects open up before the Communist parties' entire international workers' movement—to achieve together with all peace-loving forces the prevention of a new world war, to restrain monopolies and insure lasting peace and security for the people, stop the armament race and relieve the toilers of the heavy burden of taxation engendered by it, defend democratic rights and freedoms which ensure for workers a better life and happy future.

It is precisely in this that millions of simple people of all countries of the world are vitally interested. The peaceful policy and every new success of the Soviet Union, China and all other countries following the road to Socialism contribute to a great extent to

the successful solution of these problems.

UNDER NEW HISTORIC conditions, such international working class organizations as the Comintern and Cominform ceased their activities. It does not follow from this that international solidarity and the need of contacts between revolutionary and brotherly parties which adopted the positions of Marxism and Leninism have lost significance.

At the present time, when forces of Socialism and the influence of the ideas of Socialism have grown immeasurably throughout the whole world, when individual ways towards Socialism are becoming apparent in various countries, Marxist parties and the working class must naturally retain and strengthen ideological unity of international brotherly solidarity in the struggle against the threat of a new war and in the struggle against the unpopular forces of monopoly and capital which are striving to suppress all revolutionary progressive movements.

Communist parties are united by the great aim of liberating the working class from the oppression of the capital. They are united into one by loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and by boundless devotion to the interests of the popular masses.

In their activity under contemporary conditions, the Communist parties proceed from the national peculiarities in the conditions of every country, and are expressing with the greatest fullness the national interests of their peoples. At the same time, realizing that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and national independence of their countries, is a matter of the whole international proletariat, they rally together and strengthen their ties and cooperation among themselves.

The ideological unanimity and brotherly solidarity of Marxist parties of the working class of various countries is all the more necessary because capitalist monopolies are creating their own international aggressive unions and blocs similar to NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad pact, aimed against peace-loving nations, against the national-liberation movement, against the working class, and the vital interests of the toilers.

WHILE THE SOVIET UNION has done much and is continuing to do much for the reduction of international tension—and this is acknowledged now by everybody—American monopolist capital at the same time continues appropriating large sums for intensifying subversive activity in the Socialist countries. At the height of the "cold war," as it is known, the American Congress officially (in addition to funds being spent unofficially) allocated \$100 million for the purposes of subversive activity in the countries of peoples democracy and the Soviet Union.

Now, when the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are doing everything possible to reduce international tension, the adherents of the "cold war" are trying to activate the "cold war" which is condemned by the peoples of the whole world. This is shown by the decision of the American Senate on an additional appropriation of \$25 million for subversive activity, which is cynically being called "an encouragement of freedom beyond the Iron Curtain."

We must soberly appraise this fact and draw relevant deductions from it. It is clear, for instance, that the anti-people's demonstrations in Poznan were paid from this source.

However, the provocateurs and the diversionists who were paid from the overseas funds, had only enough courage for a few hours. The workers of Poznan rebuffed the enemies sallies and provocations. The plans of the dark gentry of the "cloak and dagger" failed.

So did their foul provocation against the people's authority in Poland.

Subversive activities in the people's democracies will also continue to fail in the future, although such actions are generously paid for from monies appropriated by American monopolists. One can say that this money is being spent for nothing.

ALL THIS DEMONSTRATES that one must not show a careless attitude towards the new machinations of the imperialist agents, who are trying to penetrate into Socialist countries for the purpose of undermining the achievements of the workers. The forces of imperialist reaction are attempting to divert the workers from the correct path of the struggle for their interests, to poison their souls with lack of confidence in the success of the cause of Socialism.

Contrary to all the machinations of the ideologists of the capitalist monopoly, the working class, led by the experienced Communist vanguard, marches on its road, which has led to the historic achievements of Socialism and will lead to new victories of the cause of peace, Democracy and Socialism. One can be confident that the Communist and workers' parties of all countries will raise the glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism even higher.

The Soviet people are justly proud that our motherland was the first to chart the path to Socialism. Now, when Socialism has become a world system, when brotherly cooperation and mutual assistance have been established between Socialist countries, new favorable conditions have developed for the flourishing of Socialist democracy, for the further consolidation of the material-production base of communism, the steadfast upsurge of the standard of living of the workers, for all-round development of the personality of a new man—builder of the Communist society.

Let the bourgeois ideologists concoct fables about "crisis" of Communism, and about "confusion" in the ranks of the Communist Party. We are used to hearing such incantations by the enemies. Their forecasts always burst like soap bubbles. Luckless forecasters like these have come and gone but the Communist movement, the immortal and life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism triumphed and are continuing to triumph. This will also be the case in the future. No foul, slanderous attacks of our enemies can stop the irresistible trend of historical development of mankind towards Communism.

Signed: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

STANDINGS

(Not including yesterday games)

NATIONAL LEAGUE

	W.	L.	G. B.
Milwaukee	37	26	—
Cincinnati	39	28	—
Brooklyn	38	29	1
St. Louis	36	33	4
Pittsburgh	32	33	6
Philadelphia	28	39	11
New York	27	38	11
Chicago	26	37	11

GAMES TODAY

Philadelphia at Pittsburgh
Milwaukee at Cincinnati
St. Louis at Chicago
(Only games scheduled)

AMERICAN LEAGUE

	W.	L.	G. B.
New York	46	25	—
Chicago	39	26	4
Cleveland	39	29	5½
Boston	35	32	9
Baltimore	32	38	13½
Detroit	30	37	14
Washington	29	45	18½
Kansas City	26	44	19½

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