

From the World of Communism --

Russia Ten Years After Josef Stalin's Death

By ROBERT J. KOREGOLD United Press International

Moscow—UPI—On March 5 next it will be 10 years since Josef Stalin, one of history's most ruthless tyrants, died in the Kremlin—apparently of a massive brain hemorrhage.

Russia has changed much in its decade without Stalin, in some ways an entirely new look. Although the late dictator's blood-stained legacy still lies heavily on the nation, there is a new and freer spirit. There is some evidence of a yearning for the best of two worlds, a sort of "Communism with Cadillacs."

When Stalin died he held absolute personal control over the largest empire the world had ever known.

It was an empire built with bayonets and repression and nourished by fear. Its borders were virtually closed to outsiders and outside influences. Its control over lives and minds was complete.

Decisions Made By Stalin

Its decisions were made by Stalin and Stalin alone. The alternatives to submission were prison or death.

In 10 years without Stalin Russia has opened her doors, hesitatingly, to contacts with the capitalist world. It has trampled Stalin's memory but kept up his cold war in a variety of new forms, mixing calls for "peaceful coexistence" with rockets in Cuba, atom tests and pressure on Berlin.

Under Nikita Khrushchev the Soviet Union has made betterment of relations with America a steadfast goal to which it bounces back after each U-2 or RB-47 incident and periodic crises in Berlin, the Middle East or Asia.

It has gained an air of respectability and influence in the world—largely through its space successes—that it never had under Stalin.

A Struggle Over Leadership

It is engaged in a struggle with Red China over leadership of the world Communist Bloc.

Of all the changes in the USSR, however, one stands head and shoulders above the rest—the abolition of police terror, the dreaded midnight knock on the door.

"Foreigners can never understand what it meant for Russians to have been born and lived under Stalin," a middle-aged Soviet writer told me.

"It meant a whole lifetime of bowing down to worship him and at the same time fearing to be taken away and shot or sent to a labor camp."

"There is scarcely a family that didn't lose at least one member."

"Now the camps that honeycombed Siberia are closed and everyone knows it. We are no longer afraid for our lives. That is why there are open discussions, different trends and cross currents in Russia today."

Where Currents Lead Uncertain

"Where these currents will lead is uncertain. But they exist because the terror is gone."

Freed of fear as they knew it under Stalin, Russians have profited on the home front in the 10 years since his death.

The USSR is still far from an abundant society. But it has surged ahead industrially despite a chronically inefficient agricultural program.

Its goal of out-distancing America remains a dream for the future but there is more housing, more food, more and better goods in the shops each year.

The nation is strenuously working to change its image from that of a walled-in, fear-stalked society to a peaceful, prosperous example of what Communism can bring.

Part of this post-Stalin new look is real. Part is politics.

Khrushchev, as much as Stalin, is a confirmed enemy of the Capitalist system and is dedicated to bring about its downfall.



The head of Josef Stalin monument lies "grounded" in a Budapest street with a traffic sign against it on Oct. 31, 1956, as Budapest citizens celebrate moment of victory in the Hungarian Revolution. The accompanying story tells how Soviet world has changed as it approaches the 10th anniversary of Stalin's death. (UPI)

Stalin was a suspicious stay-at-home, rarely leaving even the Kremlin. Khrushchev is an argumentative extrovert, a tireless junketeer to China, Southwest Asia, the East European satellites, Western Europe and even to the heartland of capitalism—the United States.

At home, over the world's largest nation and its roughly 220 million citizens, Khrushchev rules not with Stalin's iron hand but, along with other members of the tightly-knit Communist Party Presidium, in a sort of guided collective leadership. He presides also over a different sort of a Communist empire, a growing movement expanding to new nations in Africa, Asia and South America but no longer obedient, as it was in Stalin's day, to Moscow alone.

Bothersome Rival in Peking

Now there is a bothersome rival voice in Peking, obstinate, troublesome and much stronger than it was 10 years ago, claiming that it knows better than Moscow how to install Communism throughout the world.

A Soviet journalist, born in 1917 and ignorant of any other life than Russia under Communism, recently told a Western colleague:

"There have been astounding changes since Stalin's death, particularly when you consider the millions of people who died, the rivers of blood that ran."

People Believe in Stalin

"But people believed in Stalin. It cannot be denied. I saw soldiers rushing to certain death in the war without wavering."

"Why? Because they were dying for their motherland and for Stalin."

"We who survived know now what else he did. But we who lived under him for 30 years cannot forget also what he did for this country, how he built it, held it together, inspired it."

But scarcely had Stalin's body been placed alongside that of Lenin in the red and black marble mausoleum on Red Square than his nervous heirs let it be known that the oppressive days of the late dictator were over.

Beria Arrested, Executed

Hated Secret Police Chief Lavrenti Beria was arrested, executed and there was a rash of amnesties for political prisoners in the Siberian camps.

In the next few years agreements to end the Korean War were made, apparently with the Soviet Union's blessing, and the treaty ending the occupation of Austria and giving her neutral status was signed.

There was the brief "thaw" at home in literature and art in 1954 when artists and writers began halting to turn out something other than tractor epics and portraits of Stalin.

The first "thaw" had to be slapped down again eventually, by Khrushchev himself, when it showed signs of getting out of hand. But like the cultural controversy raging at the moment in the nation, it was a sign that Soviet culture could not be held indefinitely in old socialist-realist moulds.

Stalin's First Successor

Stalin's first successor as Soviet premier, pudgy Georgia Malenkov, even broke with the traditional Soviet emphasis on heavy industry to endorse a program

for more consumer goods. It was a tactical error that helped lead to his ouster in 1954. His place first was ceded to goateed marshal Nikolai Bulganin, who, under pressure, turned it over to Khrushchev in 1958.

Thus, in just five years from the death of a man, who had made solitary rule a nightmare in Russia, the nation's two top posts—the premiership and the first secretaryship of the communist party—came again in the hands of one man, Nikita Khrushchev.

Having waited his time while consolidating his power in the first years after Stalin's death, Khrushchev already had launched the all-out drive to blacken his former chief's name in his famous 1956 secret-Stalin speech to the 20th Party Congress.

The echoes of that speech are reverberating to this day. But the most immediate effect was in the East European satellites where the loosening of Stalinist chains almost led to Hungary and Poland throwing them off completely.

Now Leads More Than Dictates

Today, Moscow apparently leads more than it dictates to its East European allies. But in 1956 Russian tanks in Budapest proved that the Kremlin's new leaders could when necessary, turn back to the old ruthlessness.

The lesson of Hungary was not lost either on the satellites or the world.

At home, de-Stalinization started with the outward signs. Little by little Stalin's name began to disappear from history books. His pictures faded from post offices and hotel lobbies. His statues were knocked down or carted off to storage.

When harvests are not up to snuff, the Stalin system of grass rotation is at fault. When industry lags or planning goes wrong, it is because of the lingering effects of the "cult of personality," when political opponents at home or abroad in Peking and Albania balk at Kremlin policies, then they are sticking to outmoded Stalinist concepts.

Question Has No Easy Answer

The question of how much Khrushchev's Russia is really thawed since Stalin has no easy answer.

To be sure, Russians and foreign visitors can now stroll casually to the Kremlin grounds, where they would have been afraid even to approach its walls under Stalin. Thousands of foreign tourists now come pouring into the USSR each year, junketing to Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad or the Black Sea with the same casualness they might visit Paris or the Riviera. In addition increasing numbers of Soviet tourists and delegations are travelling abroad.

Western jazz can be heard in Soviet restaurants. Havana cigars and French cognac can be bought in the stores. Russians can see an increasing number of foreign plays and movies, adapted into Russian or shown under the cultural exchange programs.

Young People Not All Content

With more freedom and easier living than their parents would have dreamed of under Stalin, many Soviet young people are not content. They seek Western clothes, newspapers, books, and phonograph records. They would like to be able to travel abroad, to meet foreigners freely and to have access to western ideas, even those they dispute.

These young are not looking for a return to Capitalism. But they would like some of the freedoms and many of the material benefits of Western societies. They are the dreamers of a "Communism with Cadillacs."

Despite the admitted improvements, Khrushchev's Russia in 1963 is still a great deal closer to Stalin's Russia than it is to an operating western-style democracy.

Risks Being Seized, Beaten

In Khrushchev's Russia a Soviet citizen who tries to enter a Western embassy without authorization risks being seized and if necessary beaten on the spot by Russian police. Diplomats can be and are trailed, and at times seized and grilled. Public figures, for instance author Boris Pasternak's companion Olga Ivinskaya, can be secretly tried and sent to prison. Foreigners, including Americans, are still upon occasion arrested and tried in secret without any notification to their embassies.

Non-Communist news correspondents still are restricted in number, hampered in their travel and gathering of news, and risk expulsion for displeasing dispatches though since March, 1961, they have been able to send them without prior censorship.

Soviet citizens, by and large, cannot hope to travel abroad, to listen to unjammed foreign newscasts, to buy or receive non-Communist newspapers, to read anything but carefully slanted, culled and controlled news in their own press. They can mix cautiously with foreigners, as they could not under Stalin, but such fraternization can still cause trouble.

Elections Are Rubber-Stamp

Russia 1963 is a nation where some of the forms, but little of the essence of democracy as it is known in the West is observed, where elections and parliaments merely put a rubber-stamp legal gloss on decisions of a tight little group of leaders at the top.

It is still a nation where laws are made, warped and broken in the interests of policy, where repressions against religion and minority groups continue and are usually covered up by a tightly controlled press.

But it also is a nation where a Yevgeny Yevtushenko can write a poem attacking Russian anti-semitism, come safely through a storm of criticism—and then be pressured to re-write it in less critical terms.

In short, Russia in 1963 is a changing, not a changed society; an opening country, not an open one.

Tibet 'Liberated' by Communist Chinese

By CHARLES R. SMITH United Press International

Tokyo—UPI—There's an old Tibetan proverb that says, "To hold Tibet firmly, the conqueror must win the Potala's top floor."

After more than a dozen years of deceit, suppression and hard work, the Communist Chinese appear to have won the top floor of the fabulous winter palace of the

Tibetan God King, the Dalai Lama.

The Chinese say they now have almost completed the basic communization of the roof of the world while the Dalai Lama sits in almost hopeless exile in neighboring India.

End of Preparatory Work

They are nearing the end of preparatory work for formally inaugurating Tibet

into the Communist republic as a full-fledged autonomous region.

A recent Peking radio broadcast, monitored in Tokyo, said that by mid-January a series of local elections throughout the mountainous region was "about 95 per cent" completed.

The elections are among the final steps in what the Communists call the "demo-

cratic reform" of the Tibetan society.

It was just about 10 years ago that the Chinese decided to set up a preparatory committee for the Tibetan autonomous region and begin a large-scale program to transform the primitive feudal society into a Communist society.

Troops March In

That was almost three years after the Communist troops had marched into the isolated Buddhist kingdom and proclaimed its "peaceful liberation."

But as plans for the preparatory committee progressed, so did Tibetan resistance.

The Tibetans rebelled violently against their Communist oppressors and, in 1957, the Red Chinese announced a softening of their policies.

They promised there would be "no democratic reforms" for at least six years, and only then with the popular consent of the Tibetans.

Fail To Check Resistance

The Chinese promise failed to check the Tibetan resistance, which grew into a full-scale rebellion by 1959. The Red Chinese switched to a tough stand. They crushed the rebellion in a harsh military campaign that the International Commission of Jurists said probably cost the lives of 65,000 persons. The Dalai Lama escaped to India at that time.

By the end of June, 1959, the rebellion was suppressed. The first week of July, a new Tibetan preparatory committee began a 10-day session in Lhasa, the capital.

The committee, with the Puppet Panchen Lama as acting chairman, adopted a comprehensive program of reforms designed to communize the entire region.

In Sufficient Force

The Chinese Army was there in sufficient force to make certain the "democratic reforms" were carried out.

The Peking regime sent in thousands of Chinese Communist party cadres to

push the communization campaign in every field.

And reform was carried out. Thousands of "mutual aid" teams were set up as the first step toward eventual establishment of people's communes. About 95 per cent of the peasants "joined" the teams, Peking Radio said.

A school was set up to train and indoctrinate teachers.

By last summer, the Peking regime's top political representative in Lhasa, Chang Ching-Wu, was able to announce:

"Feudal serfdom has ended in Tibet. The Democratic reform movement has in the main been completed. A social system of People's Democracy has been established."

On Aug. 25, 1962, a new election committee was established and the series of general elections begun. The Peking regime's puppet ruler, the Panchen Lama, was chairman. But named as his chief deputy was Lt. Gen. Chang Kuo-Hua, the commander of the Chinese military forces in Tibet.

Elections Held In Lhasa

On Christmas Day, elections were held in Lhasa. Peking Radio said "227 deputies were elected from the eleven electoral districts to the first 'People's Congress of the city proper. Over 80 per cent of the deputies were serfs and slaves before the democratic reform."

The report added: "During the days of the election, the Tibetans streamed to the polling stations in high excitement. They held aloft colored flags, beat drums and gongs danced and sang to mark their enjoyment for the first time in their life of universal suffrage."

The Red Radio said that the top Chinese Communist party representatives in Tibet were among the first to cast their votes.

How Many Chinese Vote? What it did not mention was how many Chinese voted in the elections in Lhasa and other areas.

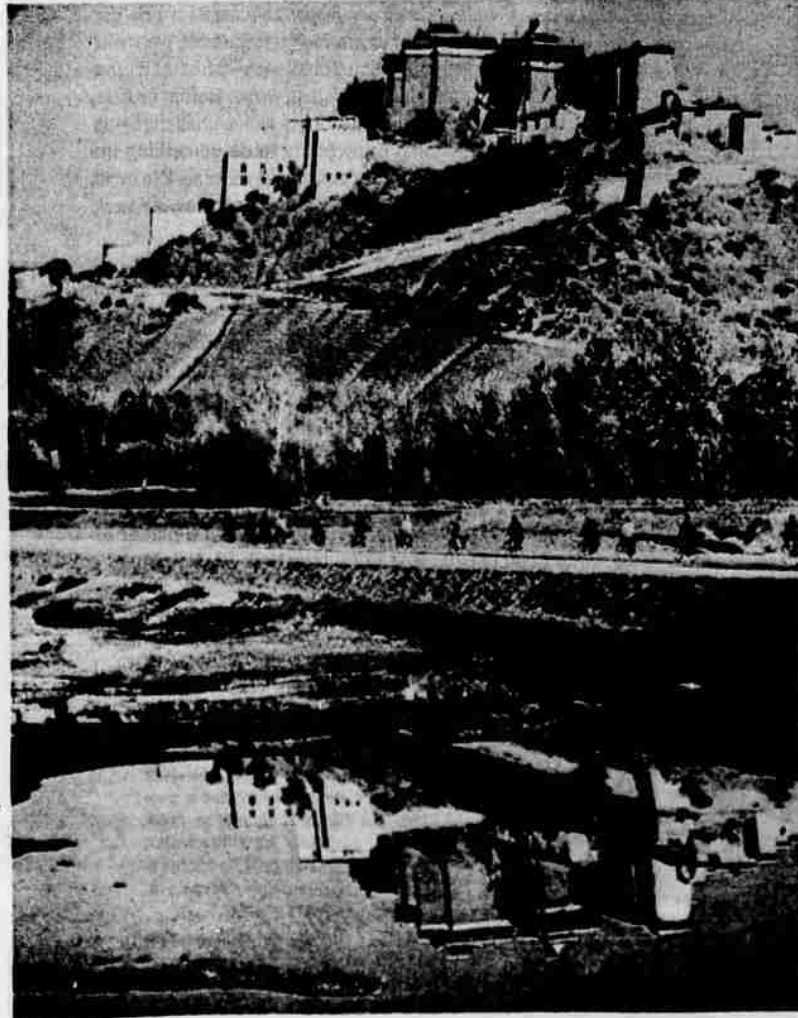
The Dalai Lama and others on the outside have es-

timated that the Peking regime has sent more than 85 million Chinese into the vast region to settle among the estimated 3 million Tibetans.

The Peking regime has given no figures on this. It did announce last summer, however, that more than "6,000 (Communist) cadres of Tibetan nationality" have been trained. It added:

"While continuing to train large numbers of cadres of Tibetan nationality, it is also necessary to have a certain number of cadres of Han (Chinese) and other nationalities to help build a prosperous and happy new Tibet."

But it is likely the Chinese will have to keep their troops in Tibet for a long time to come to keep the Tibetans moving along the road to Communism.



A relic of a vanished way of life, the Potala, winter palace of the Tibetan God King, the Dalai Lama, looks as grandly as ever in Lhasa, Tibet, in this picture from an official Communist source.—(UPI)



The Ngajim hydro-electric power station in Lhasa, Tibet, is a sign of the iron hand of progress in Communist-ruled Tibet. This picture, from an official Communist source was taken prior to October, 1961. (UPI)