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Stalinist Terror Was Vital To Russia's Transformation

By WALTER LIPPMAN

READING Khrushchev's enormous speech, I found myself fascinated by the energy and treachery and cowardice but unconvicted and puzzled by his theoretical explanation of Stalin. Reconciled to the idea that Khrushchev's theory is as follows, Lenin, who was the inflexible leader, thought that when terrorism should be used to win the class war against the members of the old regime, terrorism should end when the class war had been won, and it should never be used against factions within the revolutionary movement itself.

undertaking itself and the abnerment of Stalin's personality reinforced and exacerbated the one or the other. In the new cult of Lenin, which Khrushchev celebrated, it is set down that the Communist revolution was victorious by the time of Lenin's death in 1924. The fact is, however, that the revolutionary transformation of Russia into an industrial state was not seriously begun until the first five-year plan in 1928.



STALIN A Necessary Evil

This plan called for sacrifice and for a kind of hard labor which could be extracted from any people only under fiercest kind of compulsion. One historian, Richard Charles, has this to say about it: "Since the volume of investment in industry, which it called for, could come only from production itself, notoriously low standards of living were reduced to the barest level of subsistence. In the vast new factory encampments in the Urals and beyond men and women from remote parts of Russia worked and starved and in winter half-froze. Labor discipline was maintained by stringent penalties... The basic tasks of socialist construction were achieved by the blood, toil and tears of peasant labor diverted to industry. It was in the life of peasant Russia that the real revolution effected by the first five-year plan came with most shattering consequences." The horrors of collectivization is no empty phrase. This second and a much greater Bolshevik revolution was waged with implacable cruelty and resisted with the extreme of desperation."

What seems to me false in Khrushchev's argument is the fundamental assumption that the terrible undertaking could have been carried out, but for Stalin's personality, without a reign of terror. It is more likely that the main cause of the terror was the decision to sacrifice one Russian generation in order to transform Russian society, and that Stalin's character was a complicating element in an undertaking to which the whole Communist hierarchy was dedicated.

Are There 'Solutions' To Nightmares?

ANY CONSIDERATION of the farm problem in these incredible times is like a visit to a three-ring nightmare.

In one ring, we have an unstable ratio balancing on a marginal deficiency. In another ring, we watch a flexible incentive being chased by a galloping deficit. In the center ring, a recurrent fluctuation is busily restoring its fundamental equilibrium.

It is too early to cry "solution." The nation has barely made a start. Every action is fraught with political emotion. It will take a great deal of time and a great deal of wisdom before this nation can solve the farm problem in a manner which will be satisfactory for all Americans.

Insane Lust

Khrushchev went on to say that by the time Stalin had climbed to power in the mid-20s, the Communists had won the class war. There was therefore no further need for terrorism against non-Communists and no excuse whatever for terrorism against Communists. Lenin's victorious revolution should then have been conducted by leadership and persuasion within the hierarchy of the Communist Party. This hierarchy was in Lenin's view as in Khrushchev's the self-appointed and unquestioned ruler of the new revolutionary regime. Stalin's offense was, according to Khrushchev, that he overrode the Communist Party hierarchy, and set up a terror through his own personal secret police. Stalin did this because he had an insane lust for power.

Insane Lust

What I find puzzling and unconvincing is Khrushchev's assumption that the terror which has prevailed in Russia was an aberration due wholly to the deranged personality of Stalin. This begs the main question. The question is whether the transformation of Russia of almost 1.1 billion bushels. Uncle Sam's investment in supporting prices of farm products had risen to \$3.7 billion by April 1—a growth of \$1.5 billion during the past year.

A Single Heartbeat

THE horrendous case of national jitter that followed reports of President Eisenhower's illness was genuinely bipartisan. Emotional attitudes toward the American presidency, and toward Mr. Eisenhower personally, are powerfully wrought.

Charlotte Culture: Season In Retrospect

WHAT is Charlotte, culturally? By culture, we're speaking of music and fine arts activities that make up the city's cultural "personality." Identify it culturally. Season's end is a good time to do it. We've a whole summer to think about what we've got, what we want, what we may not want.

People's Platform

Letters should be brief. The writer's name and address must be given, but may be withheld from publication in the discretion of the editors. The news reserves the right to condense.

Separation Of Church And State Is Upheld

THE recently impassioned statement of Peter J. King to the effect that the U. S. Constitution provides no support for the separation of church and state, is obviously designed to deceive and confuse rather than edify. The founders of the United States established this nation upon a philosophy of secularism, and so completely did they wish to remove religion from the people's worldly affairs, that they deliberately excluded from the Constitution of the country even the word God.

In the first amendment to the Constitution, they went further and took a positive stand and said: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." This provision established beyond all reasonable doubt both the intent, the philosophical basis, and the strict letter of the law, ipso facto, respecting secularism—separation of church and state.

Ranks Are Closing Behind Adlai

By DORIS FLEESON
WASHINGTON
ADLAI Stevenson has had the presidential primaries in five of the seven states in which the presidential candidates have appeared. In the vast majority of cases, he has been defeated.

Floridation Attacked From Far, Far Away

By JAMES W. LUTZ
ATLANTA, Ga.
EDITORS: The News.
QUOTING your paper in The Atlanta Constitution of June 4 under the caption, "No Florida Grounds Remain For Not Floridation Water," permit me to offer some grounds for not floridating water.

For Campaign Boost, A Note Of Thanks

Charlotte
ALL OF Charlotte is aware of the tremendous success of our recent campaign. However, only those of us who have been close to the project know how much you and The Charlotte News have done to make the achievement possible.

Non-Intervention

By H. F. KINCEY
YMCA of Charlotte
I wish you the greatest satisfaction for the knowledge that you have had an important part to play in the life of other state and local Charlotte for many years to come.

'Think I Should Start Running Actively Now?'



THE UNMENTIONABLE POET

IN SPRING nowadays, some young men's fancy seemingly turns to panty raids. An outpost of this vernal madness occurred in College Park the other day when 1,000 University of Maryland swains swarmed through coed dormitories in quest of silky souvenirs. Many pungent remarks can be offered about panty raids, and vexed officials have probably voiced most of them. We merely wish to add one comforting observation. It is a wonderful thing that this intimate association of spring and panty raid has come a good century after the great age of romantic poetry. If Shelley had been expelled from Oxford for joining in a panty raid, the impact on poetry would have been devastating.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON
NOT only did the Kremlin fire Marshal Molotov as Foreign Minister of Russia one day before Marshal Tito arrived, but believe it or not, the Kremlin sent word to Tito in advance that Tito was being fired.

Special Message

Reliable advisers received in the diplomatic corps state categorically that Tito received a special message from Moscow, shortly before he left Belgrade, subtly notifying him that Molotov would be sacked out because of his part in conspiring against Tito in 1948.

Roosevelt Ditched

It was missed by the press, but the Americans for Democratic Action quietly dropped Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., as vice president at their recent convention. Young Frank's name was scratched while his mother, an honorary ADA leader, sat on the stand.

Cvorus Dispute

The United States is following the British-Greek dispute over Cyprus with a great deal of interest, but with no urge to get into it.