Tito Hits Stalinists In Satellite Lands As Well as Russia

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

An address this week by President Tito of Yugoslavia appears to be a declaration of political war against the Stalinist leaders in the Soviet and European Communist parties.

Marshal Tito also appears to have attacked the entire Soviet leadership for moving only against the "cult of personality," a euphemism for Stalinism, rather than seeking to change the basic system that permitted Stalinism to arise. He specifically indicted the Soviet leaders for having said "that on the whole everything was good" and Stalin's mistakes were only the product of his old age.

In his address, the text of which was received here yesterday, Marshal Tito indicated that Stalinist elements were strong in the leadership of Communist parties in the Soviet Union and in both Eastern and Western Europe.

Soviet Crisis Is Held Grave

He singled out by name Enver Hoxha, Communist chief in Albania. President Tito also held the French Communist leadership responsible for attacks against Yugoslavia's Communists. This apparently was not broadcast by the Belgrade radio.

Marshal Tito indicated that the Hungarian revolution had created a grave crisis for the Soviet leaders. These leaders, he said, "see that not only Horthyists, but also workers from factories and mines are fighting—that the entire people are fighting."

"The Soviet soldiers go unwillingly, with heavy hearts," he charged. "This is the tragedy of it."

The Yugoslav leader gave a detailed picture of negotiations he had held with the Soviet leaders. He also sketched the thinking of the Soviet leaders and explained, though rejecting, their

TITO DENOUNCES PRO-STALIN REDS

reasons for being fearful of relaxing their hold on Eastern Europe.

Marshal Tito defended the Soviet military intervention in Hungary two weeks ago that destroyed the Government of Premier Imre Nagy. He called it a lesser evil than the chaos and counter-revolution that he said existed in Hungary and might have led to a third world war.

But the Yugoslav leader coupled this defense with a denunciation of Soviet conduct up to and including the time of the original Soviet intervention on Oct. 23. He said the Soviet leaders insisted on keeping Matyas Rakosi, former Hungarian Communist boss, in power as long as possible because they felt he was the only man in Hungary they could trust.

When the Soviet leaders finally saw that Mr. Rakosi would have to be removed, Marshal Tito said, they did so only "on the condition that [Erno] Gero would obligatorily remain."

"This was wrong because he did not differ from Rakosi," Marshal Tito went on. "He followed the same policy and was as guilty as Rakosi."

Marshal Tito declared his conviction that "these terrible sacrifices by the Hungarian people will have a positive effect, that a little light will reach the eyes of the comrades in the Soviet Union, even those Stalinist elements, and that they will see it is no longer possible to work in this way."

But elsewhere in his speech, the Yugoslav President indicated that there were powerful Communist forces trying "to stop the process which began in Yugoslavia in 1948, and is now continuing in Poland, and to divert it on Stalinist tracks." The issue in the world Communist movement now, he said, was whether the Yugoslav "course will be victorious or the Stalinist course will win again."

Marshal Tito did not identify the Stalinist elements in the Soviet leadership. However, diplomatic sources have identified the leaders of the anti-Tito group in Moscow as Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Lazar M. Kaganovich, and Mikhail A. Suslov. These sources also have indicated that Nikita S. Khrushchev, Soviet Communist party chief, leads what the Yugoslavs regard as the anti-Stalinist forces.

The Yugoslav leader revealed that the current Yugoslav-Soviet difficulties began last June when he visited Moscow and demanded equality between the Communist parties of the two countries. He and the Soviet leaders "could not agree completely," he said.

Warned the Soviet Leaders

In particular, Marshal Tito indicated he had believed that the declaration of equality between the Soviet and Yugoslav Communist parties issued in Moscow last June was meant "for a wider circle than Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union." He said he had warned the Soviet leaders that aspirations for independence existed in other Communist countries and would be harder to deal with if Soviet policy did not change.

He said the Soviet leaders believed that the Yugoslavs were an exception from the case of other Eastern European countries where the Soviet leaders in effect told local Communists: "It was we who brought you to power."

Marshal Tito declared that after the riots in Poznan, Poland, last June "the Soviet people suddenly changed their attitude toward us."

"They began getting colder," he asserted. "They thought that we Yugoslavs were responsible."

Marshal Tito accepted this charge and declared: "Yes, we are responsible because we live in this world * * * because we created Yugoslavia as such, and because this Yugoslavia also acts outside its borders."

He called on "honest Communists" in other Communist parties to "criticize negative things and listen a bit to the voice of the masses." This appeared to be open encouragement for rebellion against Stalinist leaders in Western and Eastern Europe.

Marshal Tito's attack on the French Communist leaders, as given in a translation issued by the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations, was in these terms:

"When, in France, a would-be professor of history delivers a lecture and says that Yugoslavia is a perfidious agent of imperialism, when there exist in the Communist party of France people who * * * make such a grave accusation in front of hundreds and hundreds of people, can we have a guarantee that the cause of socialism will develop correctly in the future? No. The leaders of those parties are responsible for the attacks of such irresponsible and decadent elements."