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# Khrushchev 'Memoir' Criticizes Stalin

By THEODORE SHABAD

Life magazine began today the publication of what it describes as the reminiscences of Nikita S. Khrushchev, the former Soviet leader. The account, essentially an elaboration of Mr. Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin, depicts a ruling group living in constant fear of being purged.

The account, the first of four installments, appears in the issue dated Nov. 27 and out, on newsstands today.

Adopting a pronounced anti-Stalinist tone, the account accuses Mr. Khrushchev's successors of "starting to cover up" for Stalin's rule of terror in contrast to Mr. Khrushchev's own sweeping exposures before he was ousted from power in October, 1964. Stalin died in 1953.

"We have no choice but to rehabilitate all of Stalin's victims," Mr. Khrushchev is quoted as having said. "Many still await rehabilitation and the reasons for their deaths are still hidden."

Mr. Khrushchev served as both First Secretary of the Communist party and as Premier. The purported reminiscences, a mixture of events



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Continued on Page 22, Column 4 Nikita S. Khrushchev with Stalin in photo made in 1938

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well known from his speeches and of previously unpublished incidents and anecdotes, also make the following points:

Mr. Khrushchev is portrayed as attributing his rapid rise in the hierarchy in the nineteen-thirties to favorable reports about him given to Stalin by his wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, who was Mr. Khrushchev's schoolmate in 1929-30 at the Industrial Academy, a party technical school.

In depicting the well-documented sufferings of farm collectivization in the Ukraine in 1930, a party aide is quoted as having said: "A train recently pulled into Kiev loaded with corpses of people who had starved to death."

In a similar period of deprivation, the postwar famine of 1947, incidents of cannibalism are described.

A substantial portion of the Life installment is devoted to descriptions of Stalin's drinking parties with his associates, including Mr. Khrushchev, in the last few years before Stalin died. Much of the flavor of these dinner parties and drinking bouts was rendered earlier by Milovan Djilas, the former Yugoslav Communist leader, and by Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter.

Some of the account does not square with the historical record. Mr. Khrushchev is depicted as attending family dinners with Stalin and his wife in a period after she had committed suicide, in 1932. He also is portrayed as sitting in the ruling Politburo at a time he was not in fact a member.

On the other hand, the Life material is peppered with earthy phrases that are unmistakably Khrushchevian. After Stalin is reported to have ordered Mr. Khrushchev, then Moscow party leader, and Mayor Nikolai A. Bulganin to add more public toilets, "we booted the militia [police] on their behinds and got them to help," the account says.

In condemning the purge in 1937 of Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky, a leading military figure, Mr. Khrushchev is quoted as having said: "There was a lot of cackling from men who couldn't reach up to his knees, much less to his navel."

Though declining to identify the origins of the material, Life contends that it has established its authenticity "beyond any doubt." According to Ralph Graves, managing editor, the manuscript obtained by Life was studied thoroughly and skeptically by Edward Crankshaw, British scholar on Soviet affairs and a biographer of Mr. Khrushchev.

## Book Version Planned

Mr. Crankshaw, who pronounced the work "quite unmistakably" Mr. Khrushchev's, has written an introduction and historical footnotes for the book version, "Khrushchev Remembers" to be published next month by Little, Brown & Co. The text was translated by Strobe Talbott, a 23-year-old American Rhodes scholar at Oxford, England.

There has been speculation that the original Russian text, said to consist of reminiscences taped by Mr. Khrushchev for internal official use, was made available in censored form for publication abroad without the former Premier's knowledge.

In a signed statement, dated Nov. 10 and published in the controlled Soviet press a week later, Mr. Khrushchev disavowed any connection with publication of the purported recollections, which will be serialized in about 20 magazines and newspapers throughout the world.

Mr. Khrushchev, 76 years old, has been living in isolation and under guard at his estate, 15 miles west of Moscow. He was reportedly hospitalized recently for the second time this year with an ailment diagnosed as cardiac insufficiency.

The clearly anti-Stalinist tone of the document published in Life is out of step with the current Soviet policy of giving credit to Stalin's wartime leadership and keeping silent about details of his rule of terror.

In urging the rehabilitation



of "all" Stalin's victims, Mr. Khrushchev's purported reminiscences appear to allude to such early Soviet leaders as Grigory Y. Zinoviev, Lev B. Kamenev, Nikolai I. Bukharin and Aleksei I. Rykov, who were executed after show trials in 1936 and 1938.

The Life installment mentions Mr. Rykov, then Soviet Premier, in connection with an incident in 1927 in which he presented Stalin with a steel broom "to sweep away our enemies." According to the Life text, Mr. Khrushchev comments: "Rykov could hardly have foreseen that he, too, would be swept away."

In describing Mr. Khrushchev's rapid rise in the Soviet leadership, the so-called reminiscences say that he, like most historians, initially attributed his advancement to Lazar M. Kaganovich, a close Stalin associate who was ousted by Mr. Khrushchev himself in 1957.

"But I soon began to realize," the Life article continues, "that my promotion was due not so much to Kaganovich as to Stalin himself. [Stalin's wife] sang my praises to Stalin, and Stalin told Kaganovich to help me along."

After having attended the Industrial Academy with Stalin's wife in late 1929 and in 1930, Mr. Khrushchev was appointed party secretary of a Moscow borough in January, 1931.

#### Dinners With Stalin

According to the Life account, it was not until Mr. Khrushchev became city party leader of all Moscow three years later "and started going regularly to Stalin's for family dinners" that he realized who his benefactor was.

The account is at variance with the record in saying that "Stalin and Nadezhda Sergeevna [his wife] were always host and hostess" on these occasions. She committed suicide in November, 1932, more than a year before Mr. Khrushchev became First Secretary of the Moscow city party.

Cutting or censoring of the original Russian material may have caused the error relating to Mr. Khrushchev's elevation to the Politburo.

According to the historical record, he became party leader of both Moscow city and region after the Central Committee's plenary meeting of Feb. 28, 1935. According to the Life account, he was appointed candidate member of the Politburo "at the next plenum."

Actually almost three years and at least three plenary meetings passed before Mr. Khrushchev was named to the Politburo in January, 1938 in connection with his appointment as the new party chief in the Ukraine.

In view of his prompt departure for the Ukraine to direct Stalin's purge there, it may be open to question how he could "attend Politburo sessions regularly," as the Life account has it.