

Uncover More New York Police Brutality Cases

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, March 11 — A shocking new case of police brutality in the world's largest city resulted yesterday in an indictment by a Brooklyn Federal grand jury.

John A. Brullman, a city detective, is charged with beating a subway motorman without provocation, while two subway patrolmen stood by and watched.

Apparently smarting from the recent exposure of its secret commitment not to intervene in cases of police brutality, the Federal Department of Justice ordered the present investigation. The Police Department, the Queens County District Attorney and the Board of Transportation had all previously failed to act in the case.

The beating, according to a



N. Y. POLICE COMMISSIONER MONAGHAN denies (above) that he had made secret deal with Justice Dept. to keep FBI from investigating police brutality cases. Evidence proved otherwise.

complaint filed in Flushing Magistrates Court by the victim, Francis D. Galatis, occurred about 3:30 A.M., on March 7, 1952. Galatis has sworn to the following: He saw Detective John A. Brullman standing on the platform between two cars of his train, apparently trying to close the doors.

Saying he detected alcohol on the detective's breath, he asked him to stop, pointing out the train would stop shortly. Detective Brullman, according to the motorman, followed him into the car and began beating his head and face, sending him crashing into a train window which shattered. Two transit patrolmen responded to the motorman's whistle for help. But when they saw the detective's badge, they refused to arrest him. City police then arrived.

In the presence of the police, Galatis charges, the detective continued to beat him. The police offered the detective a piece of gum and took his gun away.

In the back room at the 110th Precinct station, according to Galatis, Brullman punched him unmercifully in his back around the kidneys, while passing police ignored his pleas for help.

Galatis also charges that the subway guards not only refused to arrest the detective when he summoned them, but one of them threatened retaliation if he didn't forget the whole thing. The incident at the time aroused so much bitterness among other subway workers that the CIO Transport Workers Union said it had difficulty talking them out of a protest slowdown.

This kind of sadistic treatment by cops is an everyday occurrence, according to an explosive new charge hurled against the Police Department by the Legal

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MOBILIZATION STARTS FOR SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

By Dorothy Johnson, Campaign Manager

The opening date of the Militant subscription and sales campaign will be marked by a coast to coast mobilization of all Militant salesmen. Youngstown, Boston, Los Angeles,

Chicago and Oakland literature agents have already increased their bundle orders in preparation for the six-week drive. Boston and Cleveland write that they expect to roll up a good score by making extensive renewal work the base of their local campaigns. New York looks forward to wide sales of single copies in the Puerto Rican neighborhoods and in Harlem. Renewal work and shop work will also be a major part of their activity.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "The St. Paul and Minneapolis Militant agents together with other comrades are busy formulating plans for an all-out Militant sub drive here in Minnesota. To date agreement has been reached on the following plans: The Minneapolis and St. Paul comrades will work together on a Twin Cities basis in the campaign. There will be three teams in the Twin Cities competing for top-scoring place in the local contest. And finally, there will be a Twin Cities wind-up affair to honor the winning team and top individual scorers."

Jacki Booth reports, "Plans are now underway for the sub drive in Chicago. We plan to concentrate our sub work on friends, who though we have spoken to them about the ideas of The Militant, have not yet taken out subscriptions; friends in the various trade unions; and former subscribers. We plan to spread single sales of the paper over a greater area in door-to-door sales, street-corner sales, etc."

"The comrades are to be divided into teams, with prizes for the individual with the top score and a gimmick whereby all participants will pay an 'entry fee,' the money to go to the winning team at the close of the campaign for use at a dinner for the team members. We plan, too, to tie up the campaign with our May Day meeting, giving a free ticket to the meeting with each subscription. We expect good results in this campaign and are anxious to begin. We have set a goal of at least 50 subs for the campaign."

New York reports that they are all set for the sub drive. In fact they already have a head start. A shopmate of Frank F.'s read about the campaign in The Militant and said he'd like to help. He told Frank he was too old to go knocking on doors, but he gave him \$6 to pay for subs for any people Frank should meet in the campaign who couldn't afford to pay for a subscription.

New York had another good sale of the March 2 Militant in Harlem Saturday. Although it was cold with not many people on the streets, 154 papers were sold. Janet was the top salesman with an excellent score of 49 Militants.

Our sincere thanks to all Militant readers who have sent in contributions to help pay the high cost of printing the paper. This week we want to mention S. R. of New York City, who sent in \$20; I. M. of New York City, \$2; and M. I. of Youngstown, N. B. of Minneapolis, and M. G. of Laurelton, L. I., for donations of 50c. each. A Minneapolis reader sends a contribution with the note, "\$1 for struggle. Good luck."

The meeting, which is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, will begin at 8 P.M. The Cornish Arms Hotel is on 23rd Street near 8th Ave.

Workers of the World, Unite!

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Malenkov Pledges to Follow In Dictator Stalin's Footsteps

The Judgment of History



After Stalin -- What?

By Michel Pablo

PARIS, France, March 6 — We do not propose in these few lines to give an exhaustive judgment on the life and work of the man who has just disappeared from the political scene. The disputes and commentaries about his personality assume exaggerated proportions not so much because of his own qualities or faults, but essentially because of the historic pedestal upon which the man raised himself and on the height of which he is viewed by

masses of people and by intellectuals. The pedestal is indeed a high one, imposing, perhaps unique in the history of humanity — it is the material, political and ideological power represented in the world today by the Soviet Union, with its satellites, China its ally, and the Communist Parties controlled by the Kremlin.

Stalin in a certain way personified this power. He was at the summit of this vast, colossal pyramid in the world that the ruling caste of the Soviet Union,

the Soviet bureaucracy, still controls.

Precise historical conditions, which Leon Trotsky analyzed profoundly, determined the creation, development and above all the triumph in the Soviet Union of this social caste that politically expropriated the proletariat. These conditions were essentially the backward nature of Russia and the prolonged isolation of the October Revolution.

Stalin was the man who most fully incarnated the rise of the bureaucracy to power, thanks to his past (and prestige) as an Old Bolshevik, his experience in the party apparatus, and thanks also to his qualities or faults (according to the class point of view from which they are examined) — williness, tenacity, cruelty, opportunism.

He was created in this form by the rising bureaucracy; correspondingly, he understood how, later on, to adapt himself completely to the functions the bureaucracy expected and demanded of him — supreme arbiter of its internal conflict, incarnation of its permanent and universal interests as a social caste caught between the proletariat and imperialism.

Stalin personified the collective unity, conscience and prestige of the bureaucracy. The scope and characteristics of his personality (as of every historical personality) were determined above all by the fundamental social forces which made him their instrument. His methods of struggle, his political opportunism, in a word his characteristics in action and in thought, were those of the bureaucracy, of a specific bureaucracy, of the Soviet bureaucracy. For this reason they would be unthinkable as characteristics in a personality representing, not the bureaucracy, but the proletariat.

Through ignorance, naivete or with deliberate intent to discredit communism, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois commentators

(some of them, moreover, genuinely dazzled by the "grandiose destiny," the power and success of the man) see only a personality with such and such qualities or faults, entirely apart from the concrete social base into which he sank his roots; and they indiscriminately confuse Bolshevism and Stalinism, Trotsky and Stalin, scorning or ignoring the vanquished, applauding or fearing him who "succeeded."

That Stalin was a "boss" of rare strength, there can be no doubt. But "boss" of whom, and for whom? The revolutionary proletariat does not create "bosses" of Stalin's type, but leaders, thinkers and men of action of the type of Lenin.

The decadent bourgeoisie has every reason for admiring the strength of a "boss" like Stalin. His strength was representative of a social force that is parasitic, to be sure, but which drinks the sap from a young and vigorous tree; it was representative of the bureaucracy ruling the economy and power of the first Workers State.

What other social force in the past or present of humanity could boast of an organized power to compare with that which the Kremlin apparently still possesses in the Soviet Union and throughout the world?

But there is another reason, far more important, for the praises of Stalin's "moderation," "prudence" and even "conservatism" that abound especially in the commentaries of the European bourgeoisie — as if they in some way regretted his disappearance from the scene and were fearful about his successors. Consciously or unconsciously the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, their politicians and journalists, realize that if Stalin strengthened the international position of the Soviet state power to the disadvantage of certain positions of the bourgeoisie, he deliberately

(Continued on page 4)

Warns Against 'Panic'; Offers to Discuss 'Business' with West

By Joseph Hansen

The funeral speeches of Malenkov, Beria and Molotov over Stalin's coffin March 9 were pledges to continue in his footsteps. They had three audiences in mind: (1) the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, which they represent, and its extension and allies in the Soviet

block and Communist parties abroad; (2) the workers and peasants of the Soviet bloc and other lands; (3) the imperialist foe headed by Wall Street.

To the caste they assured continuation of the course personified by Stalin; that is, defense of the privileges and power of the bureaucracy against threats from all quarters whether foreign or "internal" — the "internal" meaning the threat of workers' revolution. They indicated they had no intention of trying to extend the Soviet sphere of influence abroad but would instead continue the "cautious" foreign policy which Stalin has followed since he usurped power. Above all, they tried to allay whatever "panic" the caste feels at the incalculable forces that might be released by Stalin's death.

To the workers and peasants they emphasized the peaceful aims of the Soviet Union — the desire for "co-existence" of the Soviet system of economy and world capitalism. In addition, they hinted at improvements in living conditions. They demanded from unity and a closing of ranks behind the heirs of Stalin selected by the Central Committee without consulting the people.

To the imperialist foe the triumvirate asserted its solidity, its readiness to repel any attack or threat of war. In the same breath they proffered the olive branch, stating their willingness to enter into "business" relations.

In brief, the triumvirate attempted to carry out a smooth transition of power from the dead hands of Stalin while tightening ranks against any threats to their reign whether from abroad or from within.

MAO'S POSITION

They were joined in this effort by the Mao regime of New China, strongest of the other powers in the Soviet bloc. Mao's delegate to the funeral, Premier Chou En-lai, was given a demonstrative position in the funeral cortege side by side with Malenkov behind Stalin's coffin. Mao himself in a special article for Pravda pledged full confidence in Stalin's Russian heirs.

All of this, of course, was calculated to offset the hopes expressed by the imperialist powers that any differences existing between Peking and Moscow might now play into their hands in consequence of Stalin's death. The real relations between the Kremlin and the Mao regime remained as hitherto shrouded in secrecy.

In the chancelleries of the West, intense interest centered about the personality of Malenkov, who appears to be the most powerful figure in the triumvirate. Every scrap of information about his career is being carefully assembled. The composite picture, however, remains indefinite and hazy.

Stalin's Heir



MALENKOV

ference: He lacks Stalin's prestige accruing from decades of build-up.

EISENHOWER'S REACTION

On March 5, the same day that Stalin died and before Malenkov had been named as the main successor, Eisenhower told a press conference that he was still willing to "go halfway" to meet "any Russian leaders" who might succeed Stalin, no matter what the "personal inconvenience or sacrifice." This renewal of an offer for a conference, already indicated to Stalin, continued whatever the State Department had on foot in this respect. Stalin's death added new grounds for such a move.

As William H. Stringer, Managing Editor of The Christian Science Monitor, put it March 9 after Malenkov had been named: "... one wishes that this moment, when situations are still in flux with the change of power, could be exploited by luring Malenkov on a sight-seeing tour beyond the walls of Russia. And that this provincial man might have opportunity to see first hand how the West ticks..."

Meanwhile the Eisenhower regime is keeping up the pressure on the Soviet bloc. Anthony Eden's visit to America was made the occasion for announcement of further tightening of the blockade on New China. And the shooting down of an American plane by a Czech jet fighter over the border of Germany in obscure circumstances March 10 was used for a statement of "tough" policy in any future incidents of this kind.

This is in line with the major strategy of the Eisenhower administration which is continuing the preparations for another war begun under Truman. Even if Eisenhower decides to take it on the "slow bell" for the time being in his diplomatic approach to the Kremlin, this does not mean that a long-term deal is in sight between Washington and Moscow. The concessions demanded of the Stalinist bureaucracy are so far-reaching that to grant them would undermine the basis of its rule. Thus, no matter what diplomatic surprises may occur in the coming period, the situation inherited by both Eisenhower and Malenkov clearly points in the long run toward imperialist assault on the Soviet bloc. This course must be resisted, for on this road lies the possible doom of civilization.

Total U.S. casualties in Korea up to March 11 now stand at 130,992. This includes 23,134 dead.

Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism

By John G. Wright

(First of a Series)

Stalin lived to the age of 73, dying at the height of his power, buried with pomp, adulated as "the greatest genius of humanity," his mummy entombed by his henchmen alongside the mummy of Lenin. Stalin's official biography now ends on a crescendo of triumph. Did then the biggest cheat history has yet known really succeed in cheating history?

Will Stalin's "place in history" remain much on the same pinnacle to which he had risen when death struck him down? There is no lack of voices, the main chorus conducted by the Kremlin, hastening to assure the world that this is so. But these are fleeting voices. The only truly authoritative author is history. With the inimitable irony that history possesses, it will inscribe an entirely different verdict over Stalin.

A dictator's personal fate, all the more so of a Stalin, is of course not unimportant. But Dictator Stalin is only a single factor in the historic struggle which started in the Soviet Union, and then unfolded on a world scale, when Lenin died less than three decades ago. This struggle brought Leon Trotsky and his co-thinkers into mortal conflict with the interests and forces headed by Stalin. Stalin's death is far from decisive for this struggle's final outcome. What will decide are class interests and class forces.

Their verdict will read: All that Stalin really succeeded in accomplishing was to leave his personal, counter-revolutionary stamp on a single phase of the world proletarian struggle for emancipation — the 29 years since Lenin died. Today his chief antagonist appears to have died in obscurity, the most prominent victim of Stalin's murder machine, defeated, and seemingly without leaving much of an impress on the post-Lenin era. In their day, Marx and Engels, too, died in relative obscurity. Their impact on modern history is, however, quite unmistakable.

Together with Lenin, it was Trotsky who made Marxism the force it actually is in the world today by leading the Russian workers to victory in October 1917. Despite Stalin this revolution still lives. And when the proletarian struggle against Stalinism settles the score, it will be Trotsky who will take his rightful place alongside Marx, Engels and Lenin. Because he, as they, never represented or defended any interests and forces other than those of the world's workers.

Not so Stalin. His revolutionary past, though quite obscure, is undeniable. After Lenin died, however, Stalin emerged, step by step, as the champion and most consistent representative of a new parasitic social formation that arose in the USSR on the basis of the conquests of the 1917 revolution. Trotsky never ceased to fight against this reactionary, anti-proletarian ruling layer of bureaucratic parasites.

Although both protagonists are today dead, Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism has lost none of its essential meaning and importance. On the contrary, it has even greater significance today when Stalinism has been caught between the millstones of world revolution and world imperialism. That is why we propose to acquaint our readers with the main aspects of this titanic duel as it has unfolded since Lenin's death.

History has never before known such a cynical, powerful, ruthless, and at the same time historically hopeless, privileged minority as the one that Trotsky fought in the person of Stalin. This minority keeps its own existence a jealously guarded secret. It uses the vast powers of the Soviet state, the colossal propaganda apparatus, world-wide in its scope, the secret-police network, likewise world-wide in its extent and operations, as the chief means of masking its existence.

It falsely pretends to serve the interests of the workers inside and outside the Soviet Union. Actually it is interested exclusively in preserving and extending its own privileges and power.

Here is how Trotsky pictured the situation in 1936: "In Soviet political literature," he wrote, "you often meet with accusations of 'bureaucratism' as a bad custom of thought or method of work. (The accusation is always directed from above downward and is a method of self-defense on the part of the upper circles.) But what you cannot meet anywhere is an investigation of the bureaucracy as a ruling stratum — its numbers and structure, its flesh and blood, its privileges and appetites, and the share of the national income which it swallows up. Nevertheless it exists. And the fact that it so carefully conceals its social physiognomy proves that it possesses the specific consciousness of a ruling 'class,' which, however, is still far from confident of its right to rule.

"It is absolutely impossible to describe the Soviet bureaucracy in accurate figures, and that for reasons of two kinds. In the first place, in a country where the state is almost the sole employer it is hard to say where the administrative apparatus ends. In the second place, upon this question the Soviet statisticians, economists and publicists preserve, as we have said, an especially concentrated silence." (*The Revolution Betrayed*, pages 135-6.)

Despite this conspiracy of silence, Trotsky was able to show just what this million-headed bureaucracy is — in Soviet life. In 1936 he estimated this social prop of Stalin's regime at 12 to 15 percent of the total Soviet population. In our next article we shall show what this bureaucracy looks like in 1952.

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Stalin as Seen by Lenin, Trotsky

(The following excerpts from the writings of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky give their estimates of Stalin, the late dictator of the Soviet Union. None knew Stalin better than these two leaders of the October 1917 Revolution.)

Lenin's Testament

Comrade Stalin having become General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution . . . Dec. 25, 1922. . . .

Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us communists, becomes unsupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority — namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance. — V. I. Lenin's "Testament," presented after his death to the Council of Seniors of the 13th Communist Party Congress, May 22, 1924.

No Moral Trust

If Stalin actually was following Lenin up to his death, how then explain the fact that the last document dictated by Lenin, on the eve of his second stroke, was a curt letter to Stalin, a few lines in all, breaking off all personal and comradely relations? . . .

Lenin was not only a theoretician and technician of the revolutionary dictatorship, but also a vigilant guardian of its moral foundations. Every hint of the use of power for personal interests kindled threatening fires in his eyes. "How is that any better than bourgeois parliamentarism?" he would ask, to express more effectively his choking indignation. . . . Stalin meanwhile was more and more broadly and indiscriminately using the pos-

sibilities of the revolutionary dictatorship for the recruiting of people personally obligated and devoted to him. In his position as general secretary he became the dispenser of favor and fortune. Here the foundation was laid for an inevitable conflict. Lenin gradually lost his moral trust in Stalin. If you understand that basic fact, then all the particular episodes of the last period take their places accordingly, and give a real and not a false picture of the attitude of Lenin to Stalin. — Leon Trotsky, "The 'Suppressed Testament of Lenin,'" Dec. 31, 1932.

Stalin was elected to the post of general secretary of the party against the will of Lenin, who acquiesced only so long as he himself headed the party. But after his first stroke, when he returned to work with his health undermined, Lenin applied himself to the entire problem of leadership. This accounts for his conversation with me. Hence, too, the Will. Its last lines were written on Jan. 4 (1923). After that, two more months passed

during which the situation took definite shape. Lenin was now preparing not only to remove Stalin from his post of general secretary, but to disqualify him before the party as well. On the question of monopoly of foreign trade, on the national question, on the questions of the regime in the party, of the worker-peasant inspection, and of the commission of control, he was systematically preparing to deliver at the twelfth congress a crushing blow at Stalin as personifying bureaucracy, the mutual shielding among officials, arbitrary rule and general rudeness. — Leon Trotsky, "My Life."

Before October

For four years — the years of the revolutionary movement's resurgence in Russia, of the World War, of the international Social-Democracy's collapse, of a vehement struggle of ideas in Socialism, of laying the groundwork for the new International — it is impossible that throughout that entire period Stalin did not

take pen in hand. Yet in all that he then wrote there does not seem to be even a single line that could have been used to enhance his latter-day reputation. The years of war, the years of paving the way for the October Revolution are a blank space in the history of Stalin's ideas. — Leon Trotsky, "Stalin."

Lenin's stand at that period, that is, before April 4, 1917, when he first appeared on the Petrograd stage, was his own personal one, shared by no one else. Not one of those leaders of the party who were in Russia had any intention of making the dictatorship of the proletariat — the social revolution — the immediate object of his policy. A party conference which met on the eve of Lenin's arrival and counted among its number about thirty Bolsheviks showed that none of them even imagined anything beyond democracy. No wonder the minutes of that conference are still kept a secret! Stalin was in favor of supporting the Provisional government of Guchkov and Milukoff, and of

merging the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks. . . . I arrived in Petrograd a month after Lenin. . . . By that time, the situation in the party had changed substantially. Lenin had appealed to the masses against their sorry leaders. . . . Stalin silently stepped aside. Not one of his articles written about that period shows that Stalin made any attempt to estimate his previous policy and win his way to Lenin's stand. He simply kept silent, because he had been too much compromised by his unfortunate leadership during the first month of the revolution. He preferred to withdraw into the background. . . . During the most responsible months of the theoretical and political preparation for the uprising, Stalin simply did not exist, in the political sense. — Leon Trotsky, "My Life."

Role in Revolution

The biographer, no matter how willing, can have nothing to say about Stalin's participation in the October Revolution. Nowhere does one find mention of his name — neither in documents nor the numerous memoirs. In order somehow to fill the yawning gap, the official historiographer implies his participation in the insurrection by connecting the insurrection with some mysterious party "center" that had presumably prepared it. However, no one tells us anything about the activity of that "center," the place and time of its sessions, the means it employed in directing the insurrection. And no wonder: there never was any such "center." — Leon Trotsky, "Stalin."

Stalin had to have practically twenty years to impose upon the country a historical panorama, in which he replaced the actual organizers of the insurrection and ascribed to them roles as the Revolution's betrayers. It would be incorrect to think that he started out with a finished plan of action for personal aggrandizement. Extraordinary historical circumstances invested his ambition with a sweep startling even to himself. In one way he remained invariably consistent: regardless of all other considerations, he used each concrete situation to entrench his own position at the expense of his comrades — step by step, stone by stone, patiently, without passion, but also without mercy! It is in the uninterrupted weaving of intrigues, in the cautious doling out of truth and falsehood, in the organic rhythm of his falsifications that Stalin is best reflected as a human personality and as the leader of the new privileged stratum, which, by and large, has to concoct fresh biographies for itself. — Leon Trotsky, "Stalin."

Heads Bureaucracy

In 1923 the situation began to stabilize. . . . It was then that Stalin began to emerge with increasing prominence as the organizer, the assigner of tasks, the dispenser of jobs, the trainer and master of the bureaucracy. He chose his men by their hostility or indifference toward his various opponents and particularly toward him whom he regarded as his chief opponent, the chief obstacle in the path of his progress upward. . . . As the life of the bureaucracy grew in stability, it generated an increasing need of comfort. Stalin rode in on the crest of this spontaneous movement for creature comfort, guiding it, harnessing it to his own designs. He rewarded the most loyal with the attractive and advantageous positions. He set the limits on the benefits to be derived from these positions. He hand-picked the membership of the Control Commission, instilling in many of them the need to ruthlessly persecute the deviators. At the same time he instructed them to look through their fingers at the exceptionally extravagant mode of life led by the officials loyal to the General Secretary. — Leon Trotsky, "Stalin."

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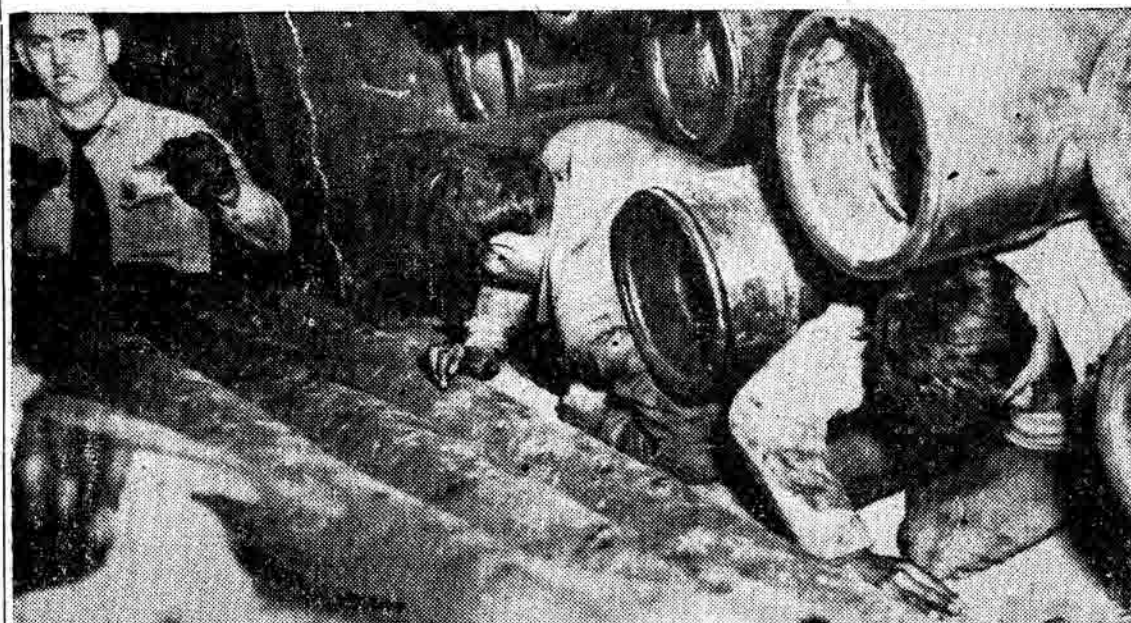
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Workers Caught in Steel Trap



Ysidro Lopez and Ramon Gonzales, Mexican workers riding the freights in search of farm work, are shown trapped beneath shifting load of steel pipe in freight car at Los Angeles yards. Their screams brought rescuers who had to use acetylene torches to cut the men free. A third worker, Manuel Ortega, suffered broken arm and possible fractured ribs. Their plight highlights conditions of agricultural workers who must travel thousands of miles in search of temporary jobs.

Stalin's Policies Face the Verdict of History

By Harry Frankel

A few months before his death, Stalin explained to an astonished world that the coming years will be far more likely to produce an inter-imperialist war than a combined attack of the imperialist powers upon the Soviet Union. This final and disgraceful error is the fitting epitaph to the man who has disoriented and betrayed the world working-class movement for more than a quarter of a century.

It is fitting in many ways. First, it shows the confusion which inheres in the thinking of the Soviet bureaucrat who incessantly looks for ways to cheat history. Second, it shows the longing of the bureaucracy for a return to the situation of the period between the two World Wars, when rifts within the imperialist camp made a policy of maneuver and deal possible for the bureaucracy. Third, it shows the hope that the final world showdown between capitalism and socialism can be postponed indefinitely, and with this postponement, the life of the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy indefinitely prolonged. The reactionary and utopian character of Stalinist thinking is fully revealed by what was really a dying wish of the leader of bureaucrats.

Stalin's role in history after 1923 was that of the leader of adaptation to Russian economic backwardness, to the stagnation of the world class struggle, to the defeat of the proletariat and to the pressure of a growing Soviet bureaucracy. This adaptation culminated in the triumph of a parasitic caste in the Soviet Union, a caste which could not destroy the revolution, but which could betray it.

TRIES TO FREEZE HISTORY

Thus the entire Thermidorian work which Stalin carried on may be summarized under a single heading: an attempt to freeze history at that juncture which made the growth of the bureaucracy possible and its removal difficult. For this purpose he directed blows against all who threatened the status quo, both on the left and on the right.

This was the self-contradictory character of Stalin's rule. But even the specific actions of the Stalinist bureaucracy were carried out in a mixed and contradictory way. Thus the blows against the left, against the workers' movement and the Marxist vanguard, while utiliz-

ing the methods of the worst reactionary tyrannies, sometimes borrowed from the arsenal of the left itself. It is well known how Stalin often adopted, in a distorted form, demands of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, only then to redouble the struggle against it.

Similarly, the moves against imperialism bore an inherently progressive character insofar as they defended the new social order. But even here, the means adopted were those that could be least circumscribed and controlled so as to limit them from going too far and furnishing an arena for the development of left tendencies that could destroy the bureaucracy.

This precarious policy of balancing can be illustrated in a thousand ways. Stalin hounded and legalized the Trotskyist Left Opposition, only to turn next against the Bukharinite right wing which he had yesterday used against the left. He flung to the rich peasants the right-wing slogan "Enrich yourselves," but was soon afterwards to incorporate those riches into collectivized farm property.

He posed as a "friend of the peasant" but then launched civil war in the villages in the forced collectivization campaign. He scoffed at the proletarian proposals for industrialization, only to embark upon a bureaucratized policy of industrialization soon afterwards. He approached industrialization with excessive timidity only to yield to adventurous gambles which disorganized the economy.

Stalin banished Trotsky from Russia, only to study with care the illegal Bulletin of the Left Opposition, and to adopt, in Stalinized form, criticisms and proposals of the exiled Trotsky, particularly on the knotty problems of economic policy during industrialization.

During the war, Stalin released former opponents from the jails in order to employ them in important national posts, but at the same time conducted the war under reactionary slogans of national defense a la Kutuzov and Suvorov. He brought to the fore the notorious Professor Ustrialov, who advocated capitalist restoration in the USSR, and put him to work writing articles in a bourgeois-nationalist vein in the Moscow newspapers, but at the same time he made no steps towards capitalist restoration.

On the field of world politics, the inherent contradiction of

Stalinism becomes most clear. Churchill announced during the war that he did not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British empire, but preside he did, willy-nilly, over just that process. Stalin, in reverse, often announced his intention not to preside over any movement of extension of the Soviet world, but his personal reactionary determination had even less effect on history than that of Churchill.

Stalin sought to free history at its mid-Thirties point by transforming the Communist International from an instrument of revolution into an instrument of the status quo. But, in the process of defense of the nationalized economy and of the bureaucracy's place within it, the Soviet Army delivered a series of crippling blows to capitalism in one-third of Europe.

REVOLUTION CONTINUED

Stalin, apostle of the status quo, came to power in an arena embracing 150 million people, but wound up in an arena of 800 million. He invented and proclaimed the theory of "socialism in one country" but within his own lifetime the revolution had spilled over into more than a half-dozen countries. This is the most impressive demonstration of the action of the revolutionary dialectic in history.

Despite warnings from Stalin and despite his betrayals, the Yugoslav and Chinese Communist parties were carried by the swelling tide of popular revolt to the crests of power in a way that they themselves do not fully understand to this day. With all his warnings and betrayals, Stalin could not halt the course of history, although he did manage to seriously impede and distort its course at a number of important junctures.

Stalin drove out Trotsky and banned his ideas, but found that despite this he still had to live in a Trotskyist world. The revolution proved to be "permanent" as Trotsky predicted in his most famous theory. The theory which Stalin counterposed to that, "socialism in one country," is an empty myth of the past, of interest only to investigators into the crude mistakes of the parvenu bureaucracy which ousted the revolutionists from power and destroyed the Bolshevik party. Moreover, as Trotsky pointed out, the imperialists could not be bought off by con-

cessory or betraying acts, and they assaulted the Soviet Union first through Hitler and now through a coalition of all imperialism under the lead of Wall Street. Stalin purged his opponents, but he could not purge history of its insistent "Trotskyist tendencies."

In last week's Militant, recent statistics are used to record the stupendous achievements of Soviet economy since 1929, achievements which dwarf the greatest tempos of growth under capitalism. The defense and extension of the nationalized economy, carried out by bureaucratic methods, was always conceived by the Kremlin in the framework of the conservative defense of the bureaucracy's base and existence. The great factories, mines and mills that replaced Czarist semibarbarism and desolation were intended by the bureaucracy as its rampart and the source of extended power and privilege.

But the wheel of history turned to give this great new force an independent meaning which the bureaucracy did not intend. The productive apparatus has come to be the second most powerful sector of world economy, and since it is organized on the basis of revolutionary property forms, has assumed a great social significance as a spearhead of revolutionary social transformation in the present world conflict.

VERDICT OF HISTORY

Stalin died at the peak of apparently unchallenged personal power, but the social foundation which remains contains within it the final verdict of history. For in the last analysis, the strength of Stalinism lay in the temporary cessation of the forward movement of history. With the revolutionary resumption of that forward movement in the decade since the Battle of Stalingrad which turned the military tide of battle and which also marks the turning point in the revolutionary movements of Europe and Asia, the era of the dissolution of Stalinism and its replacement by revolutionary Marxism has begun.

The signs of this are as yet slight. But Marxists reason from basic social reality, not from newspaper headlines. The social reality of our time is the extension of revolution, and this leaves no room for the expansion of labor bureaucracy, but points to its weakening and destruction.

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Imperialism's Lie About Stalin

In the years between the end of the last war and Stalin's death, the capitalist propagandists painted the Kremlin dictator as a flaming revolutionist threatening to spread embers of revolt over the globe. They depicted him as a "conqueror" on the march and waging "aggressions" everywhere. This was implied in the phrase Truman coined in 1947 when he launched the "cold war." It was to "contain Communism."

This picture of Stalin, the "World Revolutionist," threatening the fair lands of capitalist "democracy" served as the chief pretext for the vast war budget imposed on the peoples of America and Western Europe, for the North Atlantic Military alliance and the armed intervention by the U.S. in Korea. The Wall Street imperialists, themselves intent on war, found it useful to show Stalin in the role of a fanatic revolutionary crusader.

But in the immediate shock of Stalin's death, the capitalists could not fully restrain an expression of their real evaluation of him. They knew that he was a narrow, conservative bureaucrat, as fearful of revolution as they and a conscious counter-revolutionary. He had been the chief brake on revolutionary tendencies in the world labor movement and had numerous destroyed revolutions to his "credit." Hence, they met the first announcement of his death with expressions very akin to regret.

"Comparatively speaking Mr. Stalin has been regarded by Soviet experts in this capital as a more moderate influence in Soviet policy

than some of his associates in the Politburo," is the way Washington correspondent James Reston put it in the *N. Y. Times*. Michel Pablo, our European correspondent, reports in his front page article in this issue that the Western European bourgeoisie were even more open in their expressions of concern about the passing of this tried-and-trusted counter-revolutionist. The American press reported a "high British source" as saying that "as long as we knew Stalin was in full command, we could be fairly confident."

Confident of what? Confident that, contrary to their propaganda about Stalin the "World Revolutionist" and "aggressor," so long as he was alive he would try by every means at his command to come to friendly terms with the capitalist powers and that he would sacrifice any revolutionary movement ten times over to get a "peace" deal with the U.S. ruling class.

What, then, does this leave of the propaganda that the Big Business press and government officials have been trying to pump into us — the propaganda that Stalin was the source of the war danger, that he was the big threat to world peace, that he was the "aggressor" moving to conquer the world and throw us all into slave labor camps? We were fed a monstrous lie.

The threat to world peace is right here at home; the aggressor is in our midst. It is our own ravenous capitalist class seeking to save its profit system by global war.

The Logic of the Witch Hunt

Representative Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee which is currently conducting a witch-hunt in the schools and colleges, announced over a radio network on March 10 that it is "entirely possible" his committee will carry their search for "communists" within church groups and among clergymen.

He said there was a "field" for investigation in religion that would "include individual members of the cloth, including some who seem to have devoted more time to politics than they have to the ministry" and would extend to some organizations affiliated with "various churches."

This threat to smear and terrorize clergymen who dare to stand on the side of social justice and liberal ideas came in reply to Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop of the Washington area and one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches, who had dared to publicly denounce Velde's educational inquisition and to call on churchmen and educators to unite in a fight to defend freedom of education.

The immediate storm of opposition to Velde's threat from Protestant clergymen especially and from thousands of sincere church-goers brought a quick repudiation of Velde from other members of his committee. They claimed he spoke without any consultation with them and without their approval. Velde found it convenient to beat a retreat for the time being.

He said he had been "misinterpreted" and that there is no investigation of "communism" in the churches contemplated "at this time." But he did not withdraw the threat completely.

\$960 -- Less Broker's Fees

A peculiar fluctuation in the stock market caught the attention of observers when the news of Stalin's illness and death came out. This concerned foreign bonds issued years ago by the Czarist government and some issued more recently by capitalist governments in Eastern Europe and China before the overturns of those countries.

These bonds went up. For example, the Czarist bonds jumped about 25%, moving up to \$40 on a \$1,000 bond. Some capitalists apparently considered this a bargain, and bought at that price. If these bonds are ever redeemed, as their holders hope, then they can profit to the extent of \$960 per bond, or 2,400%.

Now why did they go up? Obviously not for the same reason they jumped towards the end of the war, at a time when Soviet relations with the imperialist powers were close and investors could hope for Russian payment on the bonds as a gesture of amity. The present situation is nothing like that one.

More likely, the investors decided that with Stalin gone, the prospects for a successful war against the Soviet Union have improved, and the gamble on the bonds is thus a better one.

Now we are not saying whether they are right or wrong. Stalin's removal from

the scene may temporarily create conditions which would assist an imperialist attack, or it may, in the long run, strengthen resistance to such an attack, or it may not have any appreciable effect on the situation. This is not what concerns us here. What concerns us is the mentality of the capitalist investor and his attitude towards war.

We have had many recent examples of this. War bonds (and most heavy-industrial bonds are in that class) have invariably headed downwards with every sign of slackening world tension, and leaped joyously upward every time the world moved closer to war. That has been happening with every turn in the Korean situation.

Now here is a good gamble for the investor. Invest \$40. Then all you have to do is start a world war, lay waste to half the world, kill and maim tens of millions of people, threaten all civilization with destruction, finally destroy the Soviet nationalized economy and turn that country and others back towards Czarist barbarism, and you make \$960 on the deal, less broker's fees. Of course, that isn't so much, but a dollar here and a dollar there adds up. Besides, look at the high percentage rate of profit.

That is the end result of the mentality of capitalism and investment.

By John G. Wright

TITO by Vladimir Dedijer, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1953. 443 pp. \$5.

This book tells the story of Tito's life, more than two-fifths of it in "Tito's own words." The author, Vladimir Dedijer, is a Yugoslav journalist, Tito's intimate friend for the last 14 years, a member of the wartime Partisan movement, and today one of the prominent figures in the ruling Yugoslav hierarchy.

Dedijer's book is primarily devoted to the Partisan struggle under Tito's leadership and the post-war break with the Kremlin. Herein lies its importance. A definitive history of the Yugoslav revolution still remains to be written. Dedijer's account provides a bird's-eye view of the secret history of the Yugoslav revolution and thus illuminates the consistently counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin at every decisive stage of the Yugoslav revolution.

Dedijer's narrative of Tito's formative period is sketchy and vague, perhaps deliberately so. But it is clear that the 61-year-old Yugoslav leader is a man of action, a first-rate organizer, a political and military strategist of no mean abilities. In fact, Tito happens to be the first worker-leader to take power in the history of the revolutionary movement.

A skilled worker, locksmith and mechanic by trade, he came to class consciousness when Stalinism was already dominant in the Soviet Union. He accepted Stalinism unquestioningly, joined the Yugoslav party where, he distinguished himself as a militant, serving a long prison term.

COMINTERN CHOICE

The breaking point in his career came when he was selected — as "Walter" — to serve as a functionary of the Comintern in the winter of 1934-35. Tito did not return to Yugoslavia until "toward the end of 1937." His prolonged stay in Moscow therefore coincided with the monstrous Moscow frame-ups and the vast blood purges that accompanied them. Tito, however, disclaims knowledge of these original frame-ups. "I was not in Moscow when the big purges occurred."

But he does comment that "my whole being rebelled against

what I saw in Moscow. . . . He explains his silence at the time and for many years thereafter as follows: "I saw all those things. . . . I, like many others, thought this was only a temporary internal matter which would be gradually cleared up."

At any rate, Tito found himself the beneficiary of the purges of the Thirties which involved, among others, the Yugoslavs. Toward the end of 1937, Dimitrov, then head of the Comintern, summoned Tito: "He informed me that I was appointed caretaker Secretary General of the (Yugoslav) Central Committee, which was to be entirely changed." Tito accepted.

FALSIFIED "HISTORY"

One of his first "caretaker" tasks was to translate the chief "ideological document" of the mass purge of the Thirties, Stalin's falsified "history" of the Bolshevik Party, with its forgeries sealed by the blood of this same party of Lenin. "I remained in Moscow several months. The History of the Bolshevik Party had just come off the press, and I was told to translate it and have it ready for printing. . . . We first printed this book abroad and smuggled it into our country. Later we printed three editions in Yugoslavia, but under very difficult conditions."

Periodic visits to Moscow followed. Tito went there twice during 1938 and 1939 for a "short stay." He returned from Moscow "at the beginning of 1940," after a visit of more than four months. World War II was then already on. Stalin was in alliance with Hitler. The documents of the Yugoslav CP for these years disclose that "Walter" met every requirement of his task-masters, from Stalin on down.

HITLER'S ASSAULT

Then came, first, Hitler's assault on Yugoslavia early in April 1941; and next Hitler's June 22 assault upon the USSR. In this situation the Yugoslav party issued "a proclamation to the peoples of Yugoslavia to rise in revolt against the German, Italian, Hungarian and Bulgarian invaders." This was done on Tito's initiative. The Yugoslavs were the only ones in the whole of Europe to organize an uprising in the face of Hitlerite invasion. This initiative led to entirely unexpected developments, both for the Kremlin and for — Tito.



MARSHAL TITO

For it immediately posed the question of power, the question of who shall be the master of the country? "Among the old political parties, all was silenced. Most of the leaders had escaped with the King; those who remained either watched the German actions passively or collaborated in the looting of the country." "That meant," concluded Tito, "that the former civil authorities should be destroyed and replaced by a new, people's authority."

Wherever the Partisans went, National Liberation Committees, the organs of this new state power, were formed. This was dictated by the needs of the struggle. This fateful decision to struggle for "a new, people's authority" determined the future course of Yugoslav events. The struggle against the invader became at the same time the civil war for mastery over Yugoslavia. It led first to collisions and later to a showdown with the Kremlin.

STALIN'S SABOTAGE

Stalin tried to sabotage the Yugoslav revolution in every conceivable way, including the imposition of a news blackout on what was really happening in Yugoslavia. In the first and most critical period "Soviet" propaganda never mentioned the partisans, although Stalin received daily reports on the situation in Yugoslavia, broadcast through

the secret transmitter in Zagreb."

In answer to urgent pleas, Stalin promised aid but withheld it, pleading insurmountable technical difficulties. The archives of the Royal Yugoslav government which were transferred to Belgrade after the termination of World War II prove irrefutably that Stalin's refusal to aid the Partisan in 1942 was "of a political and not of a technical nature."

"The Soviet government was at that time strengthening its relations with the Royal Yugoslav government," agreeing to raise its legation in Moscow to "the rank of Embassy." "Even in the fall of 1942 Moscow was proposing" not aid to the Partisans but "a Soviet military mission to Drazha Mihailovich, the dispatch of materiel to the Chetniks, and even joint broadcasts."

Tito was forced, on orders from Moscow, to resume negotiations with the Chetniks, after they had already attacked the Partisans. In 1942 at the Bihac Conference it was originally intended for the AVNOJ (the National Liberation Committees) "to elect a provisional government, but Moscow requested that this be done under no conditions. The idea was thus given up and the council had only the character of a manifestation."

WITHOUT CONSULTATION

When the provisional government was finally formed in 1943 and the AVNOJ formally announced "that the Royal Government in Exile had been deprived of powers and King Peter forbidden to return to Yugoslavia," it was done without prior consultation with the Kremlin. Stalin was furious. He told Dimitrov that "this is a stab in the back of the Soviet Union and the Tehran decisions."

At Yalta, on Feb. 12, 1945, Stalin divided Yugoslavia with Churchill "on a fifty-fifty basis." The coalition government of Tito-Subasic was imposed on Yugoslavia by Stalin as a direct consequence of this arrangement, concerning which the Yugoslavs were neither consulted nor informed.

The rest of the Yugoslav story is fresh enough not to require re-telling here. For details of Stalin's subsequent counter-revolutionary attempts to subjugate Yugoslavia economically and

politically, we recommend the reader to turn to Dedijer's book. The Tito experience dealt more than one blow to Stalin. Not the least of these blows was the fact that Yugoslavia confirmed the fears of Washington and London that Stalin was not in a position to deliver 100% on his secret deals. His services as an agent of imperialism could no longer bring the same high prices as before.

WHAT CANNON WROTE

The experience of China confirmed the conviction in Washington that another deal with Stalin was worth little. Did the Chinese events follow, then, a course similar to Yugoslavia?

On the basis of indirect evidence, James P. Cannon declared that this was indeed so. In his pamphlet, *The Road to Peace*, Cannon wrote two years ago: "Even in China, it was already known and is now confirmed by General Marshall in his testimony before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees on May 8, (1951) — the Stalinists agreed to enter a coalition government with Chiang Kai-shek in 1946 under conditions assuring Chiang Kai-shek a majority with personal veto power. If this deal fell through, and if the upshot in China was a mighty revolution which swept Chiang Kai-shek out of power and out of the country and brought the Stalinists into full control — it was due to the stupidity and obstinacy of Chiang Kai-shek in rejecting the handsome deal offered him, as Marshall has revealed, and wasn't the fault of the Stalinists. They didn't plan it that way. Another power so often left out of account in diplomatic deals — in this case the revolutionary masses of the Chinese peasantry — intervened and upset a balance of world power that can never be restored."

DAMAGING ADMISSION

To this we can today add the testimony of Stalin himself. In 1948, Stalin demanded of the Yugoslavs that they cease aiding the Greek guerrillas (he had traded Greece to Churchill at Yalta). The Titoites objected. Here was Stalin's answer: "We do not agree with Yugoslav comrades that they should help further the Greek Partisans. In this matter, we think that we are right and not the Yugoslavs. It is true we have also made mistakes. For instance, after the war we invited the Chinese comrades to come to Moscow and we discussed the situation in China. We told them bluntly that we considered the development of the uprising in China had no prospects, and that the Chinese comrades should seek a modus vivendi with Chiang Kai-shek, that they should join the Chiang Kai-shek government and dissolve their army. The Chinese comrades agreed here with the views of the Soviet comrades, but went back to China and acted quite otherwise. They mustered their forces, organized their armies and now, as we see, they are beating the Chiang Kai-shek army. Now, in the case of China, we admit we were wrong. It proved that the Chinese comrades and not the Soviet comrades were right. But that is not the case with you in the Balkans." Comment is superfluous.

The concluding section of Dedijer's biography deals hastily and sketchily with Tito after the 1948 break with Stalin. The developments which led to Yugoslavia's rapprochement with American and world imperialism, and to Tito's cuddling up to the Social Democrats of Europe and Asia, belong to the counter-revolutionary phase of Tito's evolution. Here, too, we have for the first time the experience of a leadership that rode to power on the crest of revolution and then permitted itself to be caught in the undertow of counter-revolution. Tito never broke with his own past completely and irrevocably. This lack of clarity, this lack of principles now points to fatal consequences for the Yugoslav revolution.

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

The Soviet Union And World Stalinism

Speaker: Myra Tanner Weiss
Candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles

The crisis over Stalin's death. A consideration of four aspects of Stalinism in the light of the developing world conflict.

Fri., March 20, 8 P.M.

FORUM HALL
1702 E. 4th St. Tel. AN 9-4953

Questions — Discussion
Refreshments

Out of Stalin's Own Mouth

By Charles Hanley

"Our epoch is, above all, an epoch of lies," wrote Leon Trotsky in his book on Stalin. "I do not think that in all of human history anything could be found even remotely resembling the gigantic factory of lies which was organized by the Kremlin under the leadership of Stalin."

Conscious falsification — of historical facts, theories and ideas, current events and developments — leap out from Stalin's writings and utterances after his rise to power.

Over and over again, for instance, Stalin reassured the Soviet people that there would be no more blood purges and that the "main enemy" Trotskyism had been wiped out. Each assurance was followed by new purges and frameup trials against "Trotskyites."

On March 28, 1930, Stalin announced: "The Party has annihilated the remains of Trotskyism. . . . But the 'remnants' continued to flourish somehow and the purges continued with mounting ferocity, climaxed by the series of infamous Moscow frameup trials from 1934 to 1938.

On March 10, 1939, Stalin was still promising: "Undoubtedly we shall have no further need of resorting to the method of mass purges." Yet at the moment of his death, his regime was engaged in a frameup purge of "Zionist agents" and "Trotskyite-Bundist-Zionist" elements.

CORRECTION

The Militant wishes to correct an error which crept into the translation of the appeal of the International Executive Committee of the 4th International against the persecution of Chinese Trotskyists by the Mao regime. The appeal appeared in the Feb. 23, 1953 Militant on page 3. The incorrect sentence, which appeared at the top of the third column, read: "The Chinese Trotskyists nevertheless will not range themselves against this leadership." The sentence should have read: "The Chinese Trotskyists nevertheless will not range themselves against this revolution."

Among those arrested on Feb. 6 of this year was a certain S. D. Gurevitch, charged with being a "veteran follower" of Leon Trotsky.

In the very midst of the monstrous purges of the thirties, Stalin told an American newspaperman on March 1, 1936: "We did not build this society in order to restrict personal liberty but in order that the human individual may feel really free. We built it for the sake of real personal liberty, liberty without quotation marks."

"LIBERATION" IN SIBERIA

Stalin has left a Soviet Union exuding the stench of the secret police and concentration camps. Millions of political prisoners have enjoyed Stalin's "liberty without quotation marks" in the remote Arctic regions of Siberia and other choice "resorts" of the Soviet Union.

The late Kremlin dictator represented as "Marxism-Leninism" the utterly anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theories of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state based on nationalized property, with the imperialist capitalist powers. These "theories" screened his hideous betrayals of the international working class.

After Hitler took power in 1933, Stalin never ceased to seek "peaceful coexistence" with Nazi Germany, for instance. He abstained from revolutionary struggle against Hitler's regime and found not many words of sympathy for the thousands of German Communists imprisoned and tortured by the Gestapo. On Jan.

UMW Battles Non-Union Owners

The United Mine Workers, with 30,000 jobless members, is trying to organize non-union strip owners who are jeopardizing wage standards won by the union through long years of struggle. Branding non-union strip owners as "free riders," the UMW is out to make them meet union conditions. As a result "there's an undeclared civil war today in Western and Central Pennsylvania," according to the Feb. 27 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

27, 1934, he spoke of relations between fascist Italy and the USSR as "indisputably satisfactory" and hinted at his willingness to come to similar friendly agreement with fascist Germany.

Stalin could say on March 1, 1936: "History shows that when any state intends to make war against another state, even not adjacent, it begins to seek for frontiers across which it can reach the frontiers of the state it wants to attack." Then he joined Hitler in September 1939 in a division of Poland and the creation of a common frontier with Germany.

TO HITLER'S "HEALTH"

While the German workers groaned under the Nazi heel, Stalin on Aug. 23, 1939 could pronounce a toast in the presence of German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, as follows: "I know how the German people love its Fuehrer. Therefore I drink to his health." To improve Hitler's health still more, Stalin handed over to the Fuehrer several German Communists who had found refuge previously in the USSR.

After Hitler's Panzer divisions had swept across the Soviet borders on June 22, 1941, Stalin then claimed that his pact with Hitler gave the Soviet Union "time to prepare" for war. When he had to explain the quick advance of the German armies over all territories west of Moscow, Leningrad and the Caucasus, Stalin said: "We did not expect an attack because of our non-aggression pact with Germany; that's why our borders were uncovered."

GERMANY CARVED UP

After the defeat of Nazi Germany, Stalin proclaimed on May 9, 1945 that "the Soviet Union does not intend either to dismember or annihilate Germany." But he joined the Allied powers in carving up the defeated nation. When, on Oct. 28, 1946, Stalin stated that "Russia considers the West frontiers of Poland permanent," those frontiers also included German Silesia and German Pomerania. In the years since the end of World War II, Stalin spread new lies about the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" between non-capitalist and capitalist countries and the possibility of building "communism" in the

Soviet Union alone. He called the United Nations "a serious instrument for the preservation of peace and international security." (March 22, 1946). The UN intervention in the Korean war and tacit support of the French attack on Indo-China have followed.

Again in 1946, Stalin announced: "I do not believe in the danger of a new war. I do not think that the ruling circles of Great Britain and the U.S. could create a capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union even if they so desired, which, however, I do not assert. . . . Communism in one country is perfectly possible."

The U.S. alone has military bases and military missions in some 60 countries on every continent completely encircling the Soviet Union and has lined up the greatest military alliance in history against the Soviet Union.

Stalin's speeches make dull reading. They are a compilation of false facts and false theories second to none in the scale of their peridy and the illusions they have sown in the world working class.

Some 200,000 railroad workers went out on a 48-hour strike March 12 in Italy, tying up all rail communications. They are demanding reclassification on their jobs in order to obtain higher pay by being assigned more highly paid positions.

Rep. Paul W. Shafer (R) of Michigan accused the Army's General Staff March 11 of engineering a scheme to set up a "Prussian-type" command system.

TWIN CITIES Sunday Afternoon Socialist Forum

Stalinism After Stalin
Speaker: V. R. Dunne
Sun., March 22, 3:30 P.M.
10 So. 4th Street
Minneapolis
Questions, Discussion
Refreshments
Admission Free

The Housing Question

By Jean Blake

In the days when Frederick Engels wrote about "The Housing Question" it wasn't complicated with the auxiliary issues of "public housing vs. private housing" and Jim-Crow housing. But the truth of his basic contention, that you can't solve the housing question under capitalism, is again hitting the reformers where it hurts.

"Reuther roars in Protest of Ike's Housing Nominee" was the headline of an article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer last week which quoted the objections of the nation's No. 1 Reformist to the appointment of Albert M. Cole to the post of housing and home-finance administrator.

"Our objection. . .," wrote the head of the CIO in a letter made public March 8 "is based on the simple and incontrovertible fact that Mr. Cole throughout his congressional career was a consistent opponent of public housing, the program he has been appointed to administer."

Reuther is right about Cole's record. No one will deny it. But he's dead wrong if he thinks it makes any difference. Cole is being appointed to kill public, low-cost housing, just as other "conservative capitalists" are being appointed to bury other Democratic reform agencies.

Reformists like Reuther and Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were in their glory in the period when the world situation permitted a policy of class collaboration. The capitalist class could afford, during the Democratic regime, to help their "friends" in the labor and Negro move-

ment keep the rank and file quiet by throwing sops to them.

Negro and labor leaders were able to point to Fair Employment Practice legislation, low-cost public housing and slum clearance projects, improvements in unemployment compensation, aid for sick and aged, and other reforms, and say:

"See the gains our policies have won! Just stick with us, boys. Turn your backs on the impractical radicals and socialists, and we'll solve all your problems. We know how to work with the bosses and the government, how to exert a little pressure in the right places, make the right kind of deals, and win substantial improvements for the masses."

But something went wrong. Eisenhower was elected. Liberals and labor collaborators were replaced with outright advocates of the Taft-Hartley law. The Republican-Dixiecrat coalition took over Congress and celebrated their victory by killing, among other things, the chances for FEP and low-cost public-housing legislation.

The reformists are on the spot. It is clear that their policies did not solve the problems of the working class as a whole or even the special problems of the Negroes. To paraphrase a well-known Biblical expression: "The capitalist government giveth and the capitalist government taketh away."

But reformists are die-hards. Next week we'll see what their policies lead to in the fight for housing reforms and against Jim-Crow housing today.

A Farmer's Reply

By Fred Hart

Last December the CIO Packinghouse Workers' newspaper carried an article on the problems and common interests of organized workers and farmers. This is not simply a theoretical subject for the Packinghouse Union, for, as the article pointed out, this union runs smack into the problem in its industry.

In many packing centers there is a large influx of farmers into the plants every fall. That is the busy season for the industry and the beginning of the slack season on the farms. The packinghouse barons encourage this influx because they believe farmers to be uninterested in, or even hostile to, unions.

Secondly, farmers are sometimes inconvenienced or economically injured by packinghouse strikes that prevent them from selling their livestock. During such strikes they usually get only the company's side of the story.

Thirdly, the anti-labor legislation that pours out of Congress is passed with the support of Senators and Representatives from rural areas.

The article points out that the farmers have many interests in common with the union. They both stand to gain by questioning the propaganda of the companies about profits, prices and the alleged "intense competition" of the industry. This company propaganda is issued not only to keep workers' wages down but to keep down the prices paid to farmers for their livestock. Similarly the record of

farm-district politicians is often as reactionary on farm legislation as on labor legislation.

The union sent this issue of its paper to a representative group of farmers. The *Farmers Union Herald* reprinted the article. In January the Packinghouse Workers' newspaper printed some letters received from farmers about the article.

All of the letters were friendly to the idea of cooperation with labor. Many pointed out that farm prosperity is dependent on the purchasing power of the workers. They urged that the union do more educational work among farmers to dispel anti-labor prejudice or indifference. One letter, however, went to the root of the matter. It pointed out that farmers go into the plants in the fall because they can't make an adequate living on the farm and that "because of their miserable low income as farmers, the wages in packing seem good in comparison."

This farmer's conclusion was as follows: "Getting down to the real objective: it is my opinion that there will be no action or any problems solved until labor and farmers quit begging and pleading with Wall Street's two old political parties, wipe the shoe polish off their chins and then build their own political party, led by labor and assisted by farmers and others. The new deal and the new dealers are political corpses, and the illusions we have about their return must be discarded."

That's mighty good seed he's planting.

Notes from the News

THAT "AMMUNITION SHORTAGE" in Korea has had some light thrown on it by a story in the *Louisville Times*. The story is an interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Garnet Dick, recently returned from Korea where he commanded an artillery battalion on the central front. He told how special "shows" had been put on for visiting U.S. politicians and other VIPs (very important people). Hundreds of rounds of artillery would be fired uselessly and at spots where the VIPs could watch them burst. "The same thing was going on all along the front," Mr. Dick said. He also told how engineer troops had to carve out six helicopter landing areas on a mountainside so that visiting Congressmen would not have to ride up to the observation posts in jeeps.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES fight in California is being stepped up by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP announces the formation this week of a California Committee for Fair Employment Practices composed of organizations dedicated to the enactment of a FEP law in California. The committee is establishing headquarters at the state capital in Sacramento. The organization is planning a two-day state-wide civil-rights mobilization for March 22-23 and the circulation of petitions seeking one million signatures in support of the fair-employment bill now before the state legislature.

MOUNTAIN OF BUTTER is being accumulated in government warehouse under the Federal price-support program. With margarine selling for around one-third the price of butter, housewives are turning to the substitute in greater and greater numbers. The government is now buying almost half the total output of butter in an effort to keep the price up. The *Wall Street Journal* estimates that in the past three months "the Federal butter hoard has grown to some 83 million pounds." Experts estimate that if the price support program is continued after March 31, it may climb to half a billion pounds by mid-summer.

TWO GEORGIA LEGISLATORS have denounced the popular musical "South Pacific" for having an "underlying philosophy inspired by

Moscow." What infuriated the two Jim-Crow practitioners in particular was the song "You've Got to be Taught," which, they objected, expressed justification of inter-racial marriage. They want a "bill" to outlaw such plays and songs. Oscar Hammerstein 2nd, librettist for "South Pacific" said the two Georgia legislators were right in thinking the song "You've Got to be Taught" was a protest against race prejudice. "It's no undercover propaganda," he said. "If they don't like it, that's too bad." The play has been sold out for its entire Georgia run.

"SCIENTIST X," as the House Un-American Activities Committee, in its cloak-and-dagger language, labelled Dr. Joseph W. Weinberg over four years ago, has been cleared of all perjury charges brought against him. Indicted on three charges linking him to subversion and espionage, Weinberg saw the prosecution drop one charge during his trial, the judge threw out a second, and the jury found him innocent on the third — falsely swearing he had not belonged to the Communist Party. After the verdict was announced, the judge informed the jury he did not approve of the verdict. Despite Weinberg's acquittal, J. L. Morrill, president of the University of Minnesota, announced that the science professor's firing still stood.

THOUGHT COLLEGE WAS FOR EDUCATION. Harold Goodman, editor of a student newspaper at New York University, has been reprimanded by college authorities for protesting the planned demolition of buildings housing three liberal-arts departments and a student dormitory. The space on the Washington Heights campus now occupied by the buildings will be taken by an armory in which students will get military training.

ALL-PUERTO RICAN 65th Regiment in Korea is being broken up and spread among other U.S. army units in Korea. The 65th Regiment came into the news recently when it was revealed that there had been mass courts martial of its men who refused to advance. It was claimed that the all-Puerto Rican outfit had been given much more than its share of combat assignments.

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New "Red" Scare Aimed At Ohio Labor

By L. Cooper

AKRON, March 4—In a front-page interview in the *Beacon Journal*, Lt. Colonel Hale of the Ohio Defense Corps (National Guard) yesterday announced that "5%" of the workers of Akron are "Communists" plotting to "stop production."

This stab at militant unionism follows a statement on the State Senate floor last week that "800" "Communists" are employed at Goodyear Tire and Rubber. The Colonel was quoted as the "original source" for this allegation during the hysterical argument for reactivating the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission. (The Senate passed the bill 27 to 2, allocating \$40,000 to the Commission, and the bill has now been forwarded to the governor.)

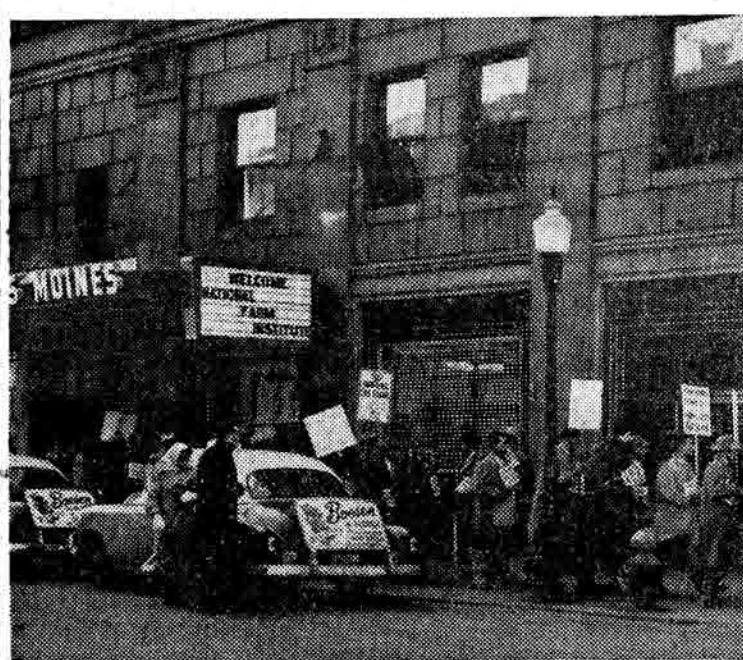
In the interview, Hale insisted that he made no such statement. He was referring to "800" men in the Ohio Defense Corps (!). "I can't deal in specific figures. That's the reason I'm sure I didn't mention any figure — 800 or any other — at that meeting."

You might assume that the Colonel would stay away from "specific figures" since he just admitted inability to "deal" in them. You've got another guess coming. Listen to what he says right after the above quote:

"I can't discuss how many Communists there are at this plant or that one. There'd be about the same percentage at Firestone or Goodrich or at one of the steel plants in Youngstown as there would be at Goodyear. There'd be about 5% of the working men, the labor force, in Summit County (mainly Akron) or in any heavily industrialized county."

"How do you tell a Communist?" the reporter next asked him. This is going to be a lulu, so hold on to your seat. "The card carrier is proud of being a Communist. He'll show you his card. He's just an ordinary guy."

What are these "ordinary guys," the "5%" up to? They are planning to bring "a little package" into Goodyear. (Where the Colonel is employed as a civilian



Picketing in zero weather, members of CIO United Packinghouse Workers and Iowa Farmers Union parade in Des Moines outside luncheon addressed by Agriculture Sec'y Ezra T. Benson. Benson refused to meet delegation carrying petitions signed by 20,000 Iowans calling for "parity support of income of livestock producers."

designer.) It'll contain "germs." "The next day there wouldn't be anybody working there. Only the Communists in the plant would have a serum to counteract the effect of the germs." (If you're a month behind in dues, do you get a shot of the serum?)

There's also the possibility, the Colonel implied, that the "top Communists" might not be able to put their hands on any "counteracting serum." In that case, the "little guys" handling the "germs" would be informed that they are "expendable." (Strikes me that there might be quite a stormy "party" meeting, just in case the "little guys" figure they're not "expendable.")

The Colonel's fantasies of course are repeats of all the vicious stuff being fed the public on TV, radio, screen and in the press. According to this propaganda, a radical or an alleged "Communist" is not out to convince people of ideas. His aim is to "contaminate the lakes" around Akron (the Colonel included this too in his interview) or to carry "little packages" of "germs" into the plants.

Such propaganda aims at blotting out free social thought. They

Farmer-Labor Unity

wish to inoculate the workers and youth with the "germs" of hysteria towards radically inclined people.

It is already evident that the Colonel's crass assault on the average union militant has backfired. This morning in the shops men were saying: "Why are they always picking on the poor working man?" "What a man thinks is his own business." And stronger remarks such as that the Colonel should be kicked in the appropriate place. Even the *Beacon Journal* in a lead editorial this afternoon, challenged the Colonel's figure of "5%," saying that the Colonel had maligned "Akron's reputation."

The CIO rubber workers in particular must keep its ranks alerted against this and similar flank attacks on its unity and vitality, and reject the police-state mind that slanders independent political thought.

Thousands of teachers in Japan went on strike in Japan March 11 as a protest against a bill classifying them as "civil servants." Purpose of the bill, they charge, is to bar them from all political activities.

AFTER STALIN -- WHAT?

(Continued from page 1)

knifed the world revolution in every possible way.

RECOGNIZED HIS ROLE

Stalin's role during the war and immediately after — in Germany, Yugoslavia, Greece, China — has not escaped them. Stalin personified the consciously counter-revolutionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy on the international arena. His genuine desire for "peaceful co-existence" along the lines of the present division of the world found a sympathetic echo among broad defeatist circles of the European bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie, on the other hand, see in Stalin's passing from the scene simply an "unexpected opportunity" (Harriman's phrase) to exploit for its own purposes the inevitable weakening of the bureaucracy that will follow upon the death of its Boss and Arbiter.

It is this last aspect, moreover, that is also of primary interest to the revolutionary proletariat. What does the disappearance of Stalin signify in regard to the equilibrium of the Soviet bureaucracy and of Stalinism? To answer this question one must have an exact understanding of the precise role played by Stalin within the Soviet bureaucracy.

He was, at one and the same time, a member of the Bonapartist nucleus which dominated and ruled this bureaucracy, and within this restricted nucleus, its boss. He was, in a word, the Bonaparte par excellence.

The Bonapartist nucleus of the Soviet bureaucracy which arbitrates its conflicts, incarnates its universal and permanent interests and maintains its unity as a social caste — strengthening or weakening this or that element or group within it — this nucleus is represented by the leading organisms of the Communist Party and of the government.

SUPREME ARBITER

"Of all these organisms, the most powerful since the 19th Congress of the Russian CP have been the President of the Central Committee and its Secretariat."

Stalin was a member of both. But outside of these organisms, he had built his own personal power — from which he derived the strength and prestige necessary for playing his principal role as supreme arbiter of the bureaucracy — on a separate apparatus of men in his personal

confidence who were placed in all the key posts of the party, the government, the police and the army.

The routine tasks of everyday administration of the party and the government had already been in other hands for a long time. Stalin, keeping watch, confined himself more and more to his role as arbiter.

His disappearance creates in reality a void for the bureaucracy which henceforth cannot be filled. This is so for two reasons: because his role could be played only by someone able to build personal power and prestige comparable to Stalin's; and because, even if the time necessary for building such power still existed, the historical conditions that favored Stalin's rise are now fundamentally different.

Stalin became the Bonaparte of the rising bureaucracy after long years of struggle, under historical conditions favorable to the triumph of the bureaucracy. Today this bureaucracy is caught between the threat of war from the imperialist coalition and the powerful international upsurge of the revolution. Its equilibrium is fractured in actuality, and will become constantly and increasingly shaky, like the equilibrium of capitalism.

The disappearance of Stalin the Bonaparte is a subjective factor that will accentuate the crisis and the decline of the bureaucracy. There will be no second Stalin — that is a primary conclusion. Stalin was unique, for the historical conditions which formed his personality and his role were unique.

It is said that he died "at the height of his glory." It should be said that he died "at the beginning of the end" of the Soviet bureaucracy and of Stalinism.

Rubber Firms To Get Hand Out

Synthetic rubber plants built by the government during the war at a cost of some \$500,000,000 to the taxpayers are to be auctioned off to highest bidders, according to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Involved are 29 plants capable of producing 860,000 long tons of general-purpose rubber and 90,000 tons of butyl rubber a year.

Politicians Push N.Y. Rent Gouge Despite Protests

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, March 9 — In the face of opposition so widespread that it has even penetrated its own ranks, the Republican majority of the N.Y. State Legislature is pre-

paring to ram through a new rent gouge. Their proposed bill will mean a 15% rent increase for a million and a half tenants. Almost one million New York city residents will be affected.

As CIO leaders met here to mobilize their membership in opposition to the proposed law, Harold Garno, Secretary-Treasurer to the State CIO Council, released a statement charging, "There is no justification for this Republican move to kill rent controls, other than their efforts to pay off their obligations to the real estate interests for their contributions in the recent campaign."

Drafted for the Republicans by T. Mallory Stephens, a director of the City Title Insurance Co., which controls enormous real-estate holdings throughout the state, the bill provides for an automatic 15% increase for all tenants who have not already paid a "voluntary" 15% increase. For those who conceded to "voluntary" increases amounting to less than 15%, it will mean an increase up to 15%.

Under another provision landlords are permitted an additional increase up to 15% to assure

them a 6% return on the value of their property in place of the present 4%. This will mean a 30% hike for thousands of families.

The bill also authorized landlords to pass on to tenants any increases in real estate taxes incurred after Jan. 1, 1953. The bill also would decontrol vacancies as they occurred in one- and two-family houses.

In its customary fashion, the real-estate lobby, in drawing up the bill, has seen to it that their own are properly taken care of. The bill provides that "luxury" apartments, that is those in the high-rental bracket, shall remain under the existing controls, with any increase barred.

So crass is this proposed new real-estate grab that seven New York City Republicans, obviously concerned with the reaction of their electorate, have felt compelled to come out against it. In an embittered statement, one Republican legislator charged, "Mallory (a former Assemblyman) doesn't have to face the voters any more. All he's got to worry about is his dairy, fuel, and title insurance interests."

LACKAWANNA WORKERS STRIKE OVER SPEED-UP

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, March 6 — The strip mill, the largest single unit of the giant Bethlehem Steel Corporation in Lackawanna, N. Y., is cold and damp. This entire plant which is located on the outskirts of Buf-

falo holds 17,000 men. Approximately 2,500 strip-mill workers, independent of the CIO United Steelworkers leadership and defiant at the ruthless policies of the corporation, took matters into their own hands Monday evening March 2. At 7 PM they walked off their jobs.

The walkout was led by the cold-mill men to demand action to settle a number of grievances which have gathered dust in the offices of the International. The grievances centered around speedups on all the units, where the company had planted supervisors among small groups of men to whip them into faster operations. Besides this, management had burdened the men with additional work outside their regular described jobs without any increase in pay.

The situation became intense Monday morning when management called in one of the men on the cutting line units and accused him of carrying out a conscious slow-down. They threatened to fire him if he didn't knuckle down to the severe pace. Following this they called in men from each of the units and handed them the same ultimatum. The angry men decided to walk off the job. By Tuesday, the walkout had spread across the street to the hot-mill. The slab-yard crews that feed the steel slabs into the furnaces for rolling had been complaining for a long time of speedups. Without any word from the union leadership, these militant workers decided it was time to act. The main artery of the hot-mill was now cut. No steel slabs, no rolling.

The action now shifted to the production men in the hot-mill proper where the heated steel slabs are rolled into sheets and coils of steel. Confusion reigned here as to what course to follow. Al Mahoney, President of Local 2604, taking his cue from the International had nothing to say to the men. Stewards and grievance men threw up their hands. The rank and file were on their own. The men gathered in small numbers to hammer out a plan of action.

Out of the huddles came a mixture of thoughts. "What the slab yard does is none of our business." "Why doesn't the union take the lead?" "Let's go out with the slab yards, we've got the same gripes." One fact they all agreed upon. They had grievances of their own to fight. The die was finally cast by the majority in favor of going home.

The only remaining section of the mill left was the finishing end of the mill where the steel is sheared, trimmed and inspected for final shipment. Here too, the lack of a clear-cut policy by the union leadership left the men up in the air. The men worked on some turns and stayed home on others. The seven-to-three, and the three-to-seven worked, while the eleven-to-seven stayed home.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on Religion: Its Origins, Evolution and Future

Speaker: Duncan Ferguson
Fri., March 20, 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market Street