

THE CREEPING WITCH-HUNT DISEASE

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Union Democracy Under Attack by Reuther in UAW

By C. Thomas

ATLANTIC CITY, March 24 — The Fourteenth Constitutional Convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers opened here last Sunday with the program of the Reuther administration already

outlined in advance at a series of pre-convention conferences. These conferences, actually caucus meetings of administration supporters, were organized to carry through this program at the convention.

The main objectives of UAW President Walter P. Reuther were:

(1) To divert the attention of the auto workers from their most immediate and pressing problems by dazzling them with the promise of economic security through the establishment of a guaranteed annual wage clause in the next union contract.

(2) To ward off opposition criticism by launching a fierce offensive against the leadership of Ford Local 600 which has spearheaded the opposition attack against the Reuther administration.

(3) To strengthen the bureaucratic apparatus and thereby further weaken union democracy and control of the union leadership and policies by the rank and file.

(4) Last, and by no means least, to further the foreign policy of the U.S. State Dept. by helping to extend and intensify the fight against "communism" on the international arena.

CAREFULLY STAGED

The convention was carefully staged to achieve these objectives. Visiting dignitaries played assigned roles, and the timing and content of their speeches were tailored to meet Reuther's needs.

Thus, the convention's action on Reuther's international policy resolutions was preceded by an address by Dr. Ralph Bunche, United Nations Director of the Department of Trusteeship, a talk by Ernst Reuter, Mayor of West Berlin, and an agitational harangue by Victor Reuther, CIO representative in Europe just returned from abroad. They all helped whip up anti-communist sentiment.

Victor Reuther related the difficulties he faced, especially in

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ROBERT E. MORGAN

SWP Candidates In Los Angeles Score Korea War

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, March 22 — The Socialist Workers Party program against the witch hunt and for withdrawal of American troops from Korea reached an estimated 75,000 people here when Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for mayor on the SWP program, appeared March 15 on TV station KNBH along with her four opponents. The interviews with the candidates will continue over the same station for the next three Sundays.

Robert E. Morgan, running mate of Mrs. Weiss as the candidate for the Board of Education on the SWP platform, is also stepping up his campaign. He is appearing before an increasing number of unions and other bodies to present the socialist point of view.

In her TV interview, Mrs. Weiss clearly revealed her great superiority over the other mayoralty candidates. All five candidates were asked the same questions but were placed in different rooms so they did not know each other's answers. The questions related to smog control, the inadequate transit system, done traffic and the proposal to increase the mayor's salary. While the other four candidates offered only to set up more committees to investigate the first three problems, the SWP candidate exposed the role of Big Business and showed how its financial interests were involved and prevented a solution of these problems.

On the question of salary raises, the others hedged, but were obviously in favor of raises for themselves, since they hoped to be elected. Mrs. Weiss strongly advocated reduction of salaries of public officials to the pay level of average workers.

ANNUAL WAGE

A speech by guest speaker David J. McDonald, president of the CIO United Steel Workers union, was intended, first, to scotch the rumor of an impending

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Chicago Takes Lead In Militant Sub Drive

The first week of the Militant subscription campaign closes with a gain of 51 six-months subs and 29 one-year subs. Even better results are expected as the campaign gets underway and picks up speed in the areas where comrades got off to a slow start due to bad weather and other unavoidable delays.

Chicago Militant salesmen are at the top of the list this week with 806 points. The Twin Cities follow closely with 728 points, and New York is third with a score of 468. (The scoring system gives 52 points for a one year sub, 26 points for a six months sub, and one point for each single copy.)

Ray M. of Minneapolis is the pace-setter so far in the campaign with 210 points to his credit. Howard A. of Chicago runs him a close second with 208; and Bob H. also of Chicago, has 187 points.

Literature Agent Jacki Booth describes some of the activity of the Chicago salesmen which has put them in first place. "All of the comrades are active and enthusiastic," she writes, "each developing a mode of operation they are most comfortable in, such as door to door work in projects, etc. The response of subscribers also has been encouraging, some wanting to know why we haven't been around sooner."

"One comrade has suggested a selling point that has been overlooked — when you buy a sub to The Militant you are also buying an 'in' to social functions, picnics, lectures, educational, etc. Another point is going back on a route, visiting those people who bought single copies each week, and eventually leading up to the sale of a sub."

St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred Nelson writes, "The

Guatemala: 8-Year Revolt Moves Left

By Harry Frankel

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee just before he took office as Republican Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles gave clear expression to Wall Street's haunting fear of the colonial people we are calling ourselves the Classy Strugglers, our team name. Other publicity for the campaign includes a beautiful large score-board designed by Ray of Minneapolis for the Minnesota headquarters, with thermometers for each team registering the points and a listing of the pace-setters."

Dan Roberts reports Seattle's first results in the campaign. He writes, "We went out last Sunday on house to house work and on recall. Melba, Clara, and I sold 11 Militants in a white working class neighborhood. Melba and Clara got very good responses and plan to keep going back each week to the same people as well as continued 'mining' of the territory. George sold six copies in another district and has several possibilities for subs. He also sold nine copies at his regular station at Shorters forum. The great gains

"Well," Dulles continued, "if we don't look out, we will wake up some morning and read in the newspapers that there happened in South America the same kind of thing that happened in China in '49."

MAY GO LIKE CHINA

"Well," Dulles continued, "if we don't look out, we will wake up some morning and read in the newspapers that there happened in South America the same kind of thing that happened in China in '49."

Latin America may go the way of China! That is the fear that is beginning to hover over U.S. capitalist heads. The great gains

of peasant and worker revolt, the clear-cut signs of the spread of mass radicalization under left leadership, the signs of the process of permanent revolution moving from one stage to the next are responsible for this fear. Two particular cases where the revolution has advanced further than anywhere else in Latin America, Bolivia and Guatemala, raise these fears to extreme alarm.

In Bolivia, a revolutionary movement based upon the tin miners and led by the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party, section of the 4th International) is lifting that country out of the ageless muck of semi-feudal tyranny toward a socialist future. In Guatemala, an agrarian revolt allied with the city working class, and led by an unstable combination of capitalist liberals and the Communist Party, is going through protracted first stages of a colonial revolt intermixed with revolt against a semi-feudal land system. It is this revolt which we shall undertake to describe and analyze in the following series of articles.

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The present Guatemala Revolution began in 1944. Guatemala is

a semi-colonial land of about 3 million inhabitants, the most populous of the Central American states, which depends for its livelihood chiefly upon the cultivation of coffee and bananas. The nation has been dominated by foreign capital in the form of German capitalists, who prior to the last war controlled more than one-third of coffee production, and three giant American corporations, the United Fruit Co., International Railways of Central America which is a United Fruit subsidiary, and American & Foreign Power. These three companies account at present for almost all direct foreign investment in Guatemala. They operate under concessions that were given to them by old-time dictators which they dominated, allowing them extremely low taxes or in some cases no taxes at all. The Int'l R'ways Co., for example, has an extremely loose operating concession that is due to run until 2009 A.D.

UFCO AMBASSADOR

The United Fruit Company, giant exploiter of the nation, in 1951 pulled down a net profit, after taxes, equal to one-third of

its investment! At this rate the Guatemalan people could consider themselves quits with the company after 3 or 4 years, but that company has been riding their backs for more than 50 years. A 1935 book called "The Banana Empire," co-authored by a man who had been a UFCO executive for 16 years and would be in a position to know, said "this powerful company has throttled competitors, dominated governments, manacled railroads, ruined planters, choked cooperatives, domineered workers, fought organized labor, exploited consumers." UFCO is so powerful that in the event of a strike it can and does blockade the nation, like a state power. It owns the docks, railroads and shipping facilities that connect Guatemala with the outside world. Samuel Guy Inman, a journalist, reports that the last President of Guatemala, Juan Jose Arevalo, told him that "you have not had here ambassadors of the United States but ambassadors of the United Fruit Company."

AN EXPLOITED PEOPLE

The population of Guatemala according to racial divisions consists of 65% Indians, 31% mes-

tizos — mixed Indian and white — 3% Negroes and 1% whites. The Indians have been subjected to severe exploitation in the form of virtual peonage. The land that was once theirs is now owned largely by persons who have grown rich from the Indians' labor. The Indians . . . have been and to a certain extent still are considered chattels." (N. Y. Times, June 7, 1951.) Three-quarters of the population lives from agriculture, but only 2% of the people owned almost three-fourths of the land before the start of the present land reform.

Almost half the total farm population are farm laborers, not farm owners. More than 20% of these are children under fourteen, more than 22% are women. The average weekly consumption of food per farm worker has been only about a pound of beans, one-fifth of a liter of milk, and half an egg. The biggest part of the population was kept totally illiterate by the dictatorships that ruled the country up to 1944. The present Guatemala ambassador, Dr. Guillermo Toriello, in a speech this February, described the condition of the farm population under General Ubico, the last of

NO "WEATHER MISSION"

The Senator gave the lie to the story that the U.S. plane had been so close to Soviet territory on a "weather mission" and asserted: "That reconnaissance bomber just was not there on weather business." He added that "the Russians appear to have been discreet in warning it off. Had we done the same thing to a Russian plane 25 miles off the coast of California it would have been considerate treatment indeed."

He accused the Air Force of trying to represent the incident as an act of Soviet "aggression" and said the Air Force "was guilty, in effect, of waging psychological warfare on the people of the U.S."

It is against this background of war provocations and threats of intensified war in the Far East that we must view Eisenhower's latest "peace" talk and maneuvers. The events throw grave suspicion on the motives of the generals and business men running Washington even if a "peace" meeting between U.S. and Soviet leaders should eventually.

The American people can have not one iota of confidence in the peaceful intent of the Eisenhower regime. The only way to ensure a stop to the Korean war, as Eisenhower promised, is to raise an irresistably powerful organized popular demand: Withdraw the troops from Korea now.

Secret Conference Held On New Korea Offensive

Stay Eviction In Kutcher Housing Case

NEWARK, March 23 — Superior Court Judge Walter J. Freund last Thursday issued a restraining order preventing the Newark Housing Authority from evicting tenants who failed to sign "loyalty" oaths required by the federal Gwinne amendment, pending a ruling by the judge on the constitutionality of that witch-hunt law.

The restraining order was sought by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of James Kutcher, legless veteran; his father, Hyman; and Harry L. Lawrence, a teacher. It also applies to the other tenants in federal housing projects here who did not sign the oath certifying that they and their families do not belong to any group on the U.S. Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist.

Judge Freund's restraining order was issued three days after the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a request for a special federal court hearing on the constitutionality of the oath. The request was made by the International Workers Order, one of the groups arbitrarily included on the Attorney General's list.

The effect of the Supreme Court action was to send the case back to the state courts in New York for decision before it can be heard by the federal courts. The pretext for this delay is that the oath is supposed to be enforced by local housing authorities.

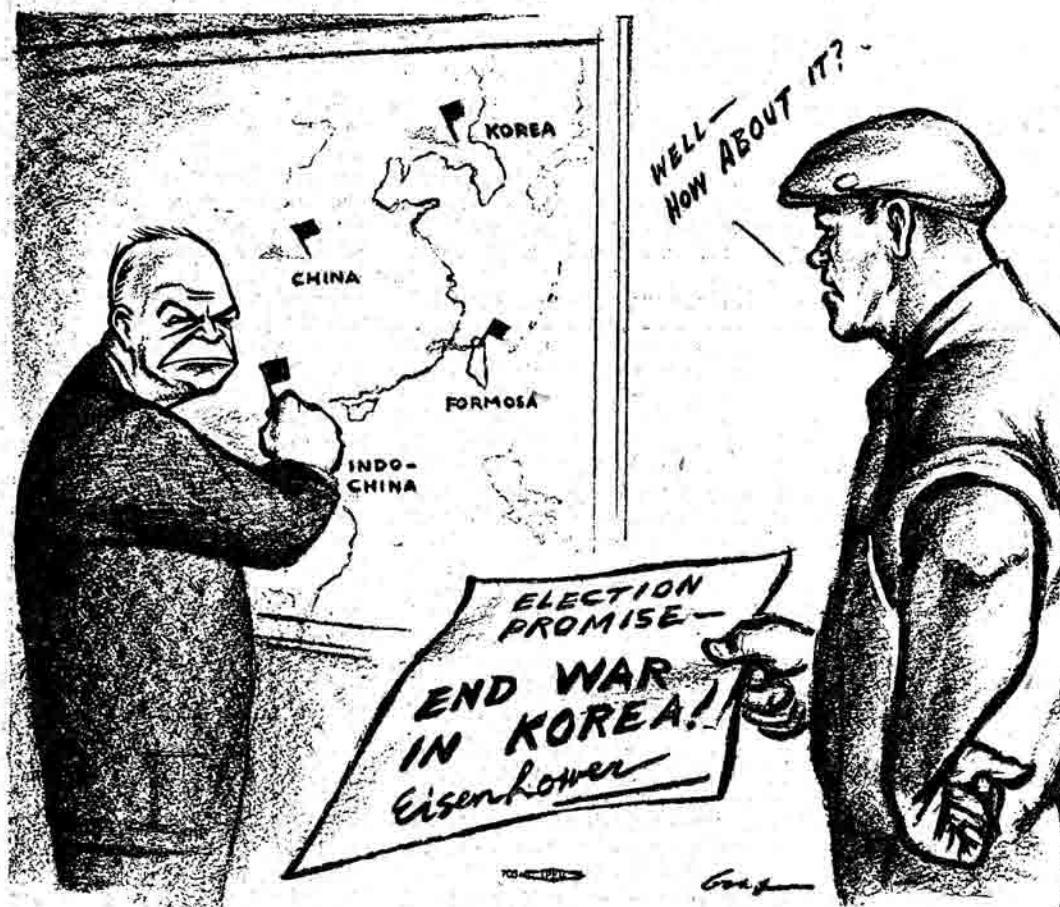
Since the Kutcher-Lawrence case is already before a state court, it is most likely to become the first to reach the federal courts and to serve as the precedent for all federal housing projects.

However, there is no telling when Judge Freund will make his ruling on the constitutional issue, which he said he will not consider until the tenants have shown in court that the threat of eviction came from their failure to sign the oath.

The whole city of Newark knows that this was the reason for the eviction notices. But the Newark Housing Authority took the position that it has the right to evict at any time and for any cause that it chooses, and that it happens to want to evict the Kutchers and Lawrences entirely aside from their stand on the war. This legalistic film-flam may delay the constitutional ruling further.

Workers of the U.S. well know that by fighting for the defense of the Bolivian revolution, since it is a national liberation movement, they are fighting for their own emancipation.

We ask the American workers to mobilize in order to neutralize the reactionary pressure exerted by the Eisenhower government upon the new Bolivian Government, product of the first victory of the exploited. The Eisenhower government, representing the big trusts interested in unleashing the Third World War, seeks to destroy the nationalization of the mines and to continue the persecution of the left revolutionary



BOLIVIAN WORKERS PARTY GREETS N.Y. SOLIDARITY MEETING; ASKS AID

NEW YORK, March 26 — The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party today received a message of greetings from the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Bolivia to be read at a meeting tomorrow night called to express solidarity with the revolution of workers and peasants in Bolivia. The text of the message is as follows:

An end to the economic sabotage of the Bolivian revolution! A final end to the diplomatic pressure by the puppet government of imperialism!

Finally, the POR sends its fraternal greetings to the self-sacrificing fighters of the SWP, the genuine and sole revolutionary vanguard of the American workers!

Down with Yankee imperialism! Long live the final victory of the Workers and Peasants! Long live the international proletariat!

we ask the workers of the U.S. to fraternize with the exploited Bolivians and to fight with us to destroy imperialism which threatens to drag humanity into the most brutal slaughter and barbarism.

That Eisenhower hasn't the slightest plans or prospects for ending the Korean war is further confirmed by Gen. Mark Clark, U.S. Commander in the Far East, who on March 20 said flatly there are "no indications" — "none whatsoever" — of an early end to the fighting in Korea.

INDO-CHINA WAR

Instead, Gen. Clark's visit to Indo-China last week raised the grave threat of more active U.S. participation in the Indo-China war. Clark said that his forces in Korea and the French in Indo-China are fighting "one war." His mission to Indo-China is of the "highest importance," reported the N. Y. World-Telegram, because "Washington rates the French war strategically equal to Korea . . . the potential U.S. commitment there is as great as the actual one in Korea . . ."

While these secret war discussions and moves are afoot, U.S. war provocations are becoming flagrant. Gen. Ralph E. Flinders (R. Vt.) has flatly accused the Air Force of giving the American people a "false report" on the incident involving an exchange of shots between an American and a Soviet plane just 25 miles off Russian Kamchatka.

NO "WEATHER MISSION"

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America's Future Under the Workers' Rule

By James P. Cannon

The following is the second half of a lecture, the fifth in a series on "America's Road to Socialism," given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, Jan. 16, 1953. The first half of this lecture appeared in last week's *Militant*.)

The aim of the workers government from the very start will be to increase production, eliminate waste and improve the living standards of the people. And it will have to make good on this solid, practical ground. It will not be enough to say in government bulletins: "The new regime is morally superior to the old one. The new officials are more honest than the others." All this will be perfectly true, but, by itself, will not suffice. The new regime will stand or fall, like all social systems in history, by this basic criterion: Does it raise and improve the productivity of labor, or does it turn it backward? The new regime will have to "deliver the goods."

The American people will not be satisfied with official propaganda. They are from Missouri and they will say: "Show me. They will want better homes and furniture; more and better food and clothes; more tickets to good shows and circuses. Every citizen will want his own automobile and a good five-cent cigar; maybe also, for all I know, a better supply of fine wines and liquors."

The Waste of the Profit System

What are the results of this system, which Marxists call the anarchy of capitalist production?

One result is wasteful competition. Another result is the preservation of obsolete machinery and methods, and the suppression of patents. Twenty years ago the Technocrats exposed the shocking fact that some of the most important patents for labor-saving methods and new processes are locked up in the safe of corporations. They bought the patents and suppressed them in order to prevent the development of more efficient methods by competitors which would render some present methods and products obsolete and reduce the profits they now make.

Consider the waste represented by the profits that go to non-producers, social parasites. That is absolute waste. All the huge share of the product of American labor that goes to non-producers in the form of profits — the "surplus product" of labor for which no useful service is rendered — is all pure waste.

That's not all. Consider the waste of militarism and war. Just think of it! Sixty billion dollars a year wasted on the military budget at the present time, under the present system, which they say is the best in the world and the best that can ever be. Sixty billion dollars a year, wasted on military apparatus and preparation for war.

There is the waste of advertising, which is not only direct waste, but also irritation, which is another form of waste. You get so mad listening to the phoney commercials that it makes you nervous, sets you to quarreling with your wife and undermines your efficiency on the job. That's waste of human energy.

I would say, only ten percent of advertising is useful — that ten percent which comprises announcements, explanations of new processes and so on, which will be used under the new society. The other 90 percent of advertising is devoted to lying, ballyhoo; faking and conning the people, and trying to get them to favor one identical product over another, or to buy something they don't need and that won't do them any good, and then buy something else to overcome the effects. That is pure waste.

And then, there's another waste connected with advertising, as with so many other non-productive occupations — the waste of human material, which really shouldn't be squandered. Just think of all the people prostituted

The new government will have to produce and deliver all that; that will be its first aim. And that's why it will nationalize industry, and reorganize production according to a unified economic plan.

Will this be superior to the present system? Will production be increased with less waste? That's for sure. After the Russian experience there can't be the slightest doubt about it. Today American industry operates blindly, without a general plan. The sole incentive for the operation of each and every factory in this country is the private profit of the owners. There's no general coordination. There's no concern about what's going on in other industries or in other parts of the same industry. There's no concern about whether the people need this or that, or don't need it. The sole driving motive for the operation of each and every individual corporation is the private profit of the owners.

The decisions on production are made, not by consumers, what the people need and want; not by the workers, what the workers would like to make; not by scientists and technicians who know best of all, perhaps. The main decisions on production under capitalism — what shall be produced, how, where and when — are made by financial magnates remote from the factories, remote from the people, whose sole motive is profit in each case.

When Marxists used to abdicate the future along these lines, there was always some wise guy to say: "Hail! Blueprint! Utopia! It can't be done!" But that's precisely what has been done in the most backward of the capitalist countries, in Russia. First they nationalized industry. Then they set up a central plan, and by means of planned economy they eliminated the wastes of capitalism and developed production faster than any other country in the world, until they became the second industrial power. And now the same thing is being done in China and in Eastern Europe. It is no longer a specula-

tion that there is a waste of such people, engaged in all kinds of useless, non-productive occupations in this present society. Advertising is only one of them. Look at all the lawyers in this country. What are they good for? Look at all the landlords, lobbyists, thieves and swindlers — the million-headed hordes of non-productive people in all kinds ofackets, legitimate and illegitimate. What are they good for? What do they produce? All that is economic waste, inseparable from the present system.

Costliest of all the results of the anarchy of capitalist production is the waste of economic crises — the periodic shutting down of production because the market has been saturated and products cannot be sold at a profit. This is what they emphatically call a "depression" — an unavoidable cyclical occurrence under capitalism.

I wonder what the future man, the really civilized man, will think when he reads in his history books that there was once a society, long ago, where the people might be hungry but there was no food to eat. The productivity of the farms, of the land, can be increased many times and there can be food in abundance for all.

There will be a great expansion of scientific and technical schools in this country where every talented youth will be entitled to go, free of charge at the expense of the state. The opportunity to acquire a scientific or technical education will not be simply a privilege of one whose father is well-to-do, but will be the natural inheritance of any talented young person who wants to pursue a line of science to serve the people.

SWP Nat'l Sec'y



JAMES P. CANNON

ment of the people's living standards.

The first condition will be to eliminate all private profits of non-producers; to eliminate all conflicting interests of private owners of separate industries; to stop production for sale and profit and organize planned production for use.

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What will the people of the future think of a society where the workers lived in constant fear of unemployment? There is hardly one sitting in this room tonight, I venture to say; there is hardly a worker anywhere who knows for sure whether he will have a job six months from now or not. He can work all his life, 40 or 50 years, and he's never free from that fear. His having a job depends, not on his willingness to work, nor on the need of the people for the products of his labor; it depends on whether the owners of the factories can find a market for the products and make a profit at a given time. If they can't, they shut down the factory, and that's all there is to it.

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Monday, March 30, 1953

The Creeping Witch-Hunt Disease

When the Ober "anti-subversives" law was passed in Maryland several years ago, The Militant warned that it would set a pattern for state laws against civil liberties throughout the country. We said that if the organized labor and liberal forces in this country did not make the most vigorous united fight against this law it would be followed in other states by similar and even worse measures. Our warning, unfortunately, has proved all too true.

Other state legislatures have been emboldened to pass laws more drastic even than the harsh Maryland police-state and witch-hunt statute. Among them is the notorious Trucks law in Michigan, on which national attention has been focused by the splendid work of the Michigan Citizens Committee against the Trucks Law. This law illustrates the trend of this type of legislation and the increasing virulence of the disease it spreads.

Now the state of Ohio, one of the key industrial areas of the nation, is threatened with a bill which makes the Maryland and Michigan measures, on which it is modeled, seem soft and gentle by comparison. Everybody who has the desire to preserve political freedom, the right of free speech, press and assembly and all other of the cherished rights of the American people should become familiar with the Ohio measure.

The mere fact that such a bill could even be introduced into a state legislature, let alone have serious prospects of adoption, is a sign of how far this country has traveled down the road to police-statism.

This bill explicitly makes mere membership in any so-called "subversive" organization a felony subject to \$5,000 fine and five years in jail. According to the wording of the bill, "No person shall become or remain a member of a subversive organization . . ."

Take note that this is not a bill against "Communism," as most laws of this type passed by other states represent themselves to be. The words "communist" or "communism" don't appear in the Ohio bill. It speaks only of "subversives" and "subversive organizations;" these are defined as groups which not only advocate, abet, advise or teach activities "intended" to "overthrow, destroy or alter" the "constitutional form" of the existing government, but which merely have the "purpose" to do so.

What a field-day it would be for the witch-hunters in Ohio if they should have at their disposal a law that enables them to throw into jail anyone they say belongs to an organization — or even a "temporary group" — which they claim has as its "purpose the alteration" of the government by "revolution, force or violence." Observe that the bill makes a distinction between "revolution" and "force and violence," so that it is unnecessary for the

inquisitors to charge "force and violence" to get a conviction.

Like all such measures, this one is purposely vague as to what acts allegedly constitute a "purpose" to "advocate, abet, advise or teach" the "overthrow" or "alteration" of the government. The police-staters can read into this any meaning they choose. The law empowers them to define its terms as they go along.

The section on joining or remaining in a "subversive" organization or "group," apart from its use as a punitive device, is calculated to intimidate members of any organizations which the witch-hunters label "subversive" and frighten them to quit. It is based on the pernicious, anti-democratic and unconstitutional concept of guilt by association.

But the bill provides for victimization of individuals who may not even be accused of belonging to an alleged "subversive" organization. It says that "no person" shall "advocate, advise or teach by any means any person" to commit or "attempt to commit" any act proscribed in the bill where such an act would constitute "a clear and present danger to the security" of the United States or Ohio.

Merely to "contribute to the support" of a so-called "subversive" organization, without being a member, would be grounds for fine and imprisonment. And if convicted of personally doing any "advocating or abetting," you could be penalized by a \$20,000 fine and 20 years in prison. You could be given this same savage sentence, if this bill is enacted, if you are charged and convicted of destroying "any books, records or files" or if you "secrete any funds" of a "subversive" organization.

This bill would not only provide for the prosecution of persons belonging to "subversive" organizations or themselves charged with "subversive" acts, it sets up elaborate machinery — a permanent inquisition — on state and local levels to continuously ferret out "subversives." This machinery would be centralized and coordinated under a "special assistant attorney general in charge of subversive activities." He would be empowered to publicly smear anyone as a "subversive" and to bring criminal proceedings against anyone he defines as "subversive."

This brief outline of the main features of the Ohio bill should suffice to demonstrate to what far-reaching lengths these state witch-hunt laws are going and to drive home the imperative need for united, organized action by the defenders of civil liberties to prevent passage of laws like the Ohio bill. The activities of the Citizens Committee in Michigan might well serve as a working model of the type of organization needed in every state.

Do not wait until a bill to destroy your rights is already passed in your state. Smash it before it is passed. Unite and wage the fight as soon as the threat is raised.

By Michel Pablo

The death of Stalin opens, in a sense, a new chapter in the history of the Soviet Union and the international revolutionary movement.

When Stalin seized power 30 years ago, it could have been said that this had indeed happened "before the masses had even learned to distinguish his face" from among the other leaders who had become known and respected through the October Revolution.

It is only since then that his personality encountered the conditions for its full flowering, for shaping itself and acquiring its characteristic traits.

Every individual is a possibility, a potentiality, a process of development. It depends on the varying circumstances whether he fulfills himself or journeys to his end without self-realization. Men of action, politicians, strategists, revolutionists, all play the role which objective conditions allow and, in a certain sense, impose on them. In this sense, they do not "create history, but express and serve it."

From this point of view Stalin is incontestably an historic personage who played an historically determined role — which must be appraised if we are to have a better understanding of the new perspectives opened up by his death.

In making this appraisal, our position is the point of view of the revolutionary proletariat.

There can be no absolute objectivity on this question. The angle from which one examines and appraises a given historic personage, his role and his works, depends on the class position of the observer.

From this flows the diversity of the judgments on Stalin. For example, "Leader, friend and father of all the peoples," "Hero"; "Angel"; or "Asiatic satrap"; "the most sinister figure in history," "demon" — none of these have any meaning except as we consider the person making the judgment and the class point of view he represents. Let us begin with the appraisals by the bourgeoisie.

BOURGEOIS VIEW

The sentiments of the international bourgeoisie about Stalin interest us only as a supplementary means of emphasizing still further our own point of view on the man and his works.

In the more serious, less inflamed and more "objective" commentaries devoted to Stalin's death by the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie — especially the European bourgeoisie — their politicians and journalists, the striking thing is their praise of "his moderation," "his prudence," even "his conservatism."

Certain bourgeois organs didn't hesitate to recount openly some of the counter-revolutionary actions carried through by Stalin (the editorial, for instance, in *Le Monde*, Mar. 7).

The commentaries of the American bourgeoisie, on the other hand, emphasized particularly the "unexpected opportunity" that Stalin's death gave for the unsettling of his



STALIN

"empire" and its break-up "without war."

The dual role of Stalin is revealed by these contradictory commentaries from the two sections of the international bourgeoisie, one of which is willing, for the moment at least, to be satisfied with the status quo and "peaceful coexistence," and the other favoring heavy pressure and an offensive strategy.

SOUVARINE AND DEUTSCHER

But let us move on to other more serious appraisals of the man and his works.

These come from authors who have had a Marxist past, even a past in the communist movement of the Third International.

By far the most important and most characteristic of these appraisals, it seems to us, are those of B. Souvarine and Isaac Deutscher in their biographies of Stalin.

These two appraisals come together on one fundamental point: Each of them considers Stalinism as the organic product of Bolshevism. But whereas Souvarine finds in this consideration a reason for simultaneously rejecting Stalinism and Bolshevism as monstrous retrogressive accidents of history, Deutscher sees in Stalin "the creator of a new economy" and the pioneer of "new social techniques" — the chief and the profiteer of a tragic revolution, which bore within itself its own contradiction but which showed itself to be creative."

He compares Stalin to Cromwell, Robespierre and Napoleon. According to Deutscher, Stalin "despite all his limitations and all his faults — the limitations of an empiricist and the faults of a despot — will probably leave deeper impressions in history than any of the French revolutionary leaders left individually."

The Jacobin, Thermidorian and Bonapartist phases of the great French Revolution seem to Deutscher, in relation to the internal development of the Russian Revolution, to be combined together "in a curious fashion" in Stalinism.

On the other hand, he admits that "in its foreign policy during the Second World War, victorious Stalinism simply utilized the procedures of the former Czarist regime." (From the introduction to the French edition of Deutscher's biography.)

FAIL TO GRASP REALITY

What is the source of the weaknesses and contradictions in all these estimates of Stalin and Stalinism? It is principally the failure and incapacity to grasp the particular character of the proletarian revolution in general, and to understand the real conditions which marked the development of the Russian Revolution, the living proletarian revolution in our epoch.

The proletarian and socialist revolution is by its nature and its goals a conscious revolution, consciously directed by its leadership toward attaining these goals. It is conscious in its preparation and its birth, through the conscious role which the revolutionary party of the proletariat, and its leadership, plays in the stage preparatory to taking power and at the time of taking power.

Thereafter the revolution consciously moves on toward the achievement of its goals.

In this whole process the conscious role of the leadership, consciously dominating the laws of the objective development, is enormous. This particular char-

acterizes the Stalinist revolution.

It capitulated ignominiously the

next year, signing thereby, as it turned out, their own death sentence.

Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky

were as prominent party leaders

as Stalin. But they, too, played

Stalin's game all the while, until

he broke with them and smashed

them in 1929. They, too, capitulated and likewise ended up in the

hands of the executioners.

The defeat of the opposition

led by Trotsky turned out to be

the defeat of Lenin's party.

Stalin ended by annihilating it

defeat.

Whoever does not grasp the

conditions of the birth and rise

of this new special social layer,

the Soviet bureaucracy, and does

not relate the political phenom-

enon of Stalinism to the social

base, is inevitably doomed to com-

acter of the proletarian revolution directed by a conscious leadership differentiates it fundamentally from every other social revolution of the past.

Deutscher judges Stalin not as a conscious director of the revolutionary proletariat but as an empirical genius, practical, realistic, who at any given time knew how more or less to turn objective possibilities to best advantage. The final success of Stalin after every test seems to Deutscher as consecrating the creative and progressive character of this genius judged on a world scale. He does not see that Stalin's empiricism had precise class roots, and that insofar as this empiricism operated, it by no means exhausted the objective possibilities or took best advantage of them, but on the contrary aggravated the convulsive development of the Soviet Union and was the main organizer of so many defeats and crises which nothing previous had indicated to be inevitable. This is valid, for example, both in regard to the way industrialization and collectivization were carried through in the Soviet Union, as well as the manner of defending the Soviet Union by means of the diplomatic policy of the years 1939-1941 and following.

THE SOVIET SUCCESSES

But how then explain that the Soviet Union nevertheless did accomplish the industrialization, became the second industrial power in the world, effectively liquidated the kulaks, consolidated collectivization of the agricultural economy, won the Second World War, established an "empire"?

Doesn't this balance sheet, definitively a positive one despite the apprehensions and fears expressed on various occasions by his adversaries — doesn't this justify Stalin and his policies?

One could object, first, that the balance sheet would have been a far more positive one under a different leadership, conscious and non-empirical, in the Soviet Union. And second, that if there has been a positive balance sheet, this is due, despite the faults and crimes of Stalin, to the enormous superiority, vitality and elasticity — far surpassing the most optimistic forecasts — of the forms of production established not by Stalin but by the October Revolution.

Stalinism is the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy, determined by its special interests, expressing its special nature, and projected beyond the Soviet Union on to a part of the international workers' movement by means of the vassalage of the leadership of the Communist Parties to the Kremlin.

The point where we must give a certain measure of justice to Deutscher seems to us the following: Stalin to the very end played his Bonapartist role on the social base of the October Revolution.

This leads us to examine to the very bottom the conditions which brought Stalin to power and favored the growth of Stalinism, so as to reach a better understanding of both Stalin and Stalinism.

TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

It was Leon Trotsky who best analyzed these conditions. Using the Marxist dialectic method applied to the concrete process of the Russian Revolution, the first proletarian revolution, the living revolution in our epoch, Trotsky explained the important political phenomena of this revolution by relating them to their social base. In this way he revealed the social differentiation which took place within the Russian proletariat and Russian society after the taking of power, a differentiation which marked the development of the Russian Revolution, the living proletarian revolution in our epoch.

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The Real Meaning of Stalin and Stalinism

MILITANT SCOREBOARD

Cities

Points	Cities	Points
806	Chicago	210
728	Twin Cities	208
468	Howard A. Chicago	187
242	Bob H. Chicago	187
221	Paul Twin Cities	110
182	Harold R. New York	106
182	Irving Chicago	104
166	Sol Flint	104
130	Perry Flint	78
79	Charlie Twin Cities	78
56	Dick St. Louis	56

plete disorientation on the subject, the content is filled by the living forces of the present.

Stalin's despotism expressed the dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucracy over the whole of Soviet society. It had to be of the extremest severity, so flagrant and intolerable was the usurpation of power from the masses, and so precarious was — and still is — the social position of the bureaucracy caught between the proletariat and imperialism.

Stalin's trickery, empiricism and opportunism were the weapons of those compelled to engage in politics when they have no principled politics, no program, no line. Resting on a social base which is not autonomous, balancing between contradictory currents, without perspective and without future, they gauge their politics as "sufficient unto the day," turning abruptly whenever they find themselves — driven by forces which have little control over in their mad and blind course — at the brink of the precipices of these zig-zags.

Extreme cruelty is the refuge of despots caught in panic or rage before the growing resistance of the masses and the danger of their own fall. Stalin had not foreseen or even wished, either in 1924 or 1927, the massacre of the entire old guard of the Russian Communist Party and the October Revolution, which he carried out in the years 1936-38.

Faced with the mounting opposition of the masses in the Soviet Union, which was encouraged by the economic and cultural progress and the imminence of war, Stalin decimated all elements capable either of crystallizing the discontent of the masses or of profiting by future difficulties to overthrow him.

DuBois Conforms to a Lie

By George Lavan

It is a saddening performance that W. E. DuBois gives in the March 16 *National Guardian*, organ of what used to be called the Wallaceite Party. Dr. DuBois writes an article on Stalin's place in history and does the very opposite of those things that have made DuBois justly famous in the U.S.

DuBois' fame rests on the fact that as a historian he refused to accept the fabricated, distorted and self-serving versions of Negro history that white supremacists had put into all the textbooks and college history departments of the U.S.

In a number of books culminating in *Black Reconstruction* he exposed this official version of history and helped to show the true role of the Negro people in America.

In addition DuBois has dared to speak out in criticism of the powers that be in America. Today this is very dangerous and readers of this paper will recall that only recently vigorous protests prevented his being railroaded to prison.

But in his article on Stalin we see DuBois standing on his head. Here he uncritically accepts the official government version of history. Trotsky is condemned for his "exhibitionism" and "lying propaganda" while Stalin, who "never yielded to ostentation" and fought for "real socialism," is portrayed as the greatest benefactor of mankind in our century.

His Mother Was a --

By Fred Hart

Two weeks ago *The Militant* printed a review of the biography of Tito by his war-time secretary, the Yugoslav journalist, Vladimir Dedijer. If anyone is interested in the book I suggest he go back to that review, for, in what is to follow here, he certainly won't find anything remotely related to the contents of that book.

Another "review" of Dedijer's book has appeared. It is printed in the Feb. 27 English edition of the Cominform's newspaper, "For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy." This "review," signed by one John Smith, is in its way a gem of Stalinist literary and political methods.

John Smith devotes well over half his review to the author of the book. He starts off by literally calling him a bastard.

He charges that Dedijer's mother was a lady of easy virtue connected with the royal palace in the old days of the Yugoslav monarchy. Among the services she rendered was that of entertaining distinguished visitors. Thus "one of the guests—a visiting American—happens to be the father of her two sons—Steva and Vlado. To avoid their being an 'eyesore' in the royal household the boys were sent abroad for education at an early age. Thus Vlado Dedijer, an accidental offspring of a visiting foreigner and a lady of the court, found himself in a British school supervised by the Intelligence Service."

Since "homeless cosmopolitan" (i.e. Jew) is a favorite charge in the Stalinist ar-

The falsification of history in America, which DuBois did so much to expose, never attained the wholesale re-writing of history, burning of books and newspapers, faking of photographs, etc., that the Stalin regime engaged in. Yet it is this falsified version that DuBois accepts and on which he bases his eulogy of Stalin and Stalinism.

This man, who has risked prison by his criticisms of the powers that be in America, displays no sympathy for the hundreds of thousands of devoted socialists in the USSR who have been persecuted, tortured, put in concentration camps and executed for criticizing the monstrous Stalinist regime.

We have a recommendation for Dr. DuBois. Let him begin an examination of the official Soviet history of Stalin's career and policies and of Trotskyism in the same spirit that he began his examination of the official version of Reconstruction in this country. Let him go to the newspapers and writings of the times and other sources.

Then he will soon discover that the "greatness," "wisdom" and "real socialism" of Stalin and the "lying propaganda" of Trotsky are historically the same as the "proven inability" and "terrible excesses of Negroes during Reconstruction"—that is, they are lies disseminated officially to serve entrenched, privileged interests.

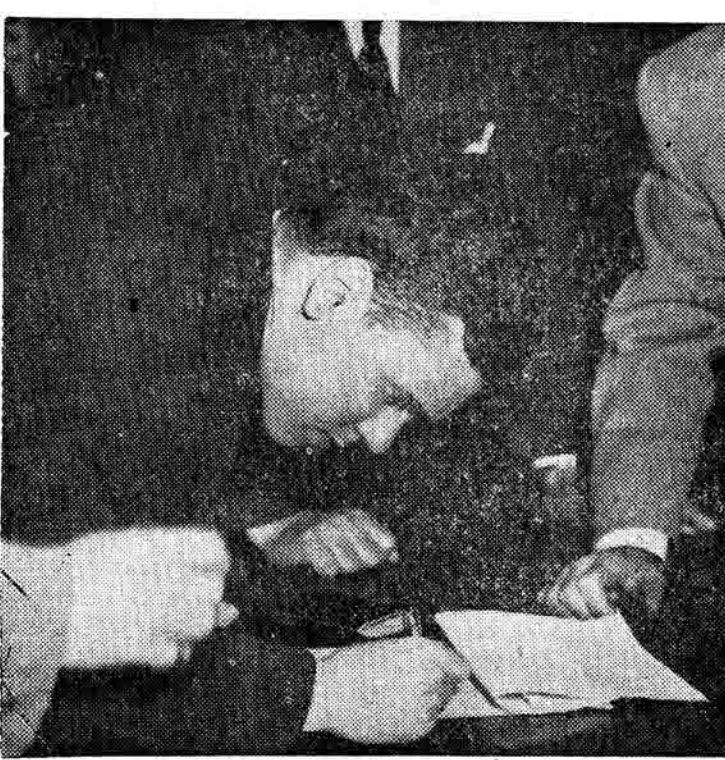
VOLUME XVII

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, MARCH 30, 1953

NUMBER 13

Indicted for Brutality



Suspended New York policeman John Brullman shown as he initials bail bond after his indictment for brutality, the first brought under the 1870 civil rights law. He is charged with unprovoked assault on subway motorman Francis Galatis, whose case is being fought by the CIO Transport Workers Union. Wholesale cop brutality has been exposed in New York.

SWP Candidates in L.A. Score War, Witch Hunt

(Continued from page 1)

Chairman ruled against him on the grounds that each candidate had the right to discuss what he or she considers to be the issues. This stand was applauded. Mrs. Weiss had warned that unless we can stop the drive to a third world war, the traffic and smog problems might be "solved" by an atom bomb.

At a meeting of the Community Service Organization, predominantly Mexican-American, Mrs. Weiss stressed the importance to American labor of the struggle of minority groups against discrimination.

Robert Morgan began this week of his campaign with a talk to a meeting of the Cannery Workers, half of whom were women. They broke into warm and eager applause when he attacked the Korean war as part of the capitalist drive for profits, markets and new fields for investments.

The candidate for the Board of Education also spoke to members of the Shoe Workers, AFL Cabinet Workers, CIO United Auto Workers and a Republican Women's Club. He tied the public school issues to the interests of the labor movement and explained why it is the employers try to destroy academic freedom in the schools and undermine the independent organizations of labor.

When asked why she referred to certain people as "minority groups," Mrs. Weiss explained that these were people of certain racial or national origins who were set off from the majority of the population by the capitalist system so that the bosses could exploit them and the rest of the workers more intensively.

This week Mrs. Weiss also covered the meetings of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Ladies Auxiliary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. At the latter

U.S. battle casualties in the undeclared war in Korea rose by 280 last week to a new total of 131,524. This includes 23,298 dead and 95,454 wounded.

EIGHT YEAR GUATEMALA REVOLT GOES TO LEFT

(Continued from page 1)

the line of feudal-colonial dictators, as follows:

"Serfs, slaving from sunrise to sunset for ten cents a day and sheltering their misery and malaria in thatched hovels. The law became even more hostile to the workers, who comprised the great masses of the country. The new forces now entered the struggle. A loose and heterogeneous revolutionary coalition was formed which decisively altered the struggle and the history of the nation.

The coalition consisted of the workers, agricultural laborers, peasants, students, rank-and-file army soldiers, and a section of the small Guatemalan capitalist class. New parties arose and organized consistent struggles against any return to the old regime. The student youth had had the honor to begin the struggle against Dictator Ubico, but now more serious forces entered the fray. On Oct. 20, 1944, an alliance of workers, soldiers, and university students stormed the ancient forts of San Jose and Matamoros where the generals were mobilizing their forces, and destroyed them. Reaction was crippled, and the new stage of the revolution began.

The revolution of 1944 initiated the condition of revolutionary upheaval which has been moving progressively leftward since that time. In 1920 there had been a revolutionary overthrow of the dictatorship of Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera, but this revolution failed because it did not consolidate sufficiently to prevent the Army officers, the feudal landowners and the foreign

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