

TODAY ABROAD

by Joseph Clark

Joseph Stalin: Three Years Later

THE N. Y. POST has twitted he Daily Worker for reporting in article by Walter Ulbricht referring to both the positive and negative aspects of Stalin's ife work.

Mind, we merely reported what the secretary of the East Cerman Socialist Unity Party and written. In his article, whose ull text we now have, Ulbricht aid that after Lenin's death stalin made significant contributions to the building of socialism and to the struggle against anti- arty groups such as the Trotz-yites, Bucharinites and bourteois nationalists.

Then Ulbricht added that when later Stalin placed himself bove the Party and fostered the ult of the personality, coniderable damage was done to the Communist Party and the oviet state. Ulbricht also said, what was implied by the entire Oth congress, that the Soviet communists no longer consider talin one of the "classics" of farxism.

ULBRICHT would have been lot more candid if he had only dmitted that he himself had ontributed to sponsoring the cult of the individual." But hat we'd like to discuss here is ow it was that Stalin had playloth a positive and a negave part in history. Without in my way condoning the errors, is possible to investigate the

objective conditions which helped bring them into being.

We are searching here for an explanation of just one aspect of the criticism made by the Soviet Communists—the abuses in the security system.

For example, the 20th congress condemned abuses committed by the Security institutions of the Soviet Union. They condemned violations of the Soviet constitution, especially as related to the civil rights of Soviet citizens. They criticized excessive secrecy in various matters.

AND AS ONE READS this criticsm, one's thoughts go back to the very early days of the Russian revolution. The capitalists of the entire world were determined to destroy this socialist revolution. Fourteen of the major capitalist powers of the world actually invaded Soviet soil in a bloody attempt to overthrow the Soviet government. Winston Churchill, the grand master of this effort, made no bones of its aims: "to strangle Bolshevism in its cradle."

Those who would do the strangling had to be stopped. They couldn't be stopped by a town meeting because they landed at Archangel and Murmansk and Vladivostok and elsewhere, and were firing cannon, not speeches. They used force and violence, if you please, not the language of persuasion.

NOR WAS THIS effort to undermine, sabotage and over-throw the first workers and farmers state discontinued when the war of the 14-nation intervention was ended. The rise of fascism in Germany created a new danger. Now fascism was the organizer of the "crusade against communism." The attempts to destroy the only socialist state from the outside became even more violent.

Furthermore, the fascists themselves admitted that they used not only direct intervention but also a "fifth column," to penetrate, to subvert, to sabotage and pave the way for the defeat of their opponents.

Nor can we lorget Munich and how the Western powers directly or indirectly helped Hitler's "drang nach Osten," his drive to the East.

THE WORKING CLASS state had to take counter-measures. Stern and vigilant security was necessary in order to defeat the fascists.

Jumping ahead of our story, only a few years ago the Congress in Washington frankly and openly passed the Kersten amendment. Under this legislation \$100,000,000 was appropriated for conducting sabotage within the various socialist countries.

But if counter-measures were obviously called for, this did not mean that the security system could become a power unto it-

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self, as it apparently did under Beria when Stalin was the leader of the Party and government.

During the anti-Hitler war so much destruction was caused, so many lives lost, so much blood and tears spilled it was natural that the Soviet leaders were determined to make themselves secure against any such eventuality ever again. But out of this natural desire came exaggeration and misuse of the whole system of security.

Furthermore, it seems to me an erroneous conception arose during the period of successful socialist construction in the USSR. This was the idea that the internal class struggle must of necessity become more intense. But with the elimination of all exploiting classes this idea was wrong. It brought many of the abuses which included the invention of enemies and not only vigilance against real en-

emies.

The corrections carried out during the last three years in the Soviet Union, as reported at the 20th congress, strengthen democracy in the Soviet Union and help the fight for democracy everywhere.