

# political affairs

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**JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN**

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## The Death of Joseph V. Stalin

*From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.*

*To all members of the Party, to all working people of the Soviet Union:*

Dear Comrades and Friends!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. with feelings of deep sorrow inform the Party and all working people of the Soviet Union that Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, died at 9:50 p.m. on March 5, after a grave illness.

The heart of the colleague and the brilliant continuer of Lenin's cause, of the wise leader and teacher of the Communist Party and the

Soviet people, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, has ceased to beat.

The name of Stalin is boundlessly dear to our Party, to the Soviet people, to the working people of the whole world. Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin founded the mighty Party of Communists, trained and tempered it; together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin was the inspirer and leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the founder of the first socialist state in the world. Continuing the immortal cause of Lenin, Comrade Stalin led the Soviet people to the world-historic victory of Socialism in our country. Comrade Stalin led our country to victory over fascism in the Second World War, a victory which radically changed the entire international situation. Comrade Stalin armed the Party and the entire people with the great and clear program of building Communism in the U.S.S.R.

The death of Comrade Stalin who

devoted his entire life to selfless service in the great cause of Communism is the gravest loss for the Party, the working people of the Soviet country and of the whole world.

The news of Comrade Stalin's death will evoke profound anguish in the hearts of the workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia and all the working people of our Homeland, in the hearts of the men of our glorious Army and Navy, in the hearts of the millions of working people in all countries of the world.

In these days of mourning all the peoples of our country are rallying still closer in the great fraternal family under the tried leadership of the Communist Party, founded and trained by Lenin and Stalin.

The Soviet people repose boundless trust in and are imbued with fervent love for their own Communist Party because they know that service in the interests of the people is the supreme law of all the activities of the Party.

The workers, collective farmers, Soviet intelligentsia, all the working people of our country steadfastly follow the policy charted by our Party, which corresponds to the vital interests of the working people and is directed towards further strengthening the might of our socialist Homeland. The correctness of this policy of the Communist Party has been tested in decades of struggle, it brought the working people of the Soviet land to the historic victories of Socialism. Inspired by this policy,

the peoples of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party, are confidently marching forward to new successes in Communist construction in our country.

The working people of our country know that the further improvement in the material wellbeing of all strata of the population—workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia—the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society, always was and is the object of particular concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

The Soviet people know that the defense capacity and the might of the Soviet state are developing and growing stronger, that the Party is strengthening in every way the Soviet Army, Navy and security organs with the object of constantly enhancing our preparedness to deliver a crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

The foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union has been and remains a steadfast policy of preserving and consolidating peace, of struggle against preparation and unleashing of another war, a policy of international cooperation and development of business relations with all countries.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, loyal to the banner of proletarian internationalism, are strengthening and developing fraternal friendship with the great Chinese people, with the working population of all the

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People's Democracies, friendly ties with the working people of the capitalist and colonial countries fighting for the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism.

Dear Comrades and Friends!

The great directing and leading force of the Soviet people in the struggle for building of Communism is our Communist Party. The iron unity and monolithic solidarity of the ranks of the Party are the chief condition of its strength and might. Our task is to safeguard the unity of the Party as the apple of the eye, to train the Communists as active political fighters for carrying out the policy and the decisions of the Party, to consolidate still more the bonds of the Party with all the working people, with the workers, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, for in this indissoluble contact with the people lies the strength and invincibility of our Party.

The Party sees one of its major tasks in educating the Communists and all the working people in the spirit of high political vigilance, in the spirit of irreconcilability and staunchness in the struggle against internal and external enemies.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., addressing in these days of mourning the Party and the people, express the firm conviction that the Party and all the working people of our Homeland will rally still more closely around the Central Committee and the Soviet Government, will mobilize all their forces and creative energies for the great cause of building Communism in our country.

The immortal name of Stalin will live forever in the hearts of the Soviet people and of all progressive mankind.

Long live the great, all-conquering teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin!

Long live our mighty socialist Homeland!

Long live our heroic Soviet people!

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

March 5, 1953.

# On the Loss of Stalin

By the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.

*On March 7, 1953 the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America cabled condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the death of Joseph V. Stalin. On the same day, the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. issued a statement outlining the contributions of Stalin in the interests of world humanity, and expressing profound grief upon the death of this great world leader. The full texts of the cable and the statement are published in the following pages:*

*Cable from the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.*

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States extends to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and to the entire people of the great land of Socialism our deepest sympathy for the irreparable loss of Comrade Joseph Stalin, beloved and revered teacher, leader and guide to millions of working people around the globe. We join with you and the sorrowing millions

in a deep sense of profound grief over the untimely passing of the valiant champion of peace, implacable foe of fascism, resolute builder of Socialism.

In spite of the vile slanders and abuses against this great and just man of the people, which the hysterical and frightened capitalist warmongers attempt frantically to fan up in our country, Joseph Stalin was the best loved man on earth, enshrined in the hearts of the people everywhere, to whose well-being his life was selflessly devoted.

\* \* \*

His spirit of sacrifice; his adherence to and vast enrichment of the working class principles of Marxism-Leninism; his love and concern for the people and his hatred and contempt for all who would exploit and tyrannize over them; his courage in the face of all enemies of peace and progress; his joy in the freedom and flowering of the people in a Socialist society; his unwavering devotion to the cause of peace—that humanity might have life and not death—are an imperishable example

to Communists and all other lovers of freedom everywhere.

His death at this critical hour is an historic loss. It is hard to say, "Stalin is dead!" words which brought grief and anxiety to the farthest corners of the earth. But the tremendous strength of the peace-loving peoples of the earth in whom the confidence of Stalin reposed—will grasp the banner of peace, which only in death dropped from his hands, and will stop the rise of fascism and the spread of world war.

We know that the great heart of Joseph Stalin lives on in the peace-loving peoples of the Soviet Union, in the heroic and invincible Communist Party, and that your deep desires for an enduring peace are shared by the people of all other lands, including the American people—misled and confused though some may be. Joseph Stalin lives on in his work and in his immortal writings. Joseph Stalin lives on in the loving memory of the peoples of your vast country, of Eastern Europe and China, of the oppressed colonial peoples and of an ever-increasing number of exploited workers and farmers of the capitalist countries, including Negro and white in our own land. A common bond to strive for freedom and peace unites them all.

\* \* \*

We the Communist Party of the United States, lower our banners to-

day in honor of our deeply loved Comrade Stalin. We join with the mourning millions of the earth's people in sorrow and deepest condolences for his country, its people and its Party. We will honor his memory in the days to come by intensifying our struggles for peace, democracy and Socialism, undaunted by the persecution and harassment directed against us. We will honor his memory by redoubling our efforts to unite the American people, Negro and white, to stop the Wall Street atomaniacs from plunging humanity into a sea of blood, to stop their fascist-like plans to rule the world.

Among the last wise words of Joseph Stalin was his clarion call to the working peoples in capitalist countries to pick up the banner—discarded by the bourgeoisie—of democratic rights, of independence. We will honor his memory by renewing our efforts to realize these aims—to save our country and its people from fascism and war. Joseph Stalin will live forever in the new world arising in the radiant tomorrow of a Socialist life for all.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,  
PETTIS PERRY,  
For the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

\* \* \*

*Statement of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. upon the death of Joseph Stalin:*

The death of Joseph Stalin, the world's most brilliant Marxist-Leninist leader, genius statesman, leader of the world working class and of the world peace camp is a heavy loss to the Soviet people as well as to the toiling masses and all the forces of peace, democracy, and Socialism throughout the world. The intense grief now gripping the world is a testimonial to the greatness of Stalin and the immense political role he has played on a world scale for human progress.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States expresses its profound sorrow and deepest sympathy to the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and to all the Soviet peoples on the irreparable and great historic loss of the world beloved and revered Comrade Stalin.

For over half a century Stalin stood in the forefront of the struggle against the czarist and capitalist exploiters, warmakers, obscurantists, and tyrants in Russia and the world. The decisive blows he delivered against them can only be compared in effectiveness to the work of Marx and Lenin. Stalin, leader of all oppressed and exploited, has gloriously won his right to a place in the front ranks of the great proletarian revolutionary immortals.

Stalin's long political life, beginning in the 1890's, was crowded with major achievements in the fields of both theory and practice. Stalin

was the best disciple and co-worker of Lenin. For thirty years he worked side by side with Lenin, building and guiding the great Russian Bolshevik Party which in November, 1917, delivered a mortal blow to the world capitalist system by shattering Russian imperialism and establishing the Soviet Republic. And in the ensuing fierce civil war of 1918-21, the beleaguered Soviet workers and peasants, facing starvation, intervention and blockade, smashed the armed forces of a dozen capitalist nations and heroically defended the revolution. In this stupendous struggle Stalin played a decisive role as a military commander in the field and as an outstanding political leader.

After the death of Lenin in January, 1924, the central responsibility of national leadership fell upon Stalin, and he proved himself completely worthy of the titanic task. He successfully led the Soviet people in the industrialization of the Soviet Union and in the collectivization of its agriculture. With the great Communist Party behind him, he smashed the Trotsky - Bukharin - Zinoviev - Tukhachevsky saboteurs, wreckers, and traitors, and with the successive Five-Year Plans, set a pace of industrial, agricultural, educational, and social advance for his people that amazed the world.

During the great fascist menace, culminating in World War II, the peoples of the world found in Stalin their greatest political-military

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leader. The key to the winning of the war against Hitlerism was the stupendous struggle made by the Soviet people, under Stalin's matchless leadership, thus saving world humanity from fascist enslavement. Great Britain and France were completely defeated by Hitler's armies, and the United States, honeycombed with reactionaries and traitors, could never have stood alone. Small wonder, then, that the democratic peoples of the world, in their deep appreciation of this great military-political leader in the deadly crisis of the war against Hitler fascism, are now pouring out their grief at his death.

Stalin, when he was stricken a few days ago, was leading the democratic forces of the world against the worst threat humanity has ever known—the reckless drive of the war-mad Wall Street monopolists for world domination. The U.S.S.R., animated by Stalin's peace policies, was and remains the great Socialist and democratic force standing in the path of the Wall Street atomaniacs who, through their Eisenhower government, would once more deluge the world in blood. The name of Stalin is the very symbol of the struggle of the peoples everywhere against the new menace of war—a struggle which will lead to the complete defeat and dispersion of the forces of imperialist war and exploitation.

Stalin, like Marx, Engels, and Lenin, was not only a man of action, but also of thought. He better than

all, knew how to translate the word into action, and to generalize the revolutionary action of the masses into theory. During his long life of struggle he made many outstanding contributions to the arsenal of Marxist-Leninist theory—the great ideological weapon with which the masses of the world are rapidly forging their way to freedom and Socialism—in the U.S.S.R., in the European lands of People's Democracy, in the great Chinese People's Republic, and, soon to be, in many other countries.

Stalin was a creative Marxist, the most effective of his period. Continuing the historic theoretical achievements of the great Lenin, Stalin raised the science of Marxism-Leninism to new, unprecedented heights.

Among Stalin's many basic contributions was his magnificent work on the national question. He not only elucidated the deep complexities of this intricate question, but in the U.S.S.R. he translated these theories into action, in the building of a system of society in which all the various peoples of the Soviet state live together in unity and equality.

Stalin's teachings on the national question were a source of great inspiration to our Party in its theoretical analysis of the status of the oppressed Negro people as a subject nation in the South fighting for liberation. The most slanderous distortion of Stalin's work, which is permeated with humanism and the principle of freedom and equality

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for all nations and peoples, is the present war-mongering attempt of reactionaries to misrepresent the struggle against Zionism, the tool of American imperialism, as anti-Semitism.

Stalin, among his innumerable theoretical achievements, was also the world's leading authority on the colonial question. He gave a brilliant demonstration of this fact when, twenty years ago, he clearly pointed out the main path along which the Chinese Revolution has since marched to a world-shaking victory. Of all the theoretical and practical work of Stalin, none is more terrifying to the world bourgeoisie than his analysis of imperialist colonialism and his contributions to the movements for liberation of the colonial and oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For they now see the whole capitalist colonial world system collapsing about their heads.

Stalin's paramount achievement has been the victorious building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. This immense task presented innumerable difficult problems, all of them unique in human history. But Stalin, a supreme master of Marxist-Leninist theory, was able to lead the great Soviet Communist Party to the solution of these problems in terms of a swiftly growing Soviet economy and a leaping forward in the people's welfare. Stalin's long ideological struggle with the Trotskyites and other wrecker-oppositionists during

the 1920's and 1930's was the most complex in political history. His development of the Leninist theory that it was possible to build Socialism in one country, the U.S.S.R., ranked with the very greatest achievements in the entire history of world political science. The very fate of humanity depended upon its outcome. A victory for counter-revolutionary Trotskyism would have meant the downfall of the Socialist Revolution. But Stalin was able to point the way to avoid this disaster and to transform the Soviet land into the most powerful country in the world.

Stalin made many other basic contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory. He was the major force in working out the theory and practice of the People's Front, of People's Democracy, and the road to Socialism, achievements of the most profound importance to the workers and other democratic and peace forces of the world.

During the past years, with the great breadth of understanding which characterized him, Stalin gave major theoretical leadership in widespread areas of the sciences, of art and literature, of linguistics, and history, thus adding immensely to the advance of the culture of humanity. Fittingly enough, he climaxed his great theoretical achievements by his epoch-making new work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* In this final work, Stalin greatly enriched Marxism-Leninism by his

discovery and formulation of the main economic law of monopoly capitalism, and the main economic law of Socialism. He charted the course of the gradual transition toward Communism, along which the Soviet Union, is now magnificently advancing.

The warmongers, with headquarters in Wall Street, are trying to exploit the death of Stalin to intensify war hysteria and to further their drive toward war. By frightening the people, they are trying to lay the basis for widening the war in Korea into an attack against People's China. They even dream of an attack directly against the U.S.S.R. Such a criminally adventurist course, which greatly underestimates the invincible might of the Soviet Union, can only lead to overwhelming military disaster for the United States. The people of the United States must be on guard against the suicidal war maneuvers of Big Business.

The Wall Street imperialists are alarming the people with wild statements to the effect that there will be a struggle over leadership in the U.S.S.R. and that this could lead to dangerous war adventures. Therefore, they shout, the efforts to arm the capitalist world must be redoubled. They have mobilized their whole propaganda staff to spew forth this warmongering hysteria.

Such assertions are brazen lies against which the workers, the Ne-

gro people, and other democratic forces must be keenly on guard. There will be no "struggle for leadership" in the U.S.S.R. The great Communist Party built by Lenin and Stalin, is unitedly carrying forward the great task of building Communism and of advancing world peace. The situation now is totally different from what it was in the late 1920's, when Trotsky began his reckless bid for power. Then the Party, still relatively weak and infested by opportunist elements, was facing difficult internal problems of growth, and it was possible for the irresponsible Trotskyites and others, for a time, to make a show of struggle. But today the Party situation is fundamentally changed. The Party is solidly united on the basis of the Stalin policies. The loss of Stalin is a terrible blow; but the invincible Party will march on without pause. One of Stalin's greatest achievements was his cultivation of a highly trained Marxist-Leninist leadership, recognized and loved by the peoples of the Soviet Union, who will guide the Party firmly in any situation. Talk of an internal crisis in the C.P.S.U. is nothing but war propaganda.

The American people may be sure that the policy of the Soviet Government, in the future, as in the past, will continue to be one of the defense and cultivation of world peace. The fight for peace flows directly out of the Socialist character of Soviet society. Peace is an inseparable



expression of the whole Soviet system. The Soviet Government will persist in its efforts to maintain world peace in the face of the warlike aggression of American imperialism. It will continue along the path of the 35-year-long consistent peace policy of Lenin and Stalin based on the recognition that the peaceful co-existence of the countries of Socialism and capitalism is both possible and desirable.

In his concluding speech at the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U., the last speech before his death, Stalin issued a clarion call to the peoples of the world to unite their forces in the common struggle for democratic liberties, for peace, for national independence and the sovereignty of all peoples and nations. He called upon the working class of the capitalist countries and their Communist and Workers' Parties to pick up and carry forward the banner of democratic liberties, abandoned and betrayed by the bourgeoisie. This struggle for democracy, for the people's elementary democratic rights, will go on, here as everywhere else.

Stalin is dead, but his profound words, his brilliant achievements and his indomitable Communist spirit will live forever in the memory and affection of the peoples in the coun-

tries of Socialism and People's Democracy, and among the countless millions of oppressed throughout the capitalist world. Stalin was great because he understood the sufferings, hopes, and aspirations of the toiling masses of the world; and because he knew how to organize the peoples for victorious struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. The best way that our Party and other progressive forces in this country can honor the memory and work of the great Stalin is to redouble our struggle to unite the American working class, the people as a whole, against predatory Wall Street Big Business in its efforts to win world domination through war. The Communist Party of the United States continues the struggle for peace, democracy and economic security undaunted by the persecutions and harassments now directed against it. Stalin has shown the sure road for the peoples of the world to peace, democracy and Socialism.

We American Communists lower our banners in honor of the great Stalin.

William Z. Foster  
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn  
Pettis Perry  
For the National Committee,  
Communist Party, U.S.A.

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# The Stalin Heritage\*

By Georgi M. Malenkov

*The funeral of Joseph V. Stalin took place on March 9, 1953, in Red Square, Moscow. On that occasion Georgi M. Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made the following speech:*

Dear Countrymen! Comrades, Friends!

Dear Brothers of foreign lands!

Our Party, the Soviet people, the whole of mankind have suffered a most grievous, irreparable loss. The glorious life of our teacher and leader, the greatest genius of humanity, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, has come to an end.

In these bitter days the Soviet people's profound grief is shared by the whole of advanced and progressive mankind. The name of Stalin is immeasurably dear to Soviet men and women, to the broad masses of people in all parts of the globe. Boundless is the greatness and significance of Comrade Stalin's activity for the Soviet people and for the working people of all countries. Stalin's work will live throughout the ages, and grateful posterity will pay homage

to his name, just as we all do.

Comrade Stalin devoted his entire life to the cause of the liberation of the working class and all working people from oppression and enthralment by the exploiters, to the cause of ridding the human race of wars of annihilation, to the cause of fighting for a free and happy life on earth for the working people.

Comrade Stalin, the great thinker of our epoch, creatively developed the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the new historical conditions. The name of Stalin rightly stands alongside the names of the greatest men in human history—Marx, Engels, Lenin.

Our Party is following the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which gives the Party and the people invincible strength and the ability to blaze new trails in history.

For many long years Lenin and Stalin waged a struggle in difficult underground conditions to deliver the peoples of Russia from the yoke of autocracy, from oppression by the landlords and capitalists. Led by Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people brought about the greatest turning point in the history of humanity, put an end to the system of capitalism in our country, and emerged on a new road—the road of Socialism.

\* The text is reprinted from *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy*, March 13, 1953.

Carrying on Lenin's cause, continuously developing Lenin's teaching, which illumines for the Party and the Soviet state the road ahead, Comrade Stalin led our country to the world-historic victory of Socialism, which, for the first time in the many thousands of years that human society has existed, ensured the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

Lenin and Stalin founded the first state of workers and peasants in the world, our Soviet state. Comrade Stalin worked indefatigably to strengthen the Soviet state. The strength and might of our state is the cardinal requisite for the successful building of Communism in our country.

It is our sacred duty to continue to strengthen tirelessly and in every way, our great Socialist state, the bulwark of peace and the security of the nations.

The name of Comrade Stalin is bound up with the solution of one of the most complex problems in the history of the development of society—the national problem. The greatest theoretician of the national problem, Comrade Stalin for the first time in history ensured, on the scale of an enormous multi-national state, the abolition of age-old national strife. Under Comrade Stalin's leadership, our Party overcame the economic and cultural backwardness of the formerly oppressed peoples, united all the nations of the Soviet Union in a single fraternal family, and forged the friendship of the peoples.

It is our sacred duty to ensure the further strengthening of the unity

and friendship of the peoples of the Soviet land, the strengthening of the Soviet multi-national state. Given the friendship of the peoples of our country, we need fear no internal or external enemies.

Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin the Soviet Army was founded, grew and gained in strength. Enhancing the defense capacity of the country and strengthening the Soviet Armed Forces was the object of Comrade Stalin's tireless concern. Led by its great commander, Generalissimo Stalin, the Soviet Army achieved its historic victory in the Second World War and delivered the nations of Europe and Asia from the menace of fascist slavery.

It is our sacred duty to strengthen in every way the mighty Soviet Armed Forces. We must keep them in a state of combat readiness to deliver a crushing rebuff to any enemy attack.

As a result of Comrade Stalin's indefatigable labors and in accordance with the plans drawn up by him, our Party transformed our formerly backward country into a mighty industrial and collective-farm state, created a new economic system which knows neither crises nor unemployment.

It is our sacred duty to ensure the further progress of our socialist Homeland. We must in every way develop our socialist industry, the mainstay of the might and strength of our country. We must strengthen in every way the collective-farm system, ensuring the further advance-

ment and prosperity of all the collective farms of the Soviet land, and strengthen the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry.

In the field of domestic policy our main concern is to work steadfastly for the further improvement of the material well-being of the workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, of all the Soviet people. The duty of giving constant thought to the well-being of the people and the maximum satisfaction of their material and cultural requirements is a law for our Party and Government.

Lenin and Stalin founded and steered our Party as the great transforming force in society. Throughout his life Comrade Stalin always taught us that there is nothing loftier than the title of member of the Communist Party. In hard-fought struggle against enemies, Comrade Stalin upheld the unity, firmness and solidarity of our Party ranks.

It is our sacred duty to strengthen further the great Communist Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party lies in the unity and solidarity of its ranks, in unity of will and action, in the ability of the Party members to merge their will with the will and wishes of the Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party lies in its indissoluble ties with the masses of people. The basis of the unity of the Party and the people consists in the Party's unswerving service in the people's interests. We must guard Party unity as the apple of our eye, we must strengthen still further the indissoluble ties between

the Party and the people, we must educate the Communists and all working people in the spirit of keen political vigilance, in the spirit of irreconcilability and staunchness in the struggle against internal and external enemies.

Under the leadership of the Great Stalin, the mighty camp of peace, democracy and Socialism has been created. Within this camp, the great Chinese people, the fraternal peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic are advancing in close fraternal unity with the Soviet people. In hard-fought battles the heroic Korean people are defending the independence of their country. The people of Viet Nam are fighting gallantly for freedom and national independence.

It is our sacred duty to safeguard and consolidate the greatest gain of the peoples—the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, to strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity of the peoples in the countries of the democratic camp. We must in every way consolidate the eternal, inviolable, fraternal friendship of the Soviet Union with the great Chinese people, with the working men and women of all the People's Democracies.

The peoples of all lands know Comrade Stalin as the great standard-bearer of peace. Comrade Stalin concentrated the greatest efforts of his genius on upholding the cause of peace for the peoples of all lands. The foreign policy of the Soviet state,

the policy of peace and friendship between the peoples, is a decisive barrier to the launching of a new war, and corresponds to the vital interests of all peoples. The Soviet Union has unswervingly stood for defense of peace and stands for it today, because its interests are indivisible from the cause of world peace. The Soviet Union has followed, and follows today, a consistent policy of preserving and consolidating peace, a policy of struggle against the preparation and unleashing of a new war, a policy of international cooperation and the development of business relations with all countries, a policy based on the Lenin-Stalin thesis of the possibility of prolonged co-existence and peaceful competition of the two different systems—the capitalist and the socialist system.

The great Stalin has educated us in the spirit of boundless devotion to service in the people's interests. We are true servants of the people, and the people want peace, they hate war. Let the wish of the people not to permit the blood of millions to be shed and to ensure the peaceful construction of a happy life, be sacred for all of us!

In the sphere of foreign policy, it is our main concern not to permit a new war, to live in peace with all countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government consider that the most correct, necessary and just foreign policy is a policy of peace between all peoples, founded on mutual confidence, effective, based on facts and confirmed by facts. Governments must

faithfully serve their peoples, and the peoples long for peace and curse war. Criminals will be those governments which, seeking to deceive the peoples, go against the sacred wish of the peoples to preserve peace and not to allow a new bloody slaughter. The stand of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government is that the policy of peace between nations is the only correct policy, answering to the vital interests of all peoples.

Comrades! The death of our leader and teacher the Great Stalin, makes it the duty of all Soviet people to multiply their efforts in carrying out the magnificent tasks which lie before the Soviet people, to increase their contribution to the common cause of building Communist society, to strengthen the might and defense power of our socialist Homeland.

The working people of the Soviet Union see and know that our mighty Homeland is advancing to new successes. We have everything necessary to build a complete Communist society.

With firm faith in their boundless forces and possibilities, the Soviet people are creatively carrying out the great work of building Communism. There are no forces on earth which could halt the advance of Soviet society to Communism!

Farewell, our teacher and leader, our dear friend, our own Comrade Stalin!

Forward, along the road to the complete triumph of the great cause of Lenin and Stalin!

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## A Great Friendship\*

By Mao Tse-tung

THE GREATEST GENIUS of our times, Comrade Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, great teacher of the world Communist movement and comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin, has departed from us forever.

Comrade Stalin's theoretical and practical work is an invaluable contribution to our era. Comrade Stalin represents an entire new epoch. Thanks to his work the Soviet people and the working people of all countries have changed the entire international situation. This means that the cause of justice, people's democracy and Socialism has triumphed on a vast scale, on a territory covering one-third of the globe, inhabited by over 800 million people. Day by day the impact of this victory is extending to every corner of the earth.

Comrade Stalin's death evoked the incomparable grief of the working people of the whole world; it deeply touched the hearts of honest people all over the world. This shows that the cause of Comrade Stalin and his ideas have gripped the broad masses

of the people throughout the world and have become an invincible force. This force is leading the already triumphant peoples from victory to victory and it will at the same time enable all those who are still groaning under the yoke of the old, vice-ridden, capitalist world boldly to storm the enemies of the people.

After Lenin's death the Soviet people, under Comrade Stalin's leadership, built a bright and radiant socialist society in the first socialist state in the world—a state which he founded together with the great Lenin in the period of the October Revolution.

The victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is a victory not of the Soviet people alone, it is the common victory of the peoples of the world. Firstly, the reality of this victory has proved the absolute correctness of Marxism-Leninism, has concretely taught the working people of the world how to advance to a happy life. Secondly, this victory enabled mankind to smash the fascist beast in the Second World War. It is

\* Reprinted from *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!*, March 13, 1953.

impossible to imagine that victory could have been achieved in the war against fascism without the triumph of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. The victory of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the victory in the anti-fascist war have a direct bearing on the destinies of mankind, and the glory of these victories rightly belongs to the great Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin, in comprehensive and classical manner, developed Marxist-Leninist theory; he opened up a new stage in the development of Marxism. Comrade Stalin creatively developed Lenin's theory of the uneven development of capitalism and the theory of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country, taken singly; Comrade Stalin made a creative contribution to the theory of the general crisis of the capitalist system and to the theory of the construction of Communism in the U.S.S.R.; he discovered and substantiated the basic economic law of modern capitalism and the basic economic law of Socialism; he contributed to the theory of revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. Comrade Stalin also creatively developed the Leninist theory of the building of the Party. All this further rallied the workers of the whole world and all oppressed classes and peoples in consequence of which the struggle of the working class and all oppressed peoples for their liberation

and happiness, and the successes achieved in this struggle, assumed unprecedented proportions.

All the works of Comrade Stalin are an immortal contribution to Marxism. His *Foundations of Leninism*, *History of the C.P.S.U. (B)*, *Short Course* and his last great work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* are an encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, a generalization of the experience of the world Communist movement in the last hundred years. His speech at the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a precious bequest to all Communists in all countries of the world.

We, Chinese Communists, as is the case with the Communists the world over, find the ways to our victories in the great works of Comrade Stalin.

After Lenin's death Comrade Stalin was always the central figure of the world Communist movement. Rallied around him we constantly received advice from him, constantly drew ideological strength from his works. Comrade Stalin had the warmest feelings for the oppressed peoples of the East. "Do not forget the East," was the great appeal proclaimed by Comrade Stalin after the October Revolution.

It is common knowledge that Comrade Stalin ardently loved the Chinese people and considered that the forces of the Chinese revolution were

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immeasurable. He displayed the greatest wisdom in matters pertaining to the Chinese revolution. Following the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, and drawing on the support of the great Soviet state and all revolutionary forces in all countries, the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese people achieved an historic victory several years ago.

Today we have lost a great teacher and most sincere friend—Comrade Stalin. This is a great bereavement. It is impossible to find words to express our grief at this bereavement.

It is our task to turn this grief into a force. Sacredly preserving the memory of our great teacher Stalin, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, will infinitely strengthen the great friendship illumined by the name of Stalin. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will even more perseveringly study Stalin's teaching, Soviet science and technique in order to build their state.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the Party reared by Lenin and Stalin, the most progressive, most experienced and the best theoretically-equipped Party in the world; this Party was and is a model for us; it will remain a model for us in the future too. We profoundly believe that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union and the Soviet Government headed by Comrade Malenkov will certainly be able to continue the cause of Comrade Stalin, to advance and brilliantly develop the great cause of Communism.

There can be no doubt that the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union will become still more united and more powerful.

For over thirty years the teaching of Comrade Stalin and the example of socialist construction in the Soviet Union facilitated mankind's advance with giant strides. Today the Soviet Union has attained such might, the Chinese People's Revolution has won such a great victory, the People's Democracies have won such great successes in their development, the movement of the peoples of the world against oppression and aggression has assumed such sweep and our front of friendship and solidarity has grown so strong that we have every ground to state that we are not afraid of any imperialist aggression. We shall rout any imperialist aggression; all base provocations will end in failure.

The great friendship of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union is unshakable because it is based on the great principles of internationalism of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and those of the People's Democracies, the friendship

between the peace-loving democratic and just peoples of the whole world is also based on these great principles of internationalism and therefore it, too, is unshakable.

It is clear that the forces born out of this friendship are unlimited, inexhaustible and truly invincible.

Let all imperialist aggressors and war-makers tremble at our great friendship!

Long live the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin!

May the unfading name of the Great Stalin live throughout the ages!

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## Malenkov at the Helm

By William Z. Foster

THE DEATH of the great Stalin at 73, after more than half a century of heroic revolutionary struggle and achievement, not only created a profound surge of grief through hearts of countless millions of the world's toilers; but it also caused a great sensation among the bourgeoisie of the world, especially in the United States. Never before upon the death of any world celebrity, has there been even a fraction of the tremendous publicity—by press, radio, television, movies, and every other means of mass communication—as that which has attended the passing of Stalin. This shows that the bourgeoisie, which has no reason to love Stalin, has been compelled, by its intense interest, to testify to the greatness of the man who has just died.

This tremendous sweep of publicity definitely had a ghoulish content. The writers hoped and expected that the passing of the gigantic political figure of Stalin would create a crisis from which American imperialism could profit. Perhaps the world peace alliance, headed by the U.S.S.R., would fall to pieces; perhaps this would even be the opportune moment to strike the aggressive

war blow that American imperialism had been so frantically preparing?

The multitudinous writers and commentators are now shouting that the death of Stalin has created a grave crisis in the Communist world, one that could lead to an outbreak of a world war. Therefore, the United States and the so-called free world is frantically warned to remain belligerently on guard. This fantastic conception is the policy of the United States Government in this situation. The general purpose of such propaganda about the U.S. S.R. is to frighten the peoples of the capitalist world regarding the possibility of an outbreak of war, thinking to block all efforts at settlement of the Korean war, and thus to make possible the continuation and intensification of the present mad armaments race.

The prompt election of Georgi M. Malenkov to Stalin's post has not liquidated this provocative agitation throughout capitalist circles, but merely given it a new twist. The great crisis over Soviet leadership, which obviously does not exist, is now, they say, merely postponed. The Soviet system is supposed to be

in a crisis, which will be especially aggravated by the "inexperience" of Malenkov, etc. Let us, therefore, analyze briefly this political nonsense, which is at the same time dangerous war propaganda.

### MALENKOV AND SOVIET LEADERSHIP

Bourgeois commentators on the Soviet system characteristically, in their hate and fear of Socialism, stand reality on its head. In this respect, one of their favorite arguments has long been that Socialism kills individual initiative and development. The reverse, of course, is the case; the very heart of Socialism being to develop and improve the personality of the individual in every respect. This fact is demonstrated, for one thing, by the high quality of the political leaders produced by the Soviet system, by Marxism-Leninism. Lenin and Stalin were no accidents; they were the natural results of the workings of the whole philosophy of Socialism. These two gigantic leaders dwarfed the bourgeois statesmen of this epoch; and, so, too, have the succession of outstanding foreign ministers of the U.S.S.R.—Chicherin, Litvinov, Molotov, Vishinsky. The same is true too in a world sense; Marxist-Leninist leaders such as Mao Tse-tung, Togliatti, Thorez, or in our own hemisphere, a Prestes, Codovilla, Tim Buck, or Blas Roca, being on an altogether higher level of political understanding than the puny bourgeois politi-

cians heading the capitalist countries.

Together with fighting for an advancing, growing world system, the tremendous advantage that Soviet political leaders have over bourgeois politicians lies in their possession of the science of Marxism-Leninism. This enables them to analyze fundamentally the economic and political situations in their own country and throughout the world, and upon this sound analysis to work out practical, realistic policies to meet these conditions. Whereas, the bourgeois political leaders, dealing with a dying system, are constitutionally unable and afraid to analyze either decadent capitalism or ascending Socialism. Modern bourgeois "political science" is only wishful thinking. The capitalist political leaders blunder along empirically, proceeding from one superficiality of analysis to another. The men now standing at the head of the world's capitalist governments, including that of the United States, are political semi-literates. While Marxist-Leninist statesmen go ahead confidently to the building of Socialism, and eventually Communism, the bourgeois economists, ideologists, and politicians blunder along without any inkling of where their society is heading.

Malenkov has been trained in the very best Marxist-Leninist tradition. He long had the tutorship of the greatest teacher of them all—Stalin—and he got his experience in the heart of the world Socialist move-

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ment, the Soviet Union. This constitutes the best possible preparation for the heavy tasks of leadership that have now come to him. Malenkov is a Marxist-Leninist of a high order—anything else is unthinkable for a man holding his high position in the great Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., which possesses many hundreds of thousands, actually millions, of students of the science of Socialism. The new leader's speech, the main report to the recent Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was an ample demonstration of his power of Marxist-Leninist analysis. One thing is certain—his superb Marxist-Leninist training and his high natural ability, will make him a giant compared to the petty politicians currently heading the capitalist states of the world.

#### ON PARTY UNITY

In the vast capitalist discussion and confusion attendant upon the death of Stalin, one thing that the bourgeois commentators have accepted as gospel truth is that there must now ensue a ferocious "struggle for power" among the Soviet leaders; one which will tear the Soviet Government to pieces. But this is sheer nonsense. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union possesses a monolithic unity, based upon the solid acceptance of Stalin's policies. Not even the great shock of the death of Stalin can shake that unity; on the contrary, it can but emphasize the

need for even greater Party solidarity. The prompt election of Malenkov demonstrates how the Party, while mourning the profound loss of its great leader Stalin, brings forth a capable successor and proceeds to the fulfillment of the basic tasks confronting it.

Those who are so sure of the "coming crisis" in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union constantly cite the severe internal struggles that followed the death of Lenin in January, 1924. But this example has no validity whatever for the present situation. When Lenin died the Soviet Union, just emerging from devastating war, was in a state of near collapse economically, great unknown tasks of collectivization and industrialization in the building of Socialism lay ahead, and the Party was still not cleansed of opportunists, wreckers, and traitors, such as Trotsky, Tukhachevsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rhykov, and the like. Under such critical conditions an internal struggle was inevitable. The Party had to shape its policies for the immense tasks ahead of it and it had to purge its ranks of accumulated alien elements. It was the immortal greatness of Stalin that he was able to lead the Party through these monumental tasks and to establish the Party's unity upon a solid rock of sound policy.

Today, as Malenkov becomes the outstanding leader of the Party and the Government, the situation is totally different than in 1924. The great internal Soviet tasks of build-

ing Socialism have been accomplished and a clear theoretical line has been laid out by Stalin for the road ahead in the building of Communism. The Party, too, in the past generation of struggle under the masterful leadership of Stalin, has cleansed itself of opportunists and has enormously raised the general theoretical level of its membership. It was one of the very greatest achievements of Stalin to have brought about the Marxist-Leninist education of countless numbers of young men and women Party militants and leaders. These are the very foundation and fibre of the Party. Under these circumstances a continuing Party unity is assured.

Malenkov, as head of the Soviet Government, will surely have many difficult problems to face; especially in the field of foreign policy, from a dying capitalism which grows war-mad in its decline. But in meeting these great problems, he will have advantages that Stalin lacked when he took office—a solidly united and greatly expanded Party, a powerful and flourishing national economy, and many potent foreign allies.

#### THE QUESTION OF PEACE

The American bourgeois commentators, among their many distortions of the Soviet situation after the death of Stalin, have also asserted endlessly that the new Soviet leadership, in order to consolidate itself, would very probably lead the Soviet people into war adventures.

Their argument is that, therefore, the death of Stalin has greatly increased the war danger. In this slander the bourgeois "gangsters-of-the-pen" were outdone by the renegade, Earl Browder. For, while the capitalist writers generally said that the death of Stalin "might" increase the war danger, Browder, who rushed into print immediately upon the death of the Soviet leader, said that it certainly "would" mean the danger of war, because with Stalin now gone, the alleged fiery warmongers would no longer have any one to restrain them.

With such arguments about war tendencies in the U.S.S.R., the bourgeois commentators are talking not in terms of the actualities of Soviet life but of that in corrupt capitalist governments. Nor, to demonstrate this, do we have to go further than the United States. One of the major dangers of war adventures coming from Wall Street arises precisely out of the capitalists' growing fear of the development of a devastating economic crisis in this country and from their sinister conviction that this can be averted only by maximum production of war munitions and eventually by a great world war.

The Soviet Union is in no sense a source of war danger; either before Stalin's death, or after it. The formers of modern wars, the great international holocausts of our times, are capitalist monopolists, and there are none such in the U.S.S.R. The birds of prey have long since been thrown into the garbage can of his-

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tory by the revolutionary Russian people. The present center of war danger is not in the U.S.S.R., but right here in the United States, in American Big Business; the world's biggest and most warlike aggregation of monopoly capital. The whole structure of Soviet policy, on the other hand, based upon the people's ownership of the means of production and of working-class leadership in the government, is unalterably a policy of world peace.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is based firmly upon the Stalinist principle of the possible peaceful coexistence and competition of the capitalist and socialist worlds. Malenkov again made this fact clear in his funeral oration over the coffin of Stalin in the Red Square. The principle of peaceful co-existence is in no sense contradictory to the basic Marxist-Leninist truth that the capitalist system is in irrevocable decay, and that Socialism, now in the ascendant, is destined by history to become universal. But the peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Socialism can be achieved and maintained only on the basis of the power of the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia, and of the awakened workers and other democratic forces in the capitalist world, to restrain and defeat the incurably warlike propensities of imperialism, especially United States imperialism.

#### THE CAPITALISTS AND TITOISM

One of the greatest hopes of the bourgeoisie upon the death of Stalin

is that the friendly peaceful cooperation among the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and the European People's Democracies will be dissolved by an epidemic of Titoism. But this, too, is an illusion. It is only a rash of wishful thinking; for such can not happen. On the contrary, the basic trend of all these peaceful, progressive, democratic states of the world peace front will be to draw even closer together in a common defense against war-mad capitalist imperialism.

The capitalists' prayer for Titoism among the socialist and people's democratic countries will go unanswered. It emphasizes, however, the extreme importance which they attach to the particular brand of treachery of which Tito is guilty. It is their greatest hope for some means with which to halt the advance of world Socialism. Titoist illusions also go to illustrate the capitalists' failure to understand the basic nature of the Socialist Revolution which is gradually enveloping the world. They cannot free themselves from the notion that the Revolution is a sort of conspiracy, engineered by a few men, and, by the same token, that it can be betrayed to defeat by a traitor or two, here and there. They cannot grasp the great reality that the Revolution is as an elemental movement of the masses developing along lines of advance shaped by the decay of capitalism and by the imperative need of the peoples for a new, higher form of society.

There has been one Tito; there will

not be another. This capitalist agent managed to worm himself into the leadership of the Yugoslav people and then, at the critical moment, to betray them into the hands of the capitalist enemy. For which treachery Tito is now the world bourgeois hope and an object of supreme contempt throughout the democratic world. Added vigilance will take care to prevent his likes in the future. Moreover, there is still another great act to be played in the Yugoslav drama—we may be perfectly sure that, before too long, the Yugoslav revolution will catch up to Mr. Tito with a crash.

#### THE DANGER OF UNDERESTIMATING THE U.S.S.R.

The present lying clamor in capitalist circles to the effect that the death of Stalin has thrown the U.S.S.R. and the whole world Communist movement into a crisis of disintegration and into a mood for war adventures is not mere wishful thinking, nor simply propaganda for war, nor is it only typical capitalist hatred of Socialism. It is much deeper than all this. It is fundamentally an expression of the constitutional inability of the bourgeoisie to grasp and understand the vitality and power of Socialism. The capitalist class, precisely because it has its own order of society to defend, suffers from a basic and chronic underestimation of the power of the revolutionary socialist movement. Capitalism cannot possibly objectively recognize the

strength and inevitability of Socialism. This deficiency has led it into making innumerable mistakes in analyzing this movement. It is also why capitalism constantly expects the death of the Soviet Union from one cause or another. Communist progress is a sort of unbelievable miracle to the bourgeoisie; a progress which confronts it with one baffling surprise and disappointment after another.

Capitalists (and their Social-Democratic agents) were amazed when the Bolsheviki, under Lenin and Stalin, captured power in Russia in 1917—an obvious impossibility. But, of course, they consoled themselves, the Reds could not long retain the power. But they did. They believed that the Revolution could not emerge from the Civil War, from the current starvation, from the economic blockade, or from the industrial collapse; but miraculously (to capitalist eyes), it did overcome all these staggering obstacles. Then, too, all through the years, the capitalists have declared that Communists could not build and operate modern industry; that their five-year plans were obviously mere propaganda stunts; and finally that they could not stand six weeks before the invincible Hitler armies. Even Hitler, for all his spy service, believed in the latter illusion to his complete undoing. In later years, to the bourgeois mind, with its incurable underestimation of Socialism, the revolutions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, and Bulgaria were also im-

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possibilities. Especially the great Chinese Revolution—was impossible and unbelievable, and where this impossibility became a fact, the capitalists were sure that vast, sprawling, undeveloped China would swamp the Communists and they could never hold power. But now the Chinese people, led by Mao Tse-tung and the great Chinese Communist Party, are busy exploding this bourgeois illusion.

The chronic capitalist underestimation of the power of Socialism—and lots of it is being evidenced in connection with Stalin's death—makes the capitalists foresee disastrous consequences in the present tense world situation. But, on the contrary, the underestimation could act fatally upon themselves. The warmongers during the past few years have built up enormous armaments, and over the world they have hundreds of air bases, all pointing directly at the Soviet Union, leader of the world forces for peace, democracy, and Socialism. They crave to use these murder weapons, and they are fully resolved to do so. And if they can convince themselves and the people that the U.S.S.R. has become dangerously weakened by the loss of Stalin, this might well be the signal for them to send their bombers on their fatal mission. This would be their final price for their habitual underestimation of Socialism.

In our fight to have the Korean war ended by a cease-fire, and to re-

lieve world war tension generally, one of our major tasks is precisely to struggle against the capitalists' propagation of their underestimation of the power of Socialism, especially in connection with the present situation in Russia. We must let the people know—the workers, the Negro people, the democratic forces generally—the reality of the great power of the U.S.S.R. and the dreadful futility of attacking it. We must make them understand that such an assault against that country, which the Wall-Street monopolists are now organizing, could have only one general result—overwhelming military defeat for the United States and measureless tragedy for its people.

Under the leadership of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Malenkov standing at its head, the perspective of the Soviet people is for a rapid march forward into Communism. This implies a further tremendous development of industry and agriculture, and an unprecedented rise in the standards of living and culture for the great Soviet masses. A swift advance towards and into Socialism is also the perspective of the peoples of China and of the European People's Democracies. All the organized war-mad powers of capitalism cannot halt the historic advance of the peoples, and if capitalism dares to try to do this, arms in hand, it will surely bring about its own destruction.



# Lenin, Stalin and the Mid-Century

By Eugene Dennis

*Comrade Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., wrote the article printed below early in 1950, and it was published in Political Affairs, March, 1950.*

*The promoters of fascism and war, in their assault upon our Party, have singled out its General Secretary for special persecution. Comrade Dennis was first sent to jail for one year, for "contempt" in challenging Congress' notorious refusal to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. Thereafter, following his conviction together with his ten fellow-National Committee members in the first Foley Square Smith Act frameup trial, in which he served as his own attorney, Comrade Dennis was also vindictively cited for "contempt" by Judge Medina, so that his prison sentence totalled five and a half years.*

*Comrade Dennis, confined in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, has just undergone a serious surgical operation. We know we speak for the peace-loving people of our country and of the world when we express fervent hopes for his complete recovery—and the speedy liberation of himself and of all victims of the fascist-like Smith Act—the Editor.*

STALIN'S 70TH BIRTHDAY and the 26th anniversary of Lenin's death coincide with the half-way mark in the 20th century. Most historians already acknowledge that these two world giants, the teachers and leaders of the international working class, of Communism, have decisively shaped the course of the whole century and social progress.

The opening of the year 1950 is therefore a fitting time to draw up—even if only in the briefest manner—the balance sheet between two paths, two social systems, two world outlooks: the capitalist, on the one hand, and, on the other, the social system and world outlook symbolized by the names *Lenin* and *Stalin*.

On the capitalist side of the ledger appear a number of major entries, made in the past 50 years. At the turn of the century, U.S. capitalism, and with it world capitalism, attained the summit of its development. Having reached the peaks of its ascendant stage, capitalism in its final monopoly stage—imperialism—started on the path of decline and decay.

By 1914 and the outbreak of the First World War which it engendered, world capitalism was sick beyond hope of permanent recovery;



and with the victory of the great proletarian revolution in 1917—it had entered the period of its general crisis. It also suffered a number of serious economic crises, beginning with the panic of 1901 and climaxed by the Great Economic Crisis of 1929-33 which wracked, not only the United States, but the whole capitalist world.

The brutality, rapaciousness, parasitism and fatal sickness of monopoly capitalism in the period following World War I manifested themselves, above all, in barbarous fascism, which in 1933 seized power in Germany. Thus was underscored, once again, the analysis of Lenin that “. . . politically imperialism is in general a striving toward violence and reaction.” The imperialist Munich policy and “anti-Comintern” rape of Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain and Czechoslovakia were inevitably followed by the devastation and mass slaughter of World War II.

In the postwar period, Wall Street—heading the camp of imperialism—unable to live without oppression and conquest, seeks to imitate the Hitlerites and to dominate the world. For the last five years, under the smokescreen of “containing Communism,” it has intervened and warred against the peoples of Greece, China, Indonesia, Palestine. It has restored, under U.S. control, the cartels and war potential of Western Germany and Japan. It has undermined the national independence and well-being of France and Italy, and strengthened its pre-

datory grip on Latin America, Africa and the Near East.

As 1950 opens, a new economic crisis is maturing in the capitalist world generally, and particularly in the United States—the stronghold of world imperialism. While retarded up till now by huge expenditures for armaments, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Pact, this new crisis draws nearer and threatens to have more devastating consequences than any of its predecessors. Its development is accompanied by the colossal, extensive and adventurist preparations of Wall Street for a third world war, and thus, too, by the growth of pro-fascist reaction in our country and its satellite states.

Capitalism, especially in the period of its ascent, enabled mankind to raise considerably the productive forces and to make notable advances in the fields of science, industrial organization and culture. But as is most dramatically illustrated by the atom bomb, the capitalist system is now capable only of utilizing these achievements for purposes of reaction, destruction and aggressive war.

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On the other side of the ledger, history records the entries made by the camp of peace, national liberation and Socialism—headed by the U.S.S.R.

Here the great event of the turn of the 20th century was the formation of the Bolshevik Party—the Party of Lenin and Stalin. Sprung from the historic split with Menshevism, with opportunist- and revisionist-cor-

roded Social-Democracy, which as early as then subordinated the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie—this Party of a new type is at once a monument to its founders, and the invincible and enduring instrument for the continuation of their work.

True to the principles of revolutionary Marxism, Lenin and Stalin developed further this universally valid, working-class social science in accord with the new conditions prevailing in the epoch of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions, and in the period of the victorious establishment of Socialism. The Bolshevik Party organized and led the October Revolution, which made Socialism a glorious reality. This model Party set an example for and inspired the development of powerful Marxist-Leninist Parties of the working class in other countries.

The Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to capitalist and national oppression in one-sixth of the world. It replaced the tyranny of czarism and Russian capitalism and landlordism with working-class democracy, establishing through the dictatorship of the proletariat the rule of the many over the few, of the exploited over the exploiters.

After Lenin's death, and under Stalin's brilliant leadership, the Bolsheviks and the Soviet state completed the victory of Socialism. Defeating all treasonous opposition and plots of the predecessors of the Titoites—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other imperialist agents—

they built up a Socialist heavy industry and collective agriculture. They raised the living standards, well-being and culture of the people to new heights. They established the equality and friendship of the many nations and peoples within the Soviet family and multi-national state on the basis of the Lenin-Stalin teachings on the national question. They consolidated the new working-class democracy—the highest democracy in the annals of mankind—and carried forward the enormous advances of the Soviet people through the adoption of the Stalin Constitution.

In the most severe test, the world's first Socialist state—guided by Stalin's unequalled military strategy and national-liberation policies—played the decisive role in the world coalition of states and peoples' resistance movements which defeated the Axis powers in World War II.

Since the end of the Second World War, as a result of the liberating role of the Soviet Union and its glorious Red Army, the oppressed masses of a series of countries in Eastern Europe have entered on this side of the ledger their achievement of People's Democracies, which, as a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have opened up in those countries new paths of transition to Socialism.

Second in historic importance only to the October Socialist Revolution and as a result of that great revolution and the victories of Socialism is

the entry recording the liberation of the 450,000,000 Chinese people from centuries of feudal and imperialist oppression; and the establishment, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party, of the new People's Republic of China.

In contrast to imperialism's way of life through reaction and war, on this side of the ledger there is no record—indeed no possibility—of aggression and war incitement, of national enslavement, social regression and obscurantism. In contrast to monopoly capital's economy of misery for the many amidst plenty for the few, on this side of the ledger there is no record of economic crisis, no entry of millions of unemployed, no threat or possibility of impending depression or economic decline.

On this side of the ledger the people can see that already in the first half of the 20th century Socialism has proved capable of improving upon, and surpassing, the scientific, industrial and cultural achievements of capitalism in its hey-day. And they can see that Stalin symbolizes man's potential power, the power of the working class to lead the nation and to master nature, and to plan and achieve limitless new benefits for his fellow man, for the cause of peace and progress.

Adding up the entries on this side of the ledger we behold the historic phenomenon that 800,000,000 of the world's people now live in states led by Marxist Parties, by Parties devoted to the principles of Lenin and Stalin—which rule in behalf of the

working class and in the interests of the vast majority. This vast camp of peace, democracy and Socialism—headed by the U.S.S.R. and its great leader, Stalin—extends also to hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist and colonial countries whose struggle for peace, social progress and national liberation is led by their own vanguard Communist Party.

The second half of the 20th century dawns on a world in which this new anti-imperialist camp is powerful enough to prevent another world war, or at the very least can guarantee that should such a war be launched by the war-makers against the will of all the world's peoples it would bring this war to an end in the interests of all peoples, in the interests of a world freed at last from imperialist enslavement, national oppression and fascism.

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This, in sketchy outline, is how things stand between the two paths, the two social systems, the two world outlooks, at the end of the first half of our century. What are the prospects for the next 50 years?

One view of the future was put forward by President Truman. Bypassing the urgent needs of the people in 1950, he holds forth the promise of an income of \$12,000 for the average family at the end of the century—50 years hence. But with this he foresees more "cold war," more power to the American trusts, and he even dreams of re-enslaving the peoples liberated by Socialism and

People's Democracy. To Hoover, Taft and Eisenhower, even Truman's "Fair Deal" appears as a "radical utopia." But with or without the \$12,000 average income 50 years from now, the Trumanites and the G.O.P. look forward to an eternity of "free enterprise," that is, to the survival of full sway for monopoly capitalism, its increased power and a permanent state of "cold war" punctuated by recurring crises, imperialist aggression and outbreaks of colossal mass murder.

We Communists take a different view of the future. We and millions of other working people know that in the course of the new half century the Soviet Union will complete the transition from Socialism to Communism, already begun; and that, whatever the difficulties may be, the transition to Socialism will be completed by the new People's Democracies, as well as by a number of other countries.

As for our own country, we confidently foresee that the American people will achieve great democratic advances in struggle against, and at the expense of, the monopolists in the course of the new half century now opening up. Rejecting any and all "exceptionalist" notions of American capitalism "in permanence," we are confident that the coming great struggles of the American workers will advance among them the frontiers of class consciousness and the end of the 20th century should find them marching on the path of Socialism.

Where our country stands in the

year 2000 A.D., and the relative ease or pain with which the American working class and people advance toward their inevitable Socialist goal—depends, to a great extent, on how effectively labor and all progressives, Communists and non-Communists, work and fight for peace *now*. Today peace—and the struggle for peace—favors and promotes social progress, and is the enemy of pro-fascist reaction. The more lasting the peace, the better for the American people and the worse for the trusts, for their Wall Street enemies.

Peace serves the interests of all peoples everywhere. But for *our* people peace will be decisive in determining how hard or how easy, how long or how short, will be the road of social progress. Unjust, imperialist war is costly and exacts its toll of all peoples, but another world war—a Wall Street-instigated war—would be worse for the American people than for any other. It would be disastrous and catastrophic for our people, no less than Hitler's war was for the German people.

Great opportunities for achieving lasting peace exist now and will expand in the future. They exist because of the great and growing might of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, the new German Democratic Republic and liberated China. They exist, too, because of the organized and conscious efforts of hundreds of millions of people in the West, led by their Communist Parties, to impose peace on the warmongers. They exist because the U.S.S.R., under Stalin's leadership,

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pursues a resolute peace policy and strives to realize the realistic possibilities, the Leninist-Stalinist concept, of the peaceful co-existence of Socialist and capitalist states. They exist because, as Stalin emphasizes, the peoples are war-weary and yearn for peace. They exist because the mutual interests of the American and Soviet peoples necessitate, and favor cooperation and friendship, the realization of the proposal of Stalin for an American-Soviet Pact of Peace.

The mid-century year challenges all thoughtful and forward-looking Americans, above all the workers and all anti-imperialists, to seize upon, shape, and utilize fully these new opportunities for achieving lasting peace. This challenge places a special historic responsibility on the American working class, and above all on its vanguard Communist Party. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin has demonstrated, in the almost 50 years since the ideological and organizational crystallization of Bolshevism, what a working class with a mind and will of its own, guided by the beacon-light of Marxist science, can accomplish. It has proved that through the instrument of such a Party, millions of men and women can become masters of their destiny, the conscious architects of a better world for all—the world of Socialism.

We American Communists look on the future not as a chapter to be read, but as one to be written. Our Party is determined to do all in its power to help assure that the hand of those who would write on it the disaster

of a third world war—the monopolists and their Titoite, Social-Democratic and reformist agents—shall be stayed by the united action of millions of our fellow-Americans, acting in unison with countless legions of partisans of peace in all countries.

Inspired by the wisdom and the indestructible achievements of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, we guard the unity of our Communist Party and the purity of its principles, the unity of our Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, the strengthening of the Party and its ties with the masses, as the most precious possession of the American working class.

Drawing upon the best in America's democratic and revolutionary traditions and the rich and glorious experiences of the international labor and Communist movements, we will bend every effort to promote united labor action and the broadest front of peace to advance the welfare and security of the American people, Negro and white. We will go forward relying upon the militancy and creative initiative of the working class and its great allies: the Negro people, the progressive intellectuals and working farmers. Undaunted by persecutions and momentary setbacks, we will build an ever more effective, steeled and influential Communist Party to guide America by the compass of Marxism-Leninism forward to new struggles and new victories in the people's fight to prevent fascism and World War III, and to ensure peace, democracy and Socialism for our people and our nation.

# Stalin: Champion of Lasting Peace

By Henry Winston

*We republish below a portion of the speech delivered December 1, 1949, by Comrade Henry Winston, National Organizational Secretary of our Party, on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Joseph V. Stalin. The speech was delivered in Webster Hall, New York City, at a meeting held under the auspices of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party, and was published in full in Political Affairs, January, 1950.*

*Comrade Winston, heroic fighter for the working class and the Negro people, for peace and democracy, now a political refugee, is one of the Eleven Communist leaders convicted in the first Smith Act frameup trial at Foley Square—The Editor.*

## PEACE: A CARDINAL PRINCIPLE OF SOCIALISM

The occasion of Stalin's 70th birthday inevitably turns the thoughts of our fellow-Americans to the issue of peace or war. This is true not only of those who, like ourselves, know the Soviet Union to be the mighty bulwark of world peace. It is also true of many who have been tem-

porarily deceived by bipartisan anti-Soviet propaganda.

In the Soviet Union, the word *peace* is freely spoken by the workers and common people. But in our country the struggle for peace is considered by those in high places to be akin to treason. Those who use the word *peace* without putting it in quotation marks are accused of being "Soviet agents" and charged with threatening the peace.

We may ask: What is the meaning of this imperialist slander? How can the advocacy of American-Soviet friendship become a threat to peace? How can the struggle to outlaw the atom bomb threaten the peace? How can the fight for universal disarmament also be a threat to the peace?

There is method to this madness whose frenzied deception suits a system that defies logic and common sense.

Our accusers give no honest answers to honest questions. They assert with brazen demagoguery that all American advocates of peace, and we Communists in particular, follow a "pro-Soviet" policy which veers from peace to war according to "how the

wind blows from Moscow."

Those who thus slander all peace-loving Americans, in order to cover up their own aggressive and anti-American war schemes, seek to hide from the people a fundamental truth. This is the truth that the struggle for peace, which is in the interests of all peoples, is a cardinal principle of Socialism, the system destined to end forever war and the danger of war in the world, as it has already ended forever capitalist and national oppression in the U.S.S.R.

For fifty years, first as Lenin's co-worker and then as the great continuator of Lenin's work, Joseph Stalin has been the architect of this new society, which is the cornerstone of the peoples' world-wide peace front.

In honoring Stalin tonight, we honor all, in our own country and elsewhere, who struggle for peace; we celebrate the growing strength and achievements of the world front against the warmakers.

The plain people of the world, in their millions, are beginning to see and value Stalin's role in history. But the head of the Soviet state is portrayed as a sinister "mystery" by the makers of American foreign policy. . . .

Over and over again we are told the same story: The Soviet Union, and Stalin, are a mystery—a riddle—an "Oriental enigma"—beyond the power of the "Western mind" to fathom.

What is this mystery about the Soviet Union, now 32 years old?

Certainly, marvelous and unprecedented things have happened there—under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

In 1918, soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin stated that that land had five different social-economic forms: "(1) patriarchal, *i.e.*, to a considerable extent natural, self-sufficing peasant economy; (2) small commodity production (this includes the majority of those peasants who sell their grain); (3) private capitalism; (4) state capitalism; and (5) Socialism."\* Of these five forms, said Lenin, the preponderant element was small commodity production. How explain the enigma of this extremely backward country, which in so short a period of time emerged as the most advanced industrial country of Europe, with a stable economy in which the so-called "normal" period of capitalist crisis and mass unemployment is unknown?

The "experts" who look for the explanation in Stalin's "facial expression" do not find it. But is it not a fact that this feat was accomplished by a working class and its Communist vanguard, which freed the people from capitalist and national oppression?

How explain the mystery that the simple workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, having ousted from power the factory owners, financiers, and kulaks, are able to manage the

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 361.



affairs of state, produce and run automobiles, airplanes and tractors, draw up and fulfill epic Five-Year Plans? Why do people work, without the incentive of capitalist profit-making? How can a country forge ahead without capitalists, landlords, and speculators? The "experts" of Wall Street and Washington have no answer. But the answer is simple, and simple working people have no trouble in grasping it.

A basic, revolutionary change took place. Political power was attained by the working class, led by the Communist Party. A new type of state, a Socialist, working-class state, was created which, to quote Lenin, is a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic capitalist state. The mills, factories, and railroads, together with the land, were taken out of the hands of the parasitic capitalists and landlords and converted into the property of the whole people, into socialized property. What greater incentive could there be for workers and peasants than to build a better life for themselves?

How explain the enigma of a country which has rid itself of Czardom's centuries-old system of pogroms, anti-Semitism, and Great Russian chauvinism? How could it so quickly become a multi-national state in which all peoples enjoy full equality and live in friendship? Our white supremacists and their apologists say you "can't change human nature." *Outlaw* anti-Semitism? Nonsense, they say, it can't be done—

any more than you can outlaw Jim Crow in Dixie!

But Stalin, the outstanding theoretician of the national question, taught the Soviet people that it could be done, that it must be done. *And in the U.S.S.R. it has been done!* Nor can the Soviet abolition of anti-Semitism and all forms of racial and national hatred be undone by the stroke of a poison pen in the hands of an anti-Soviet "expert." In the U.S.S.R. the equality and friendship of the peoples is an indestructible reality. And all over the world—in Africa, in Southeast Asia, in our own country—oppressed peoples and nations draw renewed faith and inspiration in their liberation struggles from the shining example of the Soviet Union. The Negro masses in the United States are beginning to draw fundamental conclusions about the Soviet Union, about Socialism, about Stalin. For these are a land, a social system, a man, for whom equal rights are not pious words but a genuine principle to be implemented in every walk of life. Peekskill, U.S.A., which has become among decent-minded men and women in all corners of the globe a by-word for fascist violence, was the site of a projected lynching spree, sanctioned by a "free press" and by State and local officials of "democratic" America, against the great Negro artist and fighter for the rights of his people, Paul Robeson. But either Moscow or Leningrad, it has just recently been announced, will be the site for "shooting" a full-length film



on the life of that great champion of the Negro people, of oppressed and exploited everywhere, and of world peace.

The wise men of the Pentagon and their "experts" are still worrying over the greatest enigma of all. How did it come to pass that the "invincible" Nazi hordes failed to overrun and conquer all Russia in six weeks? What went wrong with the predictions of the "experts"? How unravel the mystery of the defense of Moscow, the riddle of the siege of Leningrad, the historic enigma of Stalingrad, which turned the tide of World War II?

Can it be because there are no banker-generals in the Soviet Union? Can it be that the working class in power can perform miracles in war as well as in peace? Can it be that a people fighting to save, not only their own Socialist land, but also all progressive mankind, is truly invincible? Can it be because the principles, strategy and tactics of the working-class world outlook and social science—Marxism-Leninism—guided every phase of this titanic struggle, that the miracles were accomplished? Yes—that is a fact—yes, that is all true.

Our "experts" who pretend to be looking for answers in Stalin's "facial expression" are trying to hide the *real* answers. The real answers are to be found in Stalin's leadership of the Soviet working class and people.

Following in the path of Lenin, in the face of bitter internal and external opposition, Stalin led in the

transformation of the country from an agricultural into an industrial country through the epoch-making Five-Year Plans, and in the achievement of the victory of Socialism in all branches of the national economy. On the basis of Socialist industry, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party abolished exploitation in the countryside, and led the millions of small peasant owners to see the superiority, and voluntarily to take the path, of collective farming, the path of Socialism.

These victories prepared the Soviet Union for the epic test of World War II, which it met so magnificently under the leadership of Stalin. As Comrades Foster and Dennis declared in the name of the National Committee of our Party in their cablegram of greetings to Stalin: "Our people are forever indebted to your peerless strategy and leadership which enabled the armed forces of the Soviet Union to strike the decisive blows against the common enemy and thus saved civilization."

Stalin's greatness is evident not only in the sphere of economic, political and military strategy and tactics. It is above all to be seen in his relations to people, in his love for the people, in the fact that Stalin regards the people, the common man, as the maker of history. Thus he has taught:

... As long as the Bolsheviks maintain connections with the broad masses of the people they will be invincible. And on the contrary, as soon as the Bolsheviks sever themselves from the

masses and lose their connection with them, as soon as they become covered with bureaucratic rust, they will lose all that strength and become a mere cipher.\*

Stalin not only said this; he practiced it throughout his life. That is the secret of his great strength. He has maintained the closest personal ties at all times with the people, working, meeting and fighting together with them, teaching the masses and learning from them, listening attentively to their views, receiving letters from them on matters of state and on the "petty" affairs of daily life.

"What I particularly noted during my meetings with Comrade Stalin was his extraordinary simplicity and modesty, the sympathy and attention with which he treats us simple folk. Only a man who has himself come from the people can display such tender solicitude for people." So writes the chairman of a local organization, the Starozhilov District Executive Committee.

To understand Stalin's genius one must believe in the capacity of the working class to produce leaders equal to the tasks of guiding it in the performance of its historic destiny—the building of Socialism.

It is only on the basis of such an understanding of what Socialism is that one can fully appreciate its role in the struggle for peace. The working class is on a world scale the spearhead and organizer of the strug-

gle for peace. That is why the state in which the working class has consolidated its power has been since its birth the unflinching champion of world peace and the friendship of nations.

By its very nature, such a state is not and could not be aggressive or imperialistic. Its interests unite it with the working people of all lands. Such a state cannot be indifferent to the strivings of world humanity for peace, security and social progress.

Thus, it is international working-class solidarity, the opposite of imperialist expansion, that explains the "mystery" of the fraternal bonds uniting the Soviet Union with the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, the new People's Republic of China, and with all movements of national liberation and social advance. . . .

Thus far the world peace forces have restrained these would-be atomic warriors and upset their timetable. Therefore, the imperialists are saying, "If we can't at this moment have a hot war, let us at least make the most of our cold war." And so they coldly prepare for the day when they hope to launch the attack. In view of this, the peace movement cannot rest content with preventing the "hot war." It must bend every effort to put an end to the whole war policy, cold or hot. It must return our country to the path of peace, whose course lies with the restoration of American-Soviet cooperation.

What is this cold-war policy which our people must repudiate and reverse?

\* *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 362.

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It is the betrayal of the solemn agreements entered into at Yalta and Potsdam and the substitution for them of the Marshall Plan and the aggressive Atlantic War Pact.

It is the encirclement of the globe with military bases and outposts, violation of the sovereignty of other nations, and revival of the spirit of military aggression in Germany and Japan.

It is a huge armaments program, burdening the American and other peoples with war budgets that rob them of needed social services and tend to distort our own and other nations' economies into war economies.

It is imperialist intervention into the affairs of other countries. It is support to reaction and fascism everywhere. It is counter-revolutionary espionage, intrigue and insurrectionary sabotage, making use of the Tito-Rankovic gang of spies and murderers. This mercenary gang, which has set up a fascist state in the interests of Anglo-American imperialism, will not long remain in power. It is being exposed daily as betrayers of the national independence of Yugoslavia and of the cause of the people. The masses of the Yugoslav people, led by the working class and the true Communists, will succeed in ousting this clique and restoring Yugoslavia to the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The cold-war policy is a policy of making war on the democratic rights of all peoples. At home, it is conspiracy against the Bill of Rights, an

effort to relegate it to the archives along with the cynically violated 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, and to turn the U.S. Constitution into an instrument solely for safeguarding monopoly profits.

#### THE COLD WAR AGAINST LABOR AND THE PEOPLE

It is a policy of war against the people's living standards, aggravating the developing economic crisis and preparing to shift its full burdens onto the backs of the workers and those in the lowest income groups.

It is a policy that strengthens reaction and paves the way for fascism. And we know that fascism is war—hot war — not only against other peoples, but against our own.

This is what the policy of the cold war adds up to.

Will the American people go for such a policy? Is this what they want? To ask the question is to answer it — and you have given the answer: it is NO! . . .

We Communists call on our fellow-Americans, regardless of political differences, to stand firm against the whole demagogic by-play. Let labor and the people join forces in a real and independent struggle for civil rights, economic and social security and peace!

Let the Social-Democrats and the labor reformists who are ballyhooing the "welfare state" answer a few blunt questions.

How do they explain away the re-

lation between the huge war budget and the failure to appropriate Federal funds for unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, a Federal education and health program?

Will the A.D.A.'ers please explain how there can be civil rights for all—and at the same time a “cold war” against the progressive, labor and Communist movements inside and outside of the United States?

How can there be peace for all—if our government rejects every peace offer made by the Soviet Union, and goes full-steam ahead with its preparation for all-out war?

It is by forcing the Social-Democrats and the labor supporters of the “welfare state” to debate these questions before the masses of the people that we can best expose the hypocrisy of their claim that they are fighting for civil rights, security and peace.

The Social-Democrats do not fight for civil rights and economic advancement. While pretending to be against both “extreme Right” and “extreme Left,” and while allegedly taking a “middle” position, actually the Social-Democratic and labor reformist leaders are carrying through a policy that coincides fully with the interests of extreme reaction. They fully support the bipartisan war program of imperialism, split the unions, abandon and oppose the fight for wage increases, help to speed up the workers, connive in the betrayal of the fight to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and by their rabid anti-Soviet, anti-Communist campaigns, as well as undemocratic actions in the

unions, help the whole drive against civil rights.

The Social-Democratic and reformist labor misleaders are in the vanguard in trying to sell the bankrupt American capitalist system to world labor and to conceal the proved superiority of the system of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The contrast between capitalism and Socialism, however, is more and more forcing itself on the attention of the American people, despite the dollar curtain which is drawn to prevent them from learning the truth about the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union there is neither unemployment nor the threat of unemployment. There, economic crisis, depression and even “recession” have forever been abolished. But for all his demagoguery, Truman does not dare even suggest that every American worker can be assured of his right to work.

In the Soviet Union, atomic energy has been harnessed to constructive peace-time use. It is put to work moving mountains, changing the course of rivers, opening up new vistas of man's mastery over nature. Here, we have a stockpile of atom bombs.

In our country, security for young and old, for the sick and needy, remains in the “promissory” stage. But in the land of Socialism, security is the birthright of all, and with security goes full equality of opportunity.

Certainly, the Negro people, who are fed up on promises, will be the first to understand the differences be-

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tween the false promises of the "welfare state" and the glorious reality of national liberation secured to all peoples in the U.S.S.R.

#### STALIN—CHAMPION OF LASTING PEACE

And, finally, our comparisons lead us to the question of peace for all. Is it not plain for all to see that we Americans can assure peace only through cooperation and friendship with the mighty nation which heads the world camp of peace?

G. M. Malenkov, one of the outstanding leaders of the Soviet Union, proved that the answer must be *yes* when he said on November 6:

Our peace policy arises from the very foundations of our Socialist system and from the interests of the Soviet people. Having completely abolished in our country the age-old exploitation of man by man, we have eliminated the reasons and conditions which, in the capitalist world, give rise to the policy of exploiting and enslaving other peoples.

Having created a model of fraternal cooperation among peoples of different races and nationalities, unparalleled in human history, we have abolished forever the policy of basing the welfare of one state on the suppression of other states.

Comrades: The thesis of those who support the "cold war" is that its policies are essential to prepare for the "inevitable" third world war which would be fought with atomic and other weapons of mass destruction.

Is this third world war really inevitable? Is it inevitable because the two radically different social systems—Socialism and capitalism—cannot peacefully co-exist in the same world?

Stalin has many times answered this question, bluntly and honestly. His answer is, "Of course they can." This was the answer Stalin gave to Harold Stassen in April 1947. He said:

The difference between the two systems is not of essential importance insofar as cooperation is concerned. The systems in Germany and the United States are the same, yet war broke out between them. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. systems are different, but we have not waged war against each other and the U.S.S.R. does not propose to. If during the war they could cooperate, why can't they today in **peace**?

#### And Stalin continued:

Let us not mutually criticize our systems. Everyone has the right to follow the system he wants to maintain. Which is the better will be said by history. . . . To cooperate one does not need the same systems. One should respect the other system when approved by the people. Only on this basis can we secure cooperation.

The gist of what Stalin said to Harold Stassen had been said many times before, by Stalin himself and before him by Lenin. It has been said many times since by Stalin and by representatives of the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

This view is wholly consistent with our understanding of the Marxist-

Leninist theory that we live in the epoch of imperialism, and that imperialism breeds war. Capitalism and especially imperialism tends toward war. But this tendency toward war is opposed by another force, represented by the working class, by the whole camp of democracy and Socialism, headed by the working-class state—the Soviet Union. This camp grows steadily in strength and power. As Comrade Dennis told the jury in Foley Square, the old gray mare of capitalism ain't what she used to be, and what is bred by imperialism is no longer sure to hatch.

It is the prophets of doom, pretending to see the future in a crystal ball, who cry that a third world war is inevitable. They seek to spread fear and despair, to dull the vigilance of the people. Their tea-leaf tales are told to disrupt and prevent the organization of a people's front for peace.

Fortunately for our people and for the peoples of the world, there exists a Marxist-Leninist science which enables us to look at the world of real people and understand the real laws of social development. This science equips us, not only to understand events, but to organize masses and influence events. Ours is the science which helps stimulate hope, instill courage, and unite millions of men and women in unbreakable, united effort to move the wheels of social progress and check the drive to war.

In the beacon light of this science, of which Stalin is the greatest living master, we see that the end of World War II and the military defeat of

Nazi-fascism and Japanese militarism brought about a new relationship of forces. A new democratic and Socialist advance was begun by the peoples of Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union, despite its enormous material and human war losses, leads this advance. It is moving from the consolidation of Socialism toward the historic task of building Communism. . . .

This peace movement in our country is not yet master of the situation. But it is here. It has still to attain its full potential strength and unity. But it is already a force to be reckoned with. That it will continue to broaden and extend its unity and scope we may be sure.

Yes, we can say with confidence that the overwhelming majority of the masses of mankind want peace and are organized for peace. Hundreds of millions in all parts of the world are waging an organized struggle for peace. And this tremendous, world-wide force for peace is headed by a great world power which resolutely pursues the Stalinist policy of peace.

No wonder the would-be war-makers in Wall Street and the Pentagon have nightmares.

But while the enemy is having nightmares, we must not let ourselves be lulled into sweet dreams of peace being won without struggle.

The very strength and growing invincibility of the peace camp enrages the imperialists and tempts them to desperate military adventures.

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developing new economic crisis, and harassed by sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions, the men of Wall Street and Washington find themselves on the horns of an ever more uncomfortable dilemma. They fear peace like the very plague. And with every day that passes they have more and more reason to fear the consequences to themselves and their doomed system that would follow the launching of a criminal atomic war.

*The desperateness of their plight is what sharpens the war danger today and makes it ever more necessary to step-up and intensify the people's united struggle for peace. . . .*

#### OUR PARTY WILL MEET ITS TASKS UNFLINCHINGLY

Comrades: Stalin was Lenin's co-worker in many historic undertakings. An all-determining achievement of Lenin and Stalin was the building of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik). This Party is the world's first party of a new type, the revolutionary party of the working class, a party founded on Marxism-Leninism from the very beginning. The glorious Bolshevik Party has gone through enormous struggles and experiences which have served as a great storehouse of knowledge, inspiration and guidance to the Communists of all lands.

Our Communist Party is an American Party; it stems from the American working class. We are proud that our Party has been formed on the

scientific, working-class principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our Party is basically different from the parties of capitalism. The Communist Party is the only political party which, by virtue of its science of Marxism-Leninism, is able to lead the working class and the people out of the horrors of capitalism with its dangers of fascist reaction and imperialist war. This is the only party that can achieve Socialism in our country and put an end to exploitation and all oppression. It is the party that is indestructible because it is flesh and bone of the American working class. To destroy the Communist Party, the working class must be destroyed, and it is impossible to destroy the working class.

Ours is a party of a new type—and that is why it cannot be destroyed, though a thousand capitalist courts "convict" its leaders. It cannot be destroyed because it bases itself on the working class and leads the people's militant struggles against the monopolists and their program of reaction, fascism and war. It cannot be destroyed because it is the Party destined to lead the working class in its historic mission of building Socialism.

Our Party cannot be destroyed because it helps build and lead broad united-front movements of the people, democratic coalitions of labor, the farmers, intellectuals and the Negro people against the pro-fascists and warmakers.

Our Party cannot be destroyed because we are establishing as we must, the closest bonds with the workers



and trade unions in the basic industries.

Our Party cannot be destroyed because it is itself organized and united on the principles of working-class democracy and self-discipline.

And finally, our Party cannot be destroyed because it struggles against opportunism, both Right and "Left," and keeps sharp the weapon of self-criticism, explains its mistakes to the masses of the people and corrects them in the full light of day.

In paying tribute to Stalin tonight, we pay tribute to the science of Marxism-Leninism, of which he is the greatest living master.

We will not abandon our working-class principles to please our enemies. On the contrary, with the help of those sterling American Marxists, Comrades Foster and Dennis, we will continue to deepen our understanding of those principles and apply them to the specific conditions of American life.

And we are not only going to defend our Party successfully against every attack—we are going to build our Party bigger and stronger than ever.

We are full of courage and fighting spirit, comrades, and we are not going to flinch from the rough times we know lie ahead.

Facing many problems and difficulties, we may tonight fittingly recall the words spoken by Comrade Stalin in Batum in the year 1902:

Dawn is nearing, life will be bright for us in the future, when we win all

rights and escape from the clutches of this unbearable situation. If we do not live to see that happy day, then our children and grandchildren will see it. When that day comes there will no longer be exploitation of workers, no longer will there be class struggle, and universal labor and happy life will triumph.

These words were uttered some 47 years ago in the period of intense Czarist repression and reaction. But 15 years later the first Socialist state was established under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

Let us remember, comrades, that we are part of a world-wide movement that represents the arising and developing, as against the dying system of capitalism. And even though our class and people and our Party are today faced with trials and tribulations, we declare in spite of all terror and persecutions, as we said in our greetings to Stalin:

With full confidence in the American working class and people, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. exerts every effort to assure that by their united action they will check and help defeat the fascist-minded monopolists and warmongers. As this united action grows in influence and scope, it will bring its full weight to bear for the achievement of an American-Soviet friendship—the cornerstone for world peace.

Yes, comrades, our Party's fight for peace is the fight for the highest truth; we fight on the side of truth. And in this struggle, which is shaping the fate of humanity, we say with confidence that we will win.

By E

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# He Loved the People

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

JOSEPH STALIN, Communist leader, was the best loved man on earth of our time. Millions upon millions, the majority of the world's population, mourn his sudden loss. Sorrow and anxiety as to the peace of the world spread swiftly to the far corners of the earth. The plain people of the earth, the weary and heavily laden, the hungry, the poverty-stricken, the oppressed, the exploited, the segregated — those denied freedom and happiness—grieve for the passing of this heroic son of the people, who gave his entire life to their emancipation. They love him for his plain words and for his shining deeds. They love him all the more for the enemies he has made—the oppressors, the exploiters, the war-mongers—who desire death and not life for humanity. There is no place so remote that great grief and a burning resolve to honor his memory, has not penetrated. Some weep, some pray, while others raise a clenched fist to the sky to swear that his far-seeing words will be spread; his far-reaching work will not be in vain.

Everywhere in the colonial and

capitalist countries there is a bond of identification of the poor and lowly with Stalin—warrior against fascism; champion of peace; spokesman of national liberation; builder of Socialism. The world-wide sense of loss has poured out in deepest sympathy to the entire people of the Soviet Union, the peaceful and beautiful vanguard of Socialism, whose wise and just leader is no more. It expresses an abiding faith that this vast family of nations, of workers' Socialist republics, of people's science, industry and culture, will carry forward the plans and realize the dreams of Joseph Stalin. It expresses boundless faith that the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.—steed in struggle, bound together in impregnable unity—will give ever stronger leadership to their country in the consolidation of Socialism and the march towards Communism. This universal faith is justified because these people are of a new heroic mold, this is a country of a new higher social order, this is a Party of a new collective type. Joseph Stalin personified and helped to create

all these. The helmsman is gone. But a valiant comrade grasps the wheel. The chart and compass of Marxism-Leninism are there to guide him.

Stalin is honored as a leader in all Socialist countries, in the People's Democracies of Europe and in the People's Republic of China, where the tremendous help of the Soviet Union won liberation from fascism, and its example in building Socialism was of incalculable aid. The spirit of Stalin lives on in these gigantic achievements which are changing the face of the globe from a capitalist jungle to a Socialist civilization. Stalin is honored in all countries that once were under the yoke of fascist occupation. It is no mere slogan but words welling from the grateful hearts of the French people when they say "*Jamais! Jamais! Never! Never! will we make war on the people of the Soviet Union!*" The war-mongers may well heed this fraternal cry.

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In other capitalist countries—England, France, Italy—in spite of differences on the Socialist ideals of Joseph Stalin, there was some evidence of restraint and objectivity, in estimating him as a statesman, as a military leader, and an advocate of co-existence of capitalist and Socialist countries. There was some measure of dignity in the observance of the amenities of life, in traditional expressions of condolence on the death of the head of a great country,

at peace with the world. There were tempered appreciations of him as a personality and his contributions to the defeat of fascism. All of this reflects the deep feelings of the people of these countries. The rulers bowed to them. But in this country, the great capitalist republic of the West, one of the Big Three—co-founder with the Soviet Union of the United Nations—today the citadel of monopoly capital, the fountainhead of imperialism — here common decency was thrown to the winds when Stalin died. The venal press had a field day of vile and vulgar slanders, of distortions of his life and work, attributing to him the characteristics of a "savage vengeful monster." This all-time low of gutter journalism, the vicious caricatures of Stalin, the obscenity of the radio attacks upon his memory directed to Socialist and other countries which revere him, and particularly the shame of addressing them to the sorrowing people of his own country, will but add to the growing contempt abroad for American imperialism and its lying spokesmen. Even here, especially among workers and Negro people, there is a revulsion against this spewing forth against a great man, now cold in death.

The American general who stood beside Stalin in Moscow on the May Day after V-E Day, who is today President of the U.S.A., did not even deign to express sympathy over the death of one who had made victory

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possible, but gives his blessing to this psychological warfare upon our brave ally against fascism. The plain people of the world will not forgive the shameful performance of the American press and the shabby attitude of this government, which insulted the grief and dignity of a proud people.

During World War II when, said General MacArthur, "The hopes of civilization rested upon the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army," when millions of Soviet citizens laid down their lives to stop fascism, when the siege of Stalingrad and the fate of the beautiful white city of Sevastopol, gripped the hearts of the American people, the day and night vigil of the man in the Kremlin created a most kindly feeling for Stalin in our country. He became "Uncle Joe" to the man in the street. The meeting at the Elbe River of Russian and American soldiers was stirring and historic. If the American people had been let alone, if the truth were not denied them and they were not the victims of an ever increasing barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda, by press, air, T.V., government committees, public officials, returning diplomats, so-called experts, and every other species of liars, they would have sustained a feeling of warm friendship with the people of the Soviet Union.

But hardly did the war come to an end when the American capitalists made peace with their brother cartellists in all fascist countries, took the

Nazi war criminals to their bosoms, aided traitorous collaborationists to escape their just punishment, re-armed the one time enemies—Germany and Japan—and turned like vipers on the land of Socialism and its leader, Joseph Stalin. Too many countries were rejecting capitalism, and taking the road to Socialism, to please the American ruling class. Too many countries were making treaties, trade pacts, long-term friendship and economic aid agreements with the Soviet Union, to please them. As the ties between the great land of Socialism and other lands grew stronger, the desperate determination of American monopoly capitalists to rend those ties and especially to build barriers between the people of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., drove them to ever lower depths of lies, slander and abuse, especially against Joseph Stalin because of the warm American feelings for him, which had grown tremendously during the war. The barrage did not end, but intensified at his death. A dead lion is still feared by the jackals of the forest.

But history and time works against them. Joseph Stalin, like all great and noble figures in human history, will grow in stature as time passes, while puny war-making traducers are forgotten. He could not be enshrined in the hearts of millions of people everywhere today, if they did not know the truth of how he loved the people. In all his writings and speeches this shines forth like

a golden thread. He loved the people, understood the people, spoke for the people and devoted his entire life to the people. No rounded-out picture of Stalin as a man and as a leader, is possible unless this humanism and how he cherished people, is understood. Why was he the best loved man on earth? Because in him all the hopes and desires, the dreams and aspirations of the oppressed and exploited, for human freedom and dignity found expression. No tyrant, no dictator, would be so loved by the people. Fear and hatred is their only due. But here was a simple good man of the people. They understood his language and his plain worker's way of life. They saw his devotion, his selflessness, his singleness of purpose, his spirit of sacrifice. His love of people was demonstrated by his untiring efforts to preserve peace in the world. To him the greatest, most precious capital was a happy peaceful people, engaged in pursuits of life—not death. To him peace meant to save people from murderous conflict and possible annihilation. To him the atom bomb was a monstrous and barbarous thing, unworthy of the human race. Peace to him was not a diplomatic move, not designed only to protect his own country, but to cherish and save all humanity. Life and not death were ever his watchword. Peace and Socialism were engraved on the great heart that ceased to beat on March 5th, 1953.

How shall we best honor this peo-

ple's son, the Communist leader, whose long life has ended, who has entered into the night of well-earned rest? The last words of his last public speech of October, 1952 at the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tell us. He closed with these words: "*Long live peace among the nations! Down with the warmongers!*"

To struggle for peace, to "pick up the banner of democratic rights" and of national independence "thrown overboard by the bourgeoisie today"—this was his last message to the peace-loving people in the capitalist world. These are the tasks of true patriots in our country, these are the responsibilities of all democratic workers and farmers and people's organizations. This is the way for Communists and workers' parties, in common with all liberty-loving, peace-minded Americans, to best honor the memory of Joseph Stalin. To keep our country on the path of peace, to defend the best interests of struggling humanity, to curb and finally strip the profiteers and warmongers of their power to destroy humanity—this is the most fitting tribute to Joseph Stalin.

With the passing of time, the world will little note nor long remember the puny attacks upon Joseph Stalin. But it can never forget his noble life and deeds. From all continents and all countries have come the words: "Hail but not farewell, dear Comrade Joseph Stalin!" He lives forever in his deeds and his

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imperishable written words. He lives in the strong Communist Party of the Soviet Union! He lives in the great Soviet people! He lives in Socialism! Ever a great fighter, he

lives on wherever men and women fight for peace; fight for freedom; fight for an abundant life; fight for happiness.

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### AN AMERICAN WORKER'S TRIBUTE\*

It is hard to believe that Joseph Stalin is dead.

The sad news of his passing is tempered with the knowledge of herculean tasks well done.

Here, vultures no end, making no pretense at concealing their jubilation, are circulating over the body of the fallen Giant. They reckon without their host, without the millions of class-conscious workers of all lands who regard Joseph Stalin as their greatest teacher and most loyal friend.

We shall miss his familiar face, his calm, lucid and dispassionate analysis in times of crisis. But he has become too much a part of us; we can never be lost again.

Let us remember the vows he made at the tomb of Lenin, over and above his personal grief, vows which were fulfilled with honor. Let us renew our pledge to struggle for Peace and confound and defeat the enemy. Let us have recourse to his sparkling and immortal writings until the lessons are fully learned, lessons of the head and the heart—the great heart which literally burst with exertion in our behalf and is now forever stilled.

A SEAMAN

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\* Reprinted from the *Daily Worker*, New York, March 9, 1953.

# Stalin and the Party

By Alexander Bittelman

Stalin is gone, gone forever, and nothing the mind will call forth can weaken or obscure the bitter realization of irrevocable and irretrievable loss. He not only stood in rank with our greatest — Marx, Engels and Lenin. He was himself the greatest leader of humanity of our epoch. His name and achievements are immortal.

They say we have turned Stalin into a god, and they pretend to laugh at us. They—the flunkeys of the warmongers and fascists—gloat at the death of Stalin, and they ask us: Where and how soon will you get another god? Knaves and fools. They still have not found out, or they have long forgotten, the beautiful meaning of human greatness. They have still to learn, if they ever will, the true meaning of Stalin's greatness, the indestructability of his teachings, of his Party and of the world movement which he led. They suspect all of this, and fear it, but they do not understand it. They do not understand, though they are mortally afraid of, the profound love and admiration of hundreds of millions of people for Stalin the comrade, friend, teacher, leader and guide.

No, these servants and glorifiers

of monopoly robbery and oppression do not "worship" or "deify" human greatness. They worship and deify the dollar. They bend their knees and necks before the Morgans, Rockefellers and DuPonts. Their heroes are the atom-bomb generals, the organizers of germ warfare, the big and little McCarthys, the Buzdanzian stool-pigeons and agents-provocateurs. Their hopes and admiration go out to the H-bomb, to mass murderers, to the organizers of a new world war to secure world domination for the monopolies in the United States.

They gloat at Stalin's death but they also tremble and conspire and speculate. Without really knowing why, they feel it in their bones that Stalin may be gone but his teachings live, that the Party Lenin and he built was never stronger, having just opened a new and glorious chapter at its XIX Congress; and that the world movement for peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union and built so well and firmly under Stalin's guidance and influence, is marching forward to victory with the greatest confidence.

That is why they conspire and speculate. They speculate on "a fight



for leadership", desperately and insanely hoping for a chance to weaken the Soviet Union—the leader of the struggle for world peace, and to attack it, attack it by a new world war; and this is what the monopolies and the Eisenhower government are now conspiring. Vain hopes. The Party left by Stalin, having successfully defeated the conspiracies of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite traitors, having had its unity and cohesion tested and steeled in the fires of World War II, and having opened the historic advance to Communism so gloriously demonstrated and further charted by its XIX Congress—this Party of Lenin and Stalin is not going to present the warmongering and fascist-minded monopolies with "a fight for leadership".

How little they know Stalin's Party and how little they understand the Communist movement in general!

It is the vanguard Party of the working class. It is made up of the most advanced elements of the class. It is guided by a scientific revolutionary theory — Marxism-Leninism — which expresses the needs and aspirations of that class and of all exploited and oppressed. This is the kind of Party—a Party of a new type — which Lenin and Stalin built during the past half century.

#### THE PARTY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND VICTORIOUS SOCIALISM

This is the Party that guided the working class of old Russia to lead-

ership in the nation, the Party that organized and led to victory the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is the Party that organized the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union. This is the Party that organized the victory of the Soviet people in World War II. This is the Party that is now leading the advance of the Soviet Union to Communism. This, finally, is the Party that is guiding the Soviet Union in its brilliant leadership of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

Comrade Malenkov's report to the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gives us a good insight into the unity, strength and influence of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. Speaking of the period from the XVIII to the XIX Congress, a period "crowded with events of world-historic significance", he said:

The period under review has been one of continued strengthening of the Party and of consolidation of the complete unity and oneness of its ranks. This unity of the Party, won in fierce struggle against the enemies of Leninism, is the characteristic feature of the position inside the Party, of its inner life. Therein lies the source of our Party's strength and invincibility.\*

In World War II, the unshakable unity of the Party proved decisive for the victory of the Soviet people. And how was this unity attained?

\* G. M. Malenkov, *On the Threshold of Communism* (New Century, 1952), p. 69

It was attained in struggle against the enemies of Leninism.

Says Malenkov:

In the light of the results of the war, there stands out in all its greatness the significance of the irreconcilable struggle which our Party waged for many years against each and every enemy of Marxism-Leninism, against the Trotskyite-Bukharinite degenerates, against the capitulators and traitors who endeavored to divert the Party from its correct path and disrupt the unity of its ranks.\*\*

The struggle in the Party against opportunism and capitulation to the bourgeoisie is a law of the inner development of a Communist Party, a basic condition of its unity and strength, according to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. As far back as the Spring of 1924, shortly after Lenin's death, Stalin had delivered the now historic series of lectures formulating the essence of Leninism, the further development of Marxism. And in those lectures, he formulated the fundamental proposition that the Party of the proletariat, the Party of a new type, must be free from opportunism and irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators. The strength, unity and influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union derives precisely from its successful realization of this Stalinist proposition and under Stalin's guidance.

Says Malenkov further: "For the unshakable unity of its ranks the Party is indebted in the first instance to our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, who upheld the Leninist unity of the Party."

The Party of Lenin and Stalin will now march forward to the victory of Communism in the Soviet Union without Stalin, because Stalin is gone. But it will do so in a world where the peoples will fight and win the historic battles for peace, democracy and national freedom and independence. And the Party of Lenin and Stalin will succeed because it will follow the path to Communism charted by Stalin in his epoch-making work, *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, and in his concluding speech to the XIX Congress on the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party in the fight for peace and democratic liberties and national independence. The Party of Lenin and Stalin will succeed in leading the Soviet peoples to the victory of Communism because that Party has realized fully the Stalin theory on the vanguard role of the Communist Party.

In the same historic lectures on the essence of Leninism, delivered by Stalin in 1924, the role of the vanguard party is defined in its two *inseparable* and organically connected aspects. The vanguard must always be *with the masses* and their movements and never allow a gap to arise between itself and the class

\*\* Cited work, p. 70

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of which it is a part; the vanguard must always stand *at the head* of the masses, it must see farther than the masses, it must seek to lead them and not follow in the tail of spontaneous movements, dragging behind them.

Having fought successfully for this vanguard role, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is "the leading and guiding force of Soviet Society". Its strength lies, as Malenkov said, "in its organic ties with the broad masses, in the fact that it is a genuine people's party whose policy corresponds to the vital interests of the people."

Speaking of the tremendous increase in the Party's membership Malenkov says:

Striking evidence of the closer contact between the Party and the masses, of its growing prestige among the Soviet people, is provided by the growth of Party membership. At the time of the XVIII Congress the Party had 1,588,852 members and 888,814 probationary members, making a total of 2,477,666. On October 1, 1952 the figure was 6,882,145, of whom 6,013,259 are members and 868,886 probationary members.\*

The Party of Lenin and Stalin will succeed in leading the Soviet people to the victory of Communism because the Party fights successfully for another major proposition. It is the famous Stalin proposition that a Party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not hide its mistakes, if it

educates its membership by drawing lessons from its mistakes, if it is not afraid to acknowledge frankly and honestly its mistakes, and if it knows how to correct them in time.

Another great source of strength, unity and influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on organizational principles, policies and practices.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that after a correct line has been laid down, after the correct solution of a problem has been indicated, success depends upon organizational work, upon the organization of the effort to carry the Party line into effect.\*\*

Stalin's genius and greatness lie not only in the sphere of philosophy, theory and science; not alone in the fields of policy making, military strategy and statesmanship; but also in the decisive arts and sciences of organization. In fact, Stalin's greatness and the power of his immortal influence derive precisely from the unprecedented and ideal combination or fusion of all these capacities on a scale and depth of true genius. And this is how Stalin built the Party, educated the membership and trained and cultivated new and younger leaders.

Among the Lenin-Stalin teachings on organizational principles and policies, a major place is occupied by the rules governing the qualifica-

\* Cited work, p. 71

\*\* N. Khrushchev, *On Changes in the Rules of the C.P.S.U.* (New Century, 1953), p. 6

tions, rights and duties of Party members. Lenin and Stalin have always attached the greatest importance to the questions of Party membership, rightly considering that these are the foundation stones of the Party and its organizations. It is well known that these were the questions — qualifications, rights and duties of Party members—that produced the serious divisions in the Social Democratic party of Russia at its second Congress in 1903. These were the differences out of which came the division into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and petty-bourgeois opportunists, eventually counter-revolutionists, on the other.

#### THE HONOR OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the last Congress with Stalin, adopted a number of changes in the Rules of the Party which raise to new heights of importance and significance the title of Party member, his vanguard role among the masses, his rights and responsibilities.

Here are some of the major points of the Party Rules elevating the vanguard role of a Party member.\*

It is the duty of a Party member:

- a) To protect the unity of the Party with might and main, as the chief requisite for its power and strength;
- b) To be an active fighter for the

implementation of Party decisions. It is not enough for a Party member merely to agree with Party decisions; it is incumbent upon him to strive actively to have them put into effect. A passive and formal attitude on the part of Communists toward Party decisions undermines the Party's efficiency and is therefore incompatible with continuance in its ranks. . . .

Further, we find:

Constantly to strengthen the ties with the masses, promptly to respond to the needs and requirements of the working people, and to explain to the non-Party masses the policy and decisions of the Party, always remembering that the strength and invincibility of our Party lies in its vital and unbreakable bond with the people. . . .

And just one more point, out of many others of equal importance, which deal with Party discipline, criticism and self-criticism, consistent inner Party democracy, etc.

It is the duty of a Party member: "To raise his level of political understanding and to broaden his knowledge of the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Simple but fundamental principles of organization: Guard the unity of the Party; carry on an active struggle for winning the masses to the line and policies of the Party; strengthen constantly your ties with the masses and respond to their needs and interests; raise your political understand

\* Khrushchev, cited work, pp. 28-29

ing and knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

Elevating the importance and significance of Party membership to new heights was one of the great contributions made by the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The same Congress, as is known, basing itself upon the epoch-making last great work of Stalin, *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, charted the further course of the Soviet Union's advance to Communism, reinforced and further developed the program and policies of struggle for the maintenance of world peace and the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, and proclaimed the struggle for democratic liberties and national independence the major present historic task of the working class and of the Communist and democratic parties in the capitalist world. The Congress did so by adopting the report of Comrade Malenkov delivered in behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and by receiving and adopting Stalin's concluding speech.

This was Stalin's last speech, his last great message to the Soviet Union and its Party, to Communists everywhere, to all fighters for peace, democracy and Socialism, wherever they live and struggle. It is a proclamation of a great historic truth—the bourgeoisie has abandoned and betrayed the cause of democracy and national independence; it is a banner of struggle for democratic liberties and national independence and

sovereignty for the peoples in the imperialist, colonial and dependent countries.

The bourgeoisie has thrown overboard the banner of bourgeois-democratic freedoms. Therefore, said Stalin: "I think that you, representatives of the Communist and democratic parties, will have to pick up this banner and carry it forward if you wish to rally around yourselves the majority of the people. There is no one else to pick it up."

The bourgeoisie has thrown overboard the banner of national independence and national sovereignty. Therefore, said Stalin: "There is no doubt that you, representatives of the Communist and democratic parties, will have to pick up this banner and carry it forward if you wish to be patriots of your country, if you wish to become the leading force in the nation. There is no one else to pick it up."

These are great words and they open up broad vistas and perspectives. To Communist Parties in the capitalist world, and to all those who strive to Socialism, this opens the perspective of transition to a socialist system of society. When the working class and its Communist Party in a capitalist country "become the leading force in the nation", this force will complete and consolidate the victory of the democratic forces of the people in the battles for democratic liberties and national independence. This force will then proceed, backed by a corresponding realign-

ment of class forces, on the direct road to Socialism. Thus, through victory in the historic battles for democracy and national independence and peace, the road will be opened for the working class to lead all oppressed and exploited to the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. In this perspective can be clearly seen *the road* to Socialism in this epoch, and the vanguard role of the Communist Parties in bringing this perspective to fruition.

Stalin is gone and the deep sense of loss will be with us for a long, long time. But we know that his teachings will live in the great liberating struggles of our epoch and in the advance of humanity to greater heights of material and spiritual attainments, to Communism all over the world. And we also know that his Party continues to march with ever greater unity and confidence at the head of the great and winning camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

#### TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Due to circumstances over which the publishers had no control, the March issue of *Political Affairs* has been omitted. All subscriptions will, therefore, be extended by one issue.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

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# Stalin: Architect of Socialism

By Betty Gannett

A HUSH CAME OVER the world. And a whisper spread from mouth to mouth: "Stalin is dead; Stalin, the beloved leader of working humanity, has breathed his last."

The profound grief and anguish which tore at the hearts of the people in the Land of Socialism reached out to the millions of exploited and disinherited in the capitalist and colonial world. For the name of *Stalin* is known and revered in every corner of the earth. Stalin symbolizes the realization of the age-long aspirations of mankind for freedom from oppression and exploitation, from insecurity and want, from violence and wars. Stalin is synonymous with the triumph of Socialism, the rise of a new system of society in which exploitation of man by man, and the subjugation of one nation by another is abolished forever.

Stalin, the continuer and comrade-in-arms of Lenin, is dead. But the living monument to his immortal genius is the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been translated into the day-to-day life of the hundreds of mil-

lions, the one-time downtrodden who have risen to become the sovereign masters of their destiny.

When the Great October Socialist Revolution, headed by the glorious Communist Party founded and nurtured by Lenin and Stalin, led the Russian working class and peasantry to victory over capitalism, a new era opened in human history—the era of victorious Socialism. The establishment of the rule of the working people meant the progressive advance of the multi-national state of the U.S.S.R. to a new society where production, science and culture flourish in the interest of the people, and are no longer chained to serve the insatiable avarice of a handful of millionaires.

"Formerly," Lenin stated, "man's mind, his genius, was entirely devoted to the task of providing some with the benefits of technology and culture and of depriving others of what is most essential—enlightenment and development. Today, however, all the miracles of technology, the achievements of culture will come within the reach of the entire people, and from now on man's mind and genius will not be converted into a means of violence, a means of exploitation. We



know this—and is it not worth working for, devoting all our strength to the achievement of this great historic task?”\*

This radiant vision, when man's mind and genius can unfold a life of abundance and culture, a life of equality and dignity for all, is now being achieved by the conscious creative power of the Soviet millions. Following closely every behest of Lenin, Stalin not only guided the epoch-making advance to Socialism, but charted the magnificent path of the gradual transition to Communism, upon which the peoples of the Soviet Union are now traveling.

\* \* \*

Socialism in the U.S.S.R. did not flower spontaneously. While the October Revolution transformed the vast resources of the country into public property, it did not and could not by this act alone usher Socialism into existence. Only the most superhuman sacrifices, heroism, and energy; only the boundless confidence in the ability of the working class to win to its side the mass of the peasantry; only the vigilant struggle to smash and overcome the resistance, sabotage, wrecking and espionage of the imperialists and their Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents; only the dauntless, courageous and firm Marxist-Leninist leadership provided by the Party of the Bolsheviks, finally overcame the age-old backwardness of Russian industry

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, 3rd Russian ed., Vol. XXII, p. 225.

and agriculture and transformed the Soviet land into a mighty, highly-advanced Socialist power.

The Social-Democratic sycophants of imperialism, leading the chorus of the enemies of Socialism, shouted: Socialism cannot be established in an economically backward country! It can't be done!

True, Socialism is inconceivable without large-scale industry employing the latest technological and scientific discoveries and able to engage in mass production. But, large-scale industry does not automatically evolve into Socialism. Socialism can be achieved only when the working people are at the helm of the State, only when the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of the workers in alliance with the peasantry, has been established and consolidated. The "theoretical" arguments of Social-Democracy were in reality but a facade under which it hid its hostility to Socialism, launched its never-ceasing campaign of lies, slanders and vilifications against the new proletarian dictatorship, and gave its dastardly support to every frenzied attempt of imperialism to destroy the Soviet Republic.

History has amply exposed this infamous treachery of the false socialists. And history has likewise confirmed the Lenin-Stalin thesis that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can break the resistance of the overthrown bourgeoisie and defeat its attempts to regain power; that only the dictatorship of the pro-

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letariat can crush all enemies from within and without; and that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can successfully organize the people for the task of socialist reorganization of society.

Stalin's firm adherence to this fundamental of all of Lenin's teachings helped to demolish the hostile and subtle pseudo-theoretical contentions spewed forth *ad nauseam* against the workers' state. But more than that, Stalin further enriched the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leading the struggle, and then drawing profound theoretical generalizations, Stalin emphasized the necessity of further consolidating and strengthening the workers' state after Socialism had triumphed and the country had entered the period of Communism, so long as capitalist encirclement continued to exist. His lucid words on this question at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, not only give new meaning to Engels' writings on the "withering away of the state," but replace obsolete concepts with new ones in the light of historical experience and development.

How significant this proposition of Stalin's is, can best be illustrated by pointing to the world-historic victory of the Soviet Union over the "invincible" Nazi war machine. Where, indeed, would the world be today, had this proposition not been realized practically in the indomitable might of the Red Army, in the

exposure and annihilation of the fascist Trotsky-Bukharin traitors; in the achievement of the great moral and political unity of the Soviet peoples behind their government?

\* \* \*

Socialism cannot be built in one country, raved the Trotskyites. With pompous pretensions to Marxism, Trotsky held forth that without direct state support from the proletariat in a number of European countries, the working class of Russia couldn't maintain itself in power.

Of course, history has revealed that these "theoretical" arguments, too, were only the guise under which Trotsky served fascism and sought to carry out his treasonable plan for the restoration of capitalism. And the same history has crowned the Lenin-Stalin theory of the possibility of building Socialism in one country with glorious realization.

As far back as 1915, on the basis of his formulation of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin drew the momentous conclusion that Socialism is attainable in a few "or even in one single capitalist country." Again and again, he reiterated this vital concept.

In 1922, Lenin spoke confidently that, come what may: "N.E.P. Russia will be transformed into Socialist Russia."\* How important it is to remember that that was but one

\* *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 381.

short year after the young Soviet Republic had defeated the imperialist intervention and the counter-revolutionary civil war which left the country in economic ruin, suffering the ravages of hunger, unemployment and exhaustion!

Furthering the work of Lenin, Stalin substantiated and proved that the victory of Socialism was possible in one country, that the Soviet Union had all that was necessary for the accomplishment of this historic goal.

The development of large-scale socialist industry was the central link, Stalin emphasized, in the struggle to transform the country from a backward agrarian land, employing antiquated methods of production, into a highly-advanced industrial country capable of producing all the means of production required for the rapid development of the entire national economy. Speaking at the XIV Congress of the C.P.S.U., in December 1925, Stalin stated: "The conversion of our country from an agrarian into an industrial country able to produce the machinery it needs by its own efforts—that is the essence, the basis of our general line."

Industrialization, Stalin pointed out, meant planned industrial production, with major stress upon the development of heavy industry, by the creation of huge power, iron and steel plants, metallurgical, machine-building, auto and tractor industries—industries which had never before existed in the country. Only the

building up of heavy industry would guarantee the economic foundation for Socialism, assure the independence of the Soviet Union from the capitalist world, and create a prosperous and cultured life for the people.

The Stalin grand design of industrialization won out against all opposition. It rallied the enthusiastic support of the people throughout the land. The great Stalin Five-Year Plans of intensified industrialization (interrupted only by the perfidious attack of Nazism) transformed the backward empire of the Czar into a modern industrial multi-national state, rapidly catching up with and surpassing the capitalist nations.

The speed of industrialization aroused the wonder of the whole world. The rate of increase in industrial production averaged 22 percent annually during the First Five-Year Plan and nearly 19 percent during the Second and Third Five-Year Plans. Even the United States, in the years of its most rapid expansion, lagged far behind this rate of development.

There were many sincere voices that urged a slowing down of the tempo. But Stalin insisted: "To slacken the tempo means to fall behind. And the backward are always beaten. . . . We are 50-100 years behind the advanced countries. We must cover this distance in ten years. Either we do this or they will crush us." And it was done. The industrial might of the Soviet Union stands as a testi-

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Industrialization in the Soviet Union proceeds at an unprecedented pace. Today, the output of large-scale Soviet industry every nine days is equal to the whole annual output of Czarist Russia; the output of electrical energy for a single month is equivalent to a five-year output prior to the Revolution. L. P. Beria, speaking at the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U. on the great advance in industrialization achieved by the first Land of Socialism, was able to declare:\*

History shows that in the 35 years of Soviet rule our country registered industrial progress that took the capitalist countries centuries to achieve. Whereas the U.S.S.R. increased industrial output 39-fold in Soviet years, it took Britain 162 years (from 1790 to 1951) to obtain the same increase, and France increased its industrial production in the past 90 years only 5.5-fold. As for the United States of America it increased its industrial output but 2.6-fold in the last 35 years.

The Soviet Union has in life shown the superiority of socialist over capitalist production.

\* \* \*

While large-scale industry is basic to the building of Socialism, it was necessary to reorganize the whole national economy on the foundation of new technique to guarantee the victory of Socialism in the country. In-

dustry could not advance while agriculture remained utterly backward. And agriculture, on the other hand, was doomed to eternal backwardness, unable to free the peasantry from poverty, as long as it was based on small and scattered farm production which could not advantageously apply the new agricultural implements and technique industry had produced.

Lenin had long ago warned: "As long as we live in a small peasant country there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for Communism." (Vol. XIII, p. 276). And Stalin, with his great ability to focus the attention of the country on the central task at a given moment, pointed out that the Soviet Union could not advance on the path toward Socialism if it continued to exist on the basis of two different economic foundations—large-scale socialist industry and individual peasant economy. Only one path remained open—the transfer of the small commodity production of the countryside onto the rails of large-scale collectivized agriculture—organized on the basis of cooperative farm labor and equipped with modern farm machinery. Only this path would eliminate the danger of capitalist restoration and guarantee the victory of Socialism.

The bold program of collectivization of agriculture advanced by Stalin at the XV Party Congress in December 1927 was, in the main, accomplished in the period of 1929

\* *Soviet Leaders Speak for Communism and Peace*, New Century, 1952, p. 22.

to 1932—the first Five-Year Plan achieved in four years! The preponderant majority of the peasantry streamed into the collective farms and defeated the furious organized resistance of the capitalist elements in the village—the kulaks. Instead of 25,000,000 individual peasant households, there sprang up 200,000 huge collective farms employing the most complex machinery and scientific methods of farming. Soviet agriculture was transformed into the most advanced agriculture of the entire world. With the sweep of collectivization, the last remaining hostile class in Soviet society—the kulaks—was eliminated, and the peasantry was put on the path of achieving a well-to-do and cultured life.

Collectivization was successful because, under the sure leadership of Stalin, the principle of the voluntary character of the collective farm movement was firmly defended against those who would impose collectivization by coercion and force. Stalin's famous article "Dizzy With Success," published in 1930, castigated those who stood in the way of winning the peasantry for collectivization through persuasion, by convincing them of the superiority of large-scale production. This important article, guiding the Party workers in all areas, helped to ensure the rapid unfolding of mass collectivization.

Collectivization was successful because the progress of industrialization enabled the Soviet State to equip the collective farms with tractors, com-

bins, and other modern agricultural machinery, which rapidly increased agricultural output to new and unprecedented levels.

The success of collectivization delivered the final blow to the Trotskyite thesis of the impossibility of building Socialism with the aid of the peasantry, the cynical and defeatist thesis that the peasantry constitutes an "inherently reactionary mass." The success of collectivization was a glowing confirmation of the Lenin-Stalin thesis that under the leadership of the working class, the peasantry can be won for Socialist construction and can be transformed into conscious builders of Socialism—that they can overcome the force of habit and the petty-bourgeois attitudes engendered by small-scale production.

The victory of collectivization meant the irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. The socialist system became the sole system in the entire national economy. The entire country, including all the former backward nations and peoples imprisoned by Czarism, entered the realm of Socialism.

Under capitalism every advance in the sphere of production brings with it increased exploitation and misery for the people, while it brings further amassment of profits for the few. Only under Socialism, where the working masses, as rulers of the land, have finally won the right to work for themselves after centuries of compulsory labor for others, every

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advance in the sphere of production brings with it a further improvement in their material and cultural well-being. For Socialism means the creation of a society of abundance—abundance no longer for a minority class of exploiters living off the labor of others, but for the people whose requirements constantly expand.

Generalizing the historic experiences of the Soviet Union in the establishment of Socialism, Stalin, in his final work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, formu-

lated the basic economic law of Socialist society: "The securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques" (p. 33).

This crowning theoretical contribution symbolizes, as it were, the principle of the unity of theory and practice that pervaded the life-work of the great Stalin.

# He Built Into the Future\*

By V. J. Jerome

There is a theoretical principle which surges like a leitmotif through the entire activity of Stalin the Communist leader, theoretician, man of letters, and statesman. That principle is his teaching on the struggle between the old and the new, between the decaying and the developing, which we find in his early writings and which is set forth definitively in his great essay, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*.

This principle is key to Stalin's development of the Marxist dialectical method, the scientific methodology of knowledge on the basis of practice. It elaborates and renders concrete the main essence of dialectics, which is, that all development proceeds as an unfolding of the contradictions inherent in things and of the conflict of opposites issuing from them. Stalin, basing himself on Lenin's classic doctrine, "Development is the 'struggle' of opposites," develops that teaching further, by disclosing the internal content of that struggle as the conflict between the declining and the ascendant,

"between that which is dying away and that which is being born."

This contribution to the components of the dialectical method holds great significance for the study of social development. Stalin has put at our disposal an effective weapon of revolutionary theory against all "above-class" historians; all bourgeois-nationalist "class-screening" sociologists; and all reformist, opportunist, and revisionist "class-harmonizing" interpreters of history. In that celebrated passage of his magnificent exposition of the theoretical fundament of Communism, Stalin states:

Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.

\* Speech delivered at a Stalin Memorial Meeting held under the auspices of The Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City, March 15, 1953.



The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place, not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions.

Stalin guides us to an understanding of the importance of this principle for the study of social life when he says in the same work:

Hence we must not base our orientation on the strata of society which are no longer developing, even though they at present constitute the predominant force, but on those strata which are developing and have a future before them, even though they at present do not constitute the predominant force.

This concise and lucid statement offers the key to the science of history and the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the class struggle and Socialism. It is the Stalinist guiding principle by which to determine on whom to base our orientation—on which social class or alliance of classes, generally or specifically, universally or locally, in the long range of time or in a given period.

Stalin himself discusses a major instance in history which demanded such a decisive orientation. In 1906, in a series of articles under the general title *Anarchism or Socialism?*, published in the Bolshevik press of Georgia, Stalin waged an incisive polemic against the petty-bourgeois ideology of the Russian populists,

the Narodniks, who negated the leading revolutionary role of the working class and oriented themselves on the peasantry as the poorest and most numerous section of the population. Brilliantly he exposed the falsity of those contentions when he pointed out:

It is true that the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie now constitute the majority and are really poor; but is that the point? The petty bourgeoisie has long constituted the majority, but up to now it has displayed no initiative in the struggle for "freedom" without the assistance of the proletariat. Why? Because the petty bourgeoisie, as a class, is not growing: on the contrary, it is disintegrating day after day and breaking up into bourgeois and proletarians. On the other hand, nor is poverty of decisive importance here, of course: "tramps" are poorer than the petty bourgeoisie, but nobody will say that they can undertake the task of "liberating Russia."

And Stalin pointed to the class on which the orientation for the future must be based. He declared:

The dialectical method affirms that only that class which is growing day after day, always marches forward and fights unceasingly for a better future, can be progressive to the end, only that class can smash the yoke of slavery. We see that the only class that is steadily growing, always marches forward and is fighting for the future, is the urban and rural proletariat. Therefore, we must serve the proletariat and place our hopes on it.

History's confirmation of the cor-

rectness of this Marxist position is today evidenced before the world in the mighty structure of the Socialist Soviet Union where the first victorious working class led the people to power.

And in our own country, this issue of where to base our orientation came sharply before us anew in the struggle against the revisionism of Earl Browder, who advocated reliance on the "enlightened sections" of the monopoly capitalists. But the Party, drawn from the working class, built on the organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism and possessed of basic devotion to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, was enabled, despite temporary weakening, to defeat that treacherous orientation.

Stalin's emphasis on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the class struggle extends to the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, when that struggle assumes a new form and a new magnitude. Superb master of the science of Communism, Stalin discerned and revealed the fact that with the launching of Socialist construction the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union would resort to desperate die-hard resistance against the new social order in birth. In a struggle that was epic and fateful he mobilized the Party around the banner of Lenin to defeat the counter-revolutionary resistance of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites to the building of Socialism. He exposed the treacherous nature of

the entire Bukharinite line of the "dying down" of the class struggle and of the kulaks "growing into Socialism," refuting the anti-Leninist essence of this "theory" of the harmony of class interests under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He showed that the course of eliminating the last capitalist elements from Soviet society is marked, not by a "dying down" of the class conflict, but by its intensification. The dictatorship of the proletariat is, in fact, he taught, the sharpest form of the class struggle. The process is a dialectical one. The very intensity of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitable condition for the complete elimination of classes and the class struggle in the unfolding Communist society. Thus, in the opening year of the First Five-Year Plan, Stalin declared:

The dying classes resist, not because they have become stronger than we are, but because Socialism is growing faster than they are, and they are becoming weaker than we. And because they are becoming weaker, they feel that their last days are approaching and are obliged to resist with every means and method in their power.

And Stalin made the important generalization: "The Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle is valuable, among other reasons, for the very fact that it facilitates the mobilization of the working class against the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

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This great lesson has been richly confirmed in the Soviet Union. The relentless struggle led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin against the class enemy from without and from within, and against the agents of the capitalist encirclement—traitors in high office, wreckers, spies, assassins—guaranteed the successful building of Socialism. That lesson is being confirmed today in every other country that has since taken the path to Socialism. That is the meaning of the struggle against the Rajks and Slansky's in every country of People's Democracy; it is the conflict of the new and the ascendant against the old and the dying. Today it is notorious that U.S. imperialism is financing and promoting espionage, subversion, and wrecking activities in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe.

To contemplate the battle of destiny involved in this struggle, we need only look at the tragically different outcome in Yugoslavia, where the Tito treason gang delivered the country body and soul to foreign imperialism. So long as capitalist encirclement continues to exist, there can be no relaxation in revolutionary vigilance of the working-class State, no weakening of its defenses.

\* \* \*

Stalin developed the concept of the struggle of the new against the old also in the sphere of the national question. His notable article, "The

National Question and Leninism," written in 1929, was devoted to a discussion of the nations of the new type, the socialist nations, which had arisen on the foundations of the Soviet system, in contradistinction to the nations of the old type, the bourgeois nations. Against those who viewed the passing of bourgeois nations as the liquidation of nationhood, he wrote:\*

On the ruins of the old, bourgeois nations rise and develop new, socialist nations which are much more solidified than any bourgeois nation, since they are free of the irreconcilable class contradictions which corrode the bourgeois nations and are much more expressive of the people as a whole than any bourgeois nation.

Stalin combatted the prevalent conception that because nationhood had its beginning in the rise of capitalist society it is fated to be linked forever to the system of capitalism. On the basis of Socialism in construction, he formulated the theory of socialist nationhood. In the socialist nations, class antagonisms have been eliminated, and there has been realized the friendly co-operation of the working class and the peasantry advancing together to a life of economic and cultural fulfillment. Abolished are national oppression, inequality, and great-nation chauvinism. All remnants of bourgeois nationalism are relentlessly combatted, in order to strengthen peaceful, fraternal re-

\* *Political Affairs*, November, 1950, p. 63.  
lations and mutual assistance among

nations and peoples. And international solidarity is fostered with all oppressed nations struggling for independence against imperialism and its wars of conquest.

In contrast, let us see what are the features of the nation of the old type? A community rent by irreconcilable class antagonisms, in which the dominant exploiting minority subjects the masses to economic and cultural impoverishment, and drags them into wars for imperialist aggrandizement. A community in which the minority in power, to maintain its rule, artificially divides the people, pitting worker against worker, worker against farmer, white against Negro, "brain" worker against "hand" worker, Christian against Jew, native-born against foreign-born, man against woman, old against young. A community marked by national oppression and inequality, the subjection of weaker nations to the strong, the enslavement of colonial peoples, the ravaging of countries and continents with wars of conquest. A community poisoned by the reactionary ideology of bourgeois nationalism with its bigotry and intolerance, with its racist and fascist master-race claims to national superiority and white supremacy.

This is the contrast between the new and ascendant socialist nations moving forward with life and with light, and the imperialist nations whose rulers are striving to maintain humanity in the mold of the past, to chain mankind to the dying, decrepit system of capitalism.

This, indeed, helps to explain the struggle of today against the remnants of bourgeois nationalism in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and even in the Soviet Union. This, indeed, throws the projector of truth on the monstrous charge of "anti-Semitism" against the socialist nations where national oppression and division are a thing of the dead past; and it exposes the treacherous attempts of bourgeois nationalists of all stripes, including the Zionists, to enter into collusion with foreign imperialist powers.

This, too, is involved in the war in Korea—the aggression of Wall Street-ruled U.S.A. and allied imperialist nations to thwart the effort of the Korean people to determine its destiny along the path of nationhood of the new type.

And in our own country this is involved in the struggle of the Negro people for liberation: Shall the Negro people be condemned to remain subjected to the imperialist oppressor nation, or shall it surge forward to freedom and national fulfillment?

Stalin's teaching on the differences in principle between the bourgeois and the socialist nations serves to expose the slander spread by the apologists of imperialism that the overthrow of capitalism means the "overthrow of nationhood." The reality of life in the Soviet Union demonstrates the socialist renaissance of nations, their cultural efflorescence, their brotherhood in freedom and equality, and their common striving to maintain the peace of the world.

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It is on this foundation that the U.S.S.R. champions the peaceful co-existence of all nations and States, voicing the aspirations for peace of all humanity. Only the universal triumph of Socialism will bring about the conditions for the final merging of the free, fraternal, and fully developed nations into the unitary world Communist society.

\* \* \*

The guiding principle, that we orient ourselves on the determining class in society, the class which is arising and developing, pervades Stalin's entire half-century-long activity of building, training, and constantly strengthening the Party of a new type, whose ideological, organizational, and tactical foundations he established in close conjunction with Lenin.

The Party of a new type is tempered in struggle, Stalin taught, only when it acts upon the recognition that criticism and self-criticism is the law and the driving force of its development. With masterly cogency, Stalin enunciated this teaching in the stirring conclusion of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*:

A party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in Party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time.

A party perishes if it conceals its mistakes, if it glosses over sore problems, if it covers up its shortcomings by pretending that all is well, if it is

intolerant of criticism and self-criticism, if it gives way to self-complacency and vainglory and if it rests on its laurels.

Stalin taught that only by adhering to this major law of development will the Party maintain its indispensable connections with the masses and merit their abiding confidence. It is by sharing with them the experiences and lessons which derive from the Party's work, by manifesting readiness to learn from them, that the Party prepares itself effectively to teach and lead the masses. That is why he excoriated all tendencies to conceal or hush up errors, to "settle questions by the family-circle method."

Stalin saw in the operation of this law of the Party's development a clear manifestation of the conflict of the old and the new. A high moment of his Report to the XV Congress of the C.P.S.U., in 1927, was his declaration, in the course of discussing the issue of criticism and self-criticism:\*

Something in life is always dying. But that which is dying refuses to die quietly; it fights for its existence, defends its moribund cause.

Something new in life is always being born. But that which is being born does not come into the world quietly; it comes in squealing and screaming, defending its right to existence.

The struggle between the old and the new, between the dying and nascent—such is the foundation of our development. By failing openly and honestly, as befits Bolsheviks, to point

\* Stalin: *Political Report of the Central Committee to the XV Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.)*, Moscow, 1950, pp. 85-86.

to, to bring to light, the defects and mistakes in our work, we close our road to progress. But we want to go forward. And precisely because we want to go forward we must make honest and revolutionary self-criticism one of our most important tasks. Without this there is no progress. Without this there is no development.

This statement is of paramount importance for Communists in capitalist countries. The danger lies not only in the absence or deficiency of criticism, but also in its practice, when that is conducted in a formal, non-revolutionary manner, without understanding of the dialectical process involved. Criticism and self-criticism is not achieved simply at the point of directing the charge or of admitting the error; it has effective meaning only when it traces the error to its source, isolates its ideological and political essence, and directs a struggle against it, with the consciousness that this conflict is a necessary and vital process of the Party's development through the overcoming of contradictions that inevitably arise within it.

These contradictions are class-rooted. They reflect within the Party the antagonistic class tendencies in capitalist society. They represent the conflict of the solid proletarian current against bourgeois influences that press in upon the working class and its Party. The working class does not live in a vacuum, but is constantly affected by bourgeois society, of which it is a part, and the Party of the working class is subjected to the influences of the bourgeois ways

of thinking, habits, morals, attitudes, conventions, and methods of work. These pressures make their impact through certain strata within the working class, namely the labor aristocracy and sections that have come from the petty bourgeoisie. They demand of the Party constant alertness and struggle against opportunist ideas and practices, a two-front struggle against the dual dangers of Right opportunism and "Left" sectarianism.

Stalin helps us to grasp the dialectics of criticism and self-criticism and teaches us to apply the dialectical method of Marxism, which is the method of criticism that is fundamental, transformative, and revolutionary.

The contradictions between the old and the new have to be overcome, and criticism and self-criticism is the weapon. It is a necessary, inevitable, and indispensable process of the development of the Party and its cadres.

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THERE IS NO greater tribute we can render a leader than to say of him: He built indestructibly into the future; he inspired and guided the creative powers of the people; he solidified with bonds of loyalty and devotion the unity and continuity of leadership; and when he died, his passing brought no halt to the forward movement of the cause to which he had dedicated his life-work and his genius.

Such a leader—such a model of Marxist-Leninist leadership — was Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

# On Stalin's Method

## Some Notes on Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R."

By John Swift

*Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, the latest theoretical contribution to come from the pen of Joseph Stalin,\* will be studied and restudied by all serious students of Marxism for a long time to come. It will be studied for the answers which it provides to a number of new hitherto unexplored questions involving both theory and practice. It will be studied also for the brilliant way in which Stalin employs the method of dialectical materialism.

In this work Stalin examines the new economic problems arising from the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union. He discloses, for the first time, both the basic economic law governing socialist society as well as that of modern monopoly capitalism. He also outlines, for the first time, the fundamental pre-requisites for the successful transition from socialist to communist society.

In this latest work, Stalin likewise reveals the new features of the general crisis of world capitalism. He shows that the main economic con-

sequence of World War II has been "the disintegration of the single world market" and its substitution by two "parallel" world markets counterpoised to each other. From this he traces the increasing depth and gravity of the general crisis of the world capitalist system. "Relative stabilization," such as that which followed World War I, is no longer possible. The shrinkage in the capitalist world market must lead inevitably to a decline in production in the capitalist countries, to growing mass unemployment and new economic crises. The law of maximum profits, which Stalin describes as the *basic* law of modern monopoly capital, plus the law of the uneven development of capitalism, are driving relentlessly toward a further accentuation of all the contradictions within the world capitalist system.

There is much which American Communists can learn from this work of Stalin. Some of the new

\* This article was written prior to Stalin's death.—Ed.



theoretical conclusions are of great importance in aiding us to think through the specific features of the present alignment of world forces and their probable course of development. They also aid us to extend our grasp of the economic motivation behind the policies of the monopolist ruling class of this country.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into any detailed examination of the specific propositions and conclusions set forth by Stalin and their application to American life. As important and urgent as that task is, we have set ourselves a more limited goal in this article. Namely, it is our purpose to make a few general observations and to draw a few general conclusions from the way in which Stalin applies the Marxist method of analysis. For the heart of Marxism is to be found not in its single propositions or conclusions, as profound as they are, but in its *method*, in *how* those conclusions are reached. And there is no one from whom we can learn this method so well as from Stalin, for he is the foremost Marxist of our day, a worthy companion of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great founders of the Marxist social science.

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Those of us who have as our great ambition to *become* ripe and rounded Marxists, frequently repeat the phrase "Marxism is not a dogma." But this approach is not always reflected in our work. Let us learn

from Stalin. There is nothing sterile or stereotyped in his approach. It is permeated with the living, creative spirit of Marxism, with deep devotion to principle, with deep love for the people, and with implacable hatred for the oppressors and enemies of the people. All of Stalin's work is a living testimonial to his firm adherence to Lenin's view written in 1899 that: "We by no means regard the theory of Marx as perfect and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that this theory has only laid the foundation stones of that science on which the socialists must continue to build in every direction, unless they wish to be left behind by life."\*

Stalin has been building this edifice of science "in every direction" for many years and that is why the Soviet Communists are not being "left behind by life."

Often in our own Party we find little appreciation of this need to build our theory. For some of us, theory is still a luxury, to have or not to have, depending upon whether there is "time for it." For others, who "have the time," theory is treated in an academic, pedantic fashion divorced from life and practice. From both directions, therefore, theory is seen as something separated from practice, instead of something arising from practice and in turn serving practice.

But the living relationship of the

\* Lenin, "Our Program," in E. Burns, ed., *A Handbook of Marxism*, International, 1935, p. 573.

ory to practice is to be seen in the very way in which Stalin, the greatest of all practical leaders and fighters, concerns himself with the new problems of theory which arise from the new experience of practice. This very building of theory "in all directions" becomes the new basis for the strengthening of practice "in all directions."

This can be seen in the close relationship between the latest theoretical conclusions drawn by Stalin in his *Economic Problems of Socialism* and the practical tasks outlined by the Soviet Communists at their recent XIX Party Congress.

In his report to this Congress, G. M. Malenkov took note of a tendency within the Soviet Party to "underestimate ideological work, with the result this work lags behind the tasks of the Party, and in some organizations is in a state of neglect." Why this tendency to underestimate and neglect ideological work? It arose from the lag which always develops in time between theory and practice. This lag is a contradiction which must be resolved by bringing theory up to the level of practice. If this does not take place a dangerous antagonism develops between the two, and practice becomes lifeless and barren.

Why should the Soviet youth study Marxian economics and its law of value, for example, if, according to some, there are no objective economic laws which govern socialist society? Obviously, there is no com-

elling reason for such study. Only by throwing the searchlight of Marxism on the *new problems* of the transition from Socialism to Communism and by establishing the objective economic laws governing this transition is it possible to bring theory up to the level of practice and to use it to illuminate future practice.

Thus, Stalin's great theoretical contributions in this volume were an *indispensable* pre-requisite to overcome the lag of which Malenkov spoke. They provided the theoretical foundation for the *practical* conclusions drawn by the XIX Congress. Without this theoretical work the XIX Congress could not have performed its tasks. This holds, not only in respect to Stalin's contributions pertaining to the economic transition to Communism, but to his great contributions in unraveling the *new* basic features of the post-war world situation and their most likely course of development. Without either one of these contributions the character and decisions of the XIX Congress could not have been the same.

What general conclusion can be drawn from this for our own Party? In our Party, too, the raising of the ideological level is more than a class-room question, as important as is class-room study. It is, in the first place, the living, concrete application of the classics of Marxism, of our theory, to the rich problems of the class struggle in America today. Unless our theory is used as a searchlight to illuminate the road ahead

in the United States, unless it provides perspective for our struggle today, we are bound to witness a separation between theory and practice, with the consequent victory of pragmatism and narrow practicalism in the work and thinking of the Party. This is not something which can be avoided alone by our special cadres in ideological work, as important as these are. It must be avoided by the leadership of our Party. In its own way of working the leadership constantly must prove the unity of theory and practice. It must use theory to analyze, study and draw new general conclusions from practice, and thereby in turn strengthen greatly both theory and practice.

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Stalin starts his *Economic Problems of Socialism* with a rejection of the viewpoint of subjective idealism and with a militant reaffirmation of materialism. Stalin reminds us, once again, that nature and society are governed by scientific objective laws. These are not and cannot be created by man, nor can they be changed or altered by him. They exist independent of his will. To become "master" over them, man must first take them into account in all his actions, and thereby learn to use them, to "harness" them for the benefit of mankind. Any failure to recognize the objective reality of these laws, any attempts to ignore them, or to "change" or "alter" them, can only prove foolhardy. Such attempts would bring no better results than

those of the fellow who thought he had his horse trained to live without eating, when the darned thing up and died.

Of course, the recognition of objective necessity does not mean sitting by with folded arms and saying "things are what they are and that's that." No. For Marxists the recognition of objective laws in nature and society is not an excuse for letting things remain as they are. On the contrary, it is what enables them to work in conformity with these laws *precisely in order to change things as they are*. Just as the full understanding of the natural law of gravity did not prevent man, but enabled him, in time, to learn how to fly on giant wings of aluminum, in apparent defiance of the law of gravity itself, so the fullest understanding of social and economic laws become weapons in the hands of Marxists to change, not the laws themselves, but the conditions under which they operate.

Such was the great significance of the discovery by Karl Marx of the economic law of surplus value. It was the discovery of this law which helped Marx to unfold all of the inherent contradictions in the capitalist system. Starting with the two-fold character of the simple commodity, as both a use value and an exchange value, Marx traced this contradiction and showed how it led to the main contradiction rending capitalist society, the contradiction between the social character of pro-

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duction and the private ownership of both the means and fruits of production.

It is the discovery of this law which enabled the class-conscious proletariat throughout the world to understand the nature of capitalist exploitation. It showed how the bosses are able surreptitiously to rob profits from the labor of the workers and to do it "legally" and "ethically." This discovery also disclosed the root cause of the anarchy of production and of recurrent economic crises under capitalism. It furthermore proved scientifically that the class struggle which rages around us is not something "created" by "agitators" and "trouble makers," nor is it something which is temporary and possible of reconciliation under capitalism. It is the capitalist mode of production itself which is responsible for the modern class struggle. To put an end to the class struggle, to negate it, it is necessary first that the class struggle put an end to and negate capitalism. This is its inevitable course and logic.

Thus the discovery of the law of surplus value helped transform Socialism from a utopia into a science. It gave a firm materialist foundation to the age-old quest of man for a society without poverty, oppression and exploitation of any kind. Marx considered this law the cornerstone of his whole economic doctrine. He attached such importance to its understanding that he spent the best part of forty years in dis-

secting the workings of the capitalist economic system in the most scientifically objective, detailed and painstaking fashion. His monumental work, *Capital*, was not meant as some erudite professorial study to gather dust in musty libraries. It was a mighty *weapon* to be used by the working class in its struggle against capital. Marx realized that if the workers were armed with a detailed knowledge of how the law of surplus value operates, they would be in a better position to put an end to the conditions under which this law could operate.

The discovery by Stalin of the law of maximum profits, as the new, more up-to-date concretization of the law of surplus value to the conditions of monopoly capital, must also become a weapon in our struggle against monopoly capital and its avaricious policies. There is much that we still must learn as to how this law operates and its relationship to the law of the average rate of profit. It is the task of American Marxist economists to use this discovery by Stalin to deepen our understanding of the process at work within U.S. monopoly capital.

Some comrades have asked: What is there new in the law of maximum profits? Is it not true that the capitalists have always sought maximum profits? Of course, they have always sought the very highest profits. What is different, however, is that monopoly capitalism not merely *seeks* such maximum profits, but must of

necessity find them. The difference is between mere subjective desire on the part of the capitalists and objective necessity.

Modern large-scale industry, with its immense concentration and centralization of wealth and production, with its huge preponderance of constant as against variable capital, requires nothing less than maximum profits in order to maintain itself. Thus, even a cursory examination of this law proves the contention of our Party that the basic policies of the Wall Street ruling class do not arise because of "intelligence," or "lack of intelligence," as the imperialist apologist Browder contends, but from objective necessity. "It is precisely the necessity of securing maximum profits," explains Stalin, "that drives monopoly capital to such risky undertakings as the enslavement and systematic plunder of colonies and other backward countries, the organization of new wars—which to the magnates of modern capitalism is the 'business' best adapted to the extraction of the maximum profits—and, lastly, attempts to win world economic supremacy" (*Economic Problems of Socialism*, p. 32).

We study this law of maximum profits not in order to bow in abject surrender before it, but to understand how it operates both through internal and external contradictions. The operations of this law are bound to deepen the general crisis of capitalism: to sharpen the class struggle at home, to intensify

the antagonisms between imperialism and the colonial peoples, to increase the struggle between the imperialist powers for world markets and supremacy, and to augment the contradictions between the two world systems. Thus, the more we understand about this law and how it operates, the better equipped will we be to foresee its consequences, the better able will we be to utilize its contradictions in order to fight more effectively against the rule of monopoly capital and its war and enslavement policies.

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In his application and development of the Marxist dialectical method, Stalin never views things in and by themselves, but always in their relationship to other things and in their inter-connections. For him objects and developments are never static or frozen. They represent phenomena constantly undergoing change, constantly in process of change. He, therefore, approaches questions neither one-sidedly nor two-sidedly, but *all-sidedly*. In short, he is always *concrete* in his approach, for truth is always concrete. He knows that to fail to take into account the factors of circumstance, time and place, is to fail to arrive at an accurate, truthful reflection of reality.

Let us take, for example, the way in which Stalin deals with the question of the contradictions among the capitalist countries and the question of imperialist war. In *theory*, writes

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Stalin, the contradictions between capitalism and Socialism have been, are now, and will remain "stronger" than those between the imperialist powers. But, Stalin points out, this does not mean that these have always been or will at any given moment be stronger in *practice*.

Some comrades have been puzzled by Stalin's placement of this question. They ask: How is it possible for the contradictions between the two world systems to be and to remain the stronger from the theoretical side, without also being the stronger at each moment from the practical side? Is this, they ask, not a violation of the precept of the unity of theory and practice?

In the first place, it is wrong to believe that the unity of theory and practice supposes their identity. If it did, there would be no need to speak of theory *and* practice. These would be only two different words expressing the same identical concept. Nor could we speak, under such circumstances, of the unity of these two, for one can unite only things which are different.

The relationship of theory to practice is simply this: Theory arises as generalized scientific deductions drawn from practice. In this capacity, theory enables us to learn from the experiences of the past. It helps us to understand the inner connection between events, to learn to foresee them, to learn how to prepare for them. We thereby become a conscious force working in a *scientific*

*way to influence the course* of developments, to influence and *change* practice.

It must be borne in mind that all theoretical generalizations are *only generalizations*. These, therefore, must take into account opposite and contradictory phenomena both in their process and *direction* of motion. When we speak of the contradictions between capitalism and Socialism being stronger from the theoretical point of view, we mean essentially that we are living in an epoch of world history in which the old system of capitalism is dying and the new social system, Socialism, has already been born and is constantly growing and becoming ever stronger. The epoch in which we live is the transition epoch from one to the other. This is its *essential* feature. The struggle between the old and the new is its central conflict.

But it is mechanical and one-sided to believe that the recognition of this historic truth means that the imperialist contradictions, therefore, are automatically subordinated to the contradictions between the two social systems. As Stalin shows, there are times when the contradictions between the imperialist powers emerge *in practice* in sharpest and most violent form. This was true during World War II. Try as they would, the imperialist powers could not unite against the Soviet Union. They instead flew at each other's throats. But when the *particular* set of imperialist contradictions which gave

rise to World War II was "resolved" by the defeat of the Axis Powers, what *still remained* as paramount were the contradictions between the two world systems, and these, on an enlarged scale. Hence, here is a living example of *both* propositions stated by Stalin: 1) that there are times when the struggle between the capitalist powers for world markets and world hegemony assumes the ascendancy, and 2) that despite this, and over and above it, the "stronger" contradiction for the historic epoch in which we live is that between capitalism and Socialism.

There can be no doubt but that since World War II the contradictions between capitalism and Socialism have been the most acute. It is this which has led some to believe that imperialist wars are no longer inevitable and that the only danger of war stems from the antagonism of the capitalist world to the lands of Socialism. It must be said self-critically, that we too, to one degree or another, shared this false point of view. We tended to see things statically and one-sidedly. We saw the intensity and immensity of the drive of American imperialism for a world war against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. We saw the other imperialist powers put "on rations" by Wall Street. Exaggerating the strength of American imperialism, we forgot that the law of uneven development of capitalism was still in operation. We forgot that the other imperialist powers were faced

with insurmountable difficulties in their search for markets and high profits. In time, this would compel them to move in the direction of removing the yoke of Wall Street from their necks. As Stalin so well put it, we saw "the outward phenomena that come and go on the surface, but . . . not . . . those profound forces which, although they are so far operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of developments" (*Economic Problems of Socialism*, p. 28).

Some comrades have also raised the question: Does the Stalin formulation mean that there was and is no danger of war against the Soviet Union. They have asked: Has our Party not exaggerated this danger?

In the opinion of this writer such questions reflect the tendency to move now towards an opposite and equally incorrect one-sidedness. The threat of war against the Soviet Union was and is real—as real as the death sentences meted out to the Rosenbergs, as real as the hired assassins and saboteurs taking their orders from the Dulles brothers. Here, too, let us remember what has been said about theory and practice. In theory we can see that wars between the capitalist powers are still inevitable, but in practice, now, today, there is no *immediate* danger of such an imperialist war. The concrete preparations and the concrete danger is still that of war against the camp of Socialism. And the decisions of the XIX Congress of the Commu-

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nist Party of the Soviet Union took this fully into account. If Stalin raises at this time the question that the most probable course of developments may well be that of conflict between the imperialist powers and not that of a united anti-Soviet war, it is for two reasons. In the first place, it is important to note that Stalin has always emphasized that war between the two systems is not inevitable, but that imperialist wars *are inevitable* so long as imperialism exists. In the second place, he took into account important developments that have transpired since World War II. Most important of these is that the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies have succeeded in reconstructing their war-torn economies and have forged ahead industrially, politically and culturally, at a pace unparalleled in all world history.

It is precisely this ever-growing strength of the camp of Socialism which makes war of the capitalist powers against it so dangerous for the camp of imperialism. While this infuriates the imperialists no end, it at the same time causes some of them at least to recognize that war with the socialist world can only lead to the destruction of capitalism as such.

Ironically enough, the very anti-Soviet policies pursued by the imperialists have achieved the opposite results of what was intended. As Stalin shows, the attempts to impose an economic blockade upon the socialist countries did not harm

them. It only hastened their process of rapid industrialization and mutual aid and thereby even further strengthened the new socialist world market.

To the extent that American imperialism is thwarted in its attempts to organize a united capitalist war against the socialist countries, to that same extent is an intensification of all imperialist antagonisms inevitable. Unable to solve their vexatious market problems at the expense of the socialist world and haunted by the ever closer prospect of a worldwide capitalist economic crisis, they must seek to "solve" their contradictions at the expense of each other. From the dialectical point of view we can see, therefore, how the very intensity of the capitalist antagonisms toward Socialism is resulting in a sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist countries themselves. The pressure of Wall Street imperialism which compelled a capitalist economic blockade on the U.S.S.R., China and Eastern Europe, and virtually ended trade with these countries, has only intensified the market problem in the capitalist countries. Similarly the headlong rush to rebuild Western Germany and Japan as reactionary spearheads against Socialism in Europe and Asia is only increasing the speed with which these countries will face the United States as imperialist competitors fighting for "their share" of capitalist markets and resources.

Thus, we must learn from Stalin

to view the world situation concretely and all-sidedly. This holds also in respect to our approach to the peace movement. This movement has been an extremely important factor on a world scale in preventing the outbreak of a world war. Here Stalin draws consistent conclusions from his reiteration of the proposition that imperialist wars are still inevitable. He notes that the "object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war." Its object "is not to overthrow capitalism and establish Socialism." In other words, its *concrete* object is not to end war in *general*, for this can only be done when capitalism is ended, but to prevent "a *particular* war," to "preserve a *particular* peace," to fight always against the *concrete immediate danger of war*.

This thought is of exceedingly great importance. It explains why the peace movement can be conceived of in the very broadest terms. It shows why it can be made broad enough to include *everyone* who wishes to join in the fight against the *particular* war threatening or being fought at the moment, as, for example, the war in Korea today and the threatening spread of that war.

It indicates why people who still believe in imperialism, who may be reactionary on all sorts of questions but who wish to fight against the immediate particular danger of war,

have a place in the peace movement. Flowing from this it is clear that in so far as the peace movement exercises pressure on government, its objective is not the radical transformation of the government. Its aim is to *influence* policies of the government and, where possible, to replace a bellicose government "by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace." From this it can be seen that, even in respect to governmental change, the concrete struggle for peace does not necessitate the immediate leap from an imperialist to an anti-imperialist government. Its objective is a government which is prepared to keep a given peace. Of course, the stronger the people become in preventing a given war, the stronger will they become in time to put an end to the imperialist system which breeds war.

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Much can also be learned from the fresh and concrete way in which Stalin handles the question of contradictions in general. It will be recalled that in his writings on linguistics, Stalin showed that not all contradictions are resolved by conflict, by explosion. Such explosion becomes necessary only where an obstruction prevents the resolution of the given contradiction and thereby transforms it into an irreconcilable antagonism.

In this latest work, Stalin discusses the question of contradictions from another side. He shows that even under socialist society a contradic-

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tion develops between the productive forces and the relations of production, that the latter tend to lag behind the former. But this contradiction can be resolved without conflict, because there is no economic class impediment, no obstruction which stands in the way. However, the new thing Stalin adds is that this does not *automatically* occur. If objective social laws are not taken into account, if the Party errs in policy, then an obstruction or impediment is created and an inevitable antagonism will result. Thus, false and unscientific policy can lead to antagonisms even under socialist society.

This is an extremely important thought, for there is a tendency to oversimplify the problems of the transition from Socialism to Communism. It is seen as some kind of "pure" process without contradictions and without difficulties. Stalin has laid such over-simplification to rest. He has shown, for example, that such a contradiction as exists between collective group ownership (collective farms) and national ownership, can remain either unresolved and therefore lead to antagonism, or, its resolution can be undertaken in so clumsy and unscientific a fashion (for instance, by expropriation), as to lead also to discord.

The way in which Stalin deals with these problems of the transition from Socialism to Communism affects other questions of policy. It makes clearer the reason for the

added emphasis in the newly adopted Soviet Party Rules on the crucial importance of criticism and self-criticism based on inner-Party democracy. The Party Rules take into account the possibility that official Party policy may not always be right. They establish safeguards through which the Party membership can express its position and exercise its control over the leadership. If this is true for the Soviet Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Party which has been proved right by history for the past half-century, how much special meaning does it have for our Party?

Why do we fail to *organize* criticism and self-criticism as a daily method of work for our Party? One of the reasons is that we do not understand deeply enough why it is so indispensable. We fail to see that between our Party, as a Party with a socialist ideology, and the fact that it lives under capitalist surroundings, there also is a contradiction. Its members constantly are subjected to the influences of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. Criticism and self-criticism, and the unrelenting struggle against all deviations from Marxism-Leninism, are the only means by which this contradiction can be resolved in the interests of Party unity and working-class ideology. Otherwise, this contradiction can become transformed into an antagonism which leads to inner Party disunity and conflict, and even to inner explosions and to the de-

railment of the Party as a class vanguard. If we have had such explosions and derailments in the history of our own Party, these undoubtedly were due to the heavy pressures of bourgeois ideology upon the leadership and ranks of the Party. But the question arises: Could some of these have been prevented, had there been the proper organization of criticism and self-criticism? Under such circumstances the ideological level of the Party would have been much higher. The whole Party would have been engaged in *thinking-through* problems, in learning from mistakes and shortcomings. Thus, wrong tendencies would have been nipped in the bud more swiftly and enemy agents uncovered more easily. The whole Party would have been strengthened as a Party based on Marxist-Leninist ideology.

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Another thing we can learn from Stalin's method is the polemical way in which he discusses all questions. This polemical method is not a matter of mere style in the formal sense. It is in the first place a matter of content. It is an expression of the unity of theory and practice. For all the questions Stalin deals with are live ones, arising from practice, from the daily struggle. The reason he deals with them at all is that wrong views, wrong tendencies must be answered or the struggle will be impeded. That is why his exposition of Marxism cannot take on a lifeless, academic form, but is vested in a liv-

ing polemical "style."

It is no accident that whether in respect to linguistics or economics, Stalin presents his positive views as a struggle against false unscientific views. This same polemical "style" also was characteristic of the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. They wrote nothing for the mere sake of proving their own erudition. They wrote everything for the sake of the struggle.

The polemical method of exposition is also the best way to teach Marxism, for it corresponds most closely to the dialectical method of thinking. This is itself a reflection of the dialectical processes at work in nature and society. Whether people know it or not, they think-through questions by setting up propositions, knocking them down, and replacing them with new propositions. Of course, this is most often done unconsciously, unscientifically, but it is the way people think and learn. The polemical method of exposition, therefore, corresponds to the dialectical method of acquiring knowledge. For knowledge, theory, can only be acquired, Marxism can only be mastered, through the process in which the Party and individuals negate false views and replace them with correct scientific ones. The final synthesis arrived at by them must be *their own*, in the sense that they have arrived at it through a process of *critical* evaluation and integration, and not merely because someone "says so." Without this approach,

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learning takes on a grey lifeless hue. It represents the uncritical acceptance of the views of others, the method of learning by mere memorization, which, of course, is no real learning at all.

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Lastly, let us note another characteristic of the Stalin method—his solicitude for what some may consider "small" matters. Stalin, for example, was not merely concerned with the scientific accuracy of the new textbook on political economy. This, of course, was his *main* consideration. But as part of this concern, Stalin also proposed a special editorial commission to guarantee a uniform literary style for the book. As part

of this concern, he could not separate the book from those for whom it was meant. Here, too, we see the same heed for the unity of theory and practice.

How much we can learn from this! How frequently do we disregard the way in which questions are placed in our speeches, articles and literature! But Stalin is not "too big" to be "bothered" with such "trifles!"

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Such are only a few of the more obvious lessons which can be learned from the extremely rich depository of knowledge contained in the latest writing of Joseph Stalin—*Economic Problems of Socialism*.

## DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION

# The Eisenhower-Dulles "Liberation" Nightmare

By Alex H. Kendrick

Our Party's "Draft Resolution on the National Situation Growing out of the Presidential Elections"\* characterizes the meaning of Eisenhower's election as follows: "It increased for the immediate months ahead the danger of moves designed to spread the war in Korea and the Far East and of provocative actions in Europe aimed at preventing a blow-up of N.A.T.O. The Eisenhower-Dulles position on a war of 'liberation' exposes the extreme aggressive aims of the Eisenhower regime."

This characterization is correct, as the first utterances and actions of the Eisenhower Administration amply demonstrate. It is necessary, however, for the finalized version of the Resolution to contain a fuller analysis of the arch-reactionary nature and content of the Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" doctrine.

As is well known, this "liberation" theme was first set forth during the campaign by Dulles in May in an article in *Life* magazine: "We could make it clear . . . that U.S. policy seeks as one of its peaceful goals the eventual restoration of genuine independence in the nations of Europe and Asia now dominated by

Moscow, and that we will not be a party to any 'deal' confirming the role of Soviet despotism." It was restated with less peace drapings by Eisenhower in his bellicose speech in August to the American Legion in New York: "Our government must tell the Kremlin that we shall never recognize the slightest permanence in Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia." Since inauguration this "liberation" theme has been very evident in the various public utterances of the Administration as well as its early actions such as the open repudiation of U.S. commitments entered into at Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran, and its Formosa action promising direct intervention by the 7th Fleet against the People's Republic of China. In fact, it is being generally stated that the Dulles "liberation" doctrine is to have the same significance for the policies of the Eisenhower Administration as did the so-called Acheson-Kennan "containment" doctrine for the policies of the Truman Administration.

Great efforts are currently being made to convince the people that the Eisenhower "liberation" doctrine

\* Published in *Political Affairs*, December, 1952.

is something basically different from the Truman "containment" doctrine, that at the very least it represents a basic break with the Truman policies. There is not a scrap of truth in any of this extensive political demagoguery. The fact is, as the Draft Resolution states, that "the Democratic Party Administration, operating with bipartisan support, originated and unfolded the current war program in behalf of Wall Street." And further, that "rapacious greed and feverish search for maximum profits determine the basic drive of monopoly capital for world domination. American monopolists are fundamentally united behind this drive, as they seek a way out of the deepening crisis of U.S. and world capitalism through aggressive imperialist adventures, attacking democratic rights and instituting reaction, and through further impoverishment of the masses both at home and abroad."

The Eisenhower Administration's "liberation" doctrine and policies do not represent a break with the Truman Administration's "containment" doctrine and policies. On the contrary, they represent a continuation of the same basic direction of U.S. imperialist war measures and policies. Tendencies to obscure or deny this fact lead inevitably to one of two results: 1) Either they feed and perpetuate illusions among the masses based on Eisenhower's campaign demagoguery of "seeking an end to the Korean war," "peaceful intentions" and a new U.S. foreign policy.

2) Or, and this is more frequently

the case among progressives, they foster lesser evil notions that the Truman Democrats are in fact a force operating against the Eisenhower-Dulles war policies and that the masses can afford to tag along behind the Stevensons, Dubinskys, Reuthers and Meanys.

Some progressives, including a few Communists, draw dangerously erroneous conclusions of another kind from the fact that the Eisenhower Administration does not represent a basic change in direction of U.S. war policies. They draw the conclusion that the Eisenhower-Republican victory is of little consequence, that it represents no change of importance in U.S. imperialist war measures and policies. These friends and comrades object to the Draft Resolution's estimates that "The GOP victory in the 1952 elections does in fact strengthen the hand of the most reactionary pro-fascist, pro-war elements of monopoly capital." That it "increases . . . the danger of moves designed to spread the war in Korea and the Far East," and "of provocative actions in Europe."

The fact is that the Eisenhower Administration's "liberation" doctrine and policies, while representing a continuation of the basic direction of U.S. expansionist war measures, also represent something more. They represent a new initiative by U.S. imperialism to rescue its foundering drive for world domination, a new reckless effort to smash through the mounting resistance from all quarters to its expansionist war measures.



That is why the Draft Resolution is correct when it states that, "Monopoly capital brought the Republican Party into power because it is now prepared to drive for an even more aggressive policy of imperialist expansion" and when it sharply warns that it is harmful to obscure the heightened danger of war and fascism arising from the Eisenhower-Republican victory.

Tendencies to regard the Eisenhower Administration's "liberation" doctrine and policies as a simple continuation of the policies of the Truman Administration and to minimize the fact that they constitute a sharpening of the war and fascist dangers serve no purpose other than disarming our Party and the masses. Such tendencies operate to isolate our Party, for as the Resolution correctly states: "The feature of the new political situation which has supreme importance for us and upon which our tactical line must be based is the great and justified alarm among the masses over the Republican victory. We must fully appreciate the existence of this deep-going concern in the ranks of the workers, poor farmers and lower income urban middle classes. . . . We must fully associate ourselves with this concern."

#### SOURCE AND BACKGROUND OF "LIBERATION" DOCTRINE

The source of American imperialism's expansionist strivings and drive for world conquest is, of course, neither the policies of the Truman

Administration nor of the Eisenhower Administration. Its source is the operation of the basic economic law of modern capitalism which as formulated by Stalin is: "The securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of a given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits."

Chapter 32 of Foster's *History of the Communist Party of the United States* sets forth fully and with great concreteness the lines along which U.S. imperialism's post-war policies have been shaped by the operation of this basic law of modern capitalism. Briefly summarized these are:

1. A striving for markets, raw materials, strategic military positions, and peoples to exploit through a policy of aggression towards all other nations and limited only by the opposition it encounters.

2. Unrestrained intervention in the internal affairs of other nations against the popular and democratic forces of these nations in efforts to secure domination of all phases of their national life.

3. The development of a war economy, of a gigantic war machine, and the starting of wars, in order to keep U.S. industry in substantial operation and the highest possible profits rolling in.

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4. The carrying through of enormous preparations for the launching of a counter-revolutionary war of aggression aimed at realizing Wall Street's insane and futile dream of crushing the Soviet Union and People's Democracies.

These are the motivation and the objectives which have shaped U.S. foreign policies in the period since World War II. Out of them grew the "get tough with Russia" policy and the "atom bomb diplomacy," the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. They dictate the U.S. Government's policy of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries ranging from the drowning in blood of the Greek people's democratic revolution, the organizing of *coups d'etat* against British positions of influence in the Middle East, the transformation of Korea into a bloody bomb-ravaged battlefield, to the dictating of the national budgets of the Western European nations and the stationing of gendarme contingents of American troops on their soil and that of England. Out of them came NATO, the attempt to remilitarize Western Germany, the reactionary Japanese Treaty, the building of a grandiose U.S. military establishment—in fact the entire body of Truman policies which make up the content of the so-called "containment" doctrine.

The basic motivation and objectives of U.S. imperialism have, of course, not undergone change with the election of a Republican Administration. What has, however, been

undergoing important change is the world conditions within which U.S. imperialism strives to realize its objectives. The Soviet Union and its People's Democracy allies have been making progress with seven league boots in the strengthening of their economic, moral, diplomatic and military position in the world. The sector of the world market based on the socialist countries has been consolidated and is prospering. At the same time the armed forces of the U.S. engaged in the Korean war of imperialist aggression have suffered the sharpest and most devastating setback in the history of our country at the hands of the Korean and Chinese peoples. The flames of national liberation movements throughout Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America grow brighter and the counter actions of the U.S., Britain and France do no more than add oil. The N.A.T.O. project and the policy of rearming Western Germany flounders from bad crisis to worse crisis. The elements of national resistance to U.S. domination gain force in England and France and other U.S. "allies," as so brilliantly predicted by Stalin, and begin to break into the open. Elements of impending economic crisis begin to be felt more plainly in the U.S. and throughout the capitalist world. The Korean war and the current body of U.S. policies generate less and less popular support and increasing resentment and opposition at home.

These changes in world conditions have produced a first rate crisis in

U.S. imperialism's policy and threat to bring about a collapse of its post-war world conquest drive. American imperialism does not at all intend to meet this changed world situation by abandoning or changing its goal of world domination. On the contrary, it intends to meet it by still more aggressive and reckless attempts to smash and beat down all opposition to its program by increasing reliance on methods of intimidation and military action. It is for this reason that it has chosen the "strong man," Eisenhower, and a Republican Administration for its instrument. This is why the Eisenhower-Republican election signifies a sharpened war and fascist danger.

#### NATURE AND CONTENT OF "LIBERATION" DOCTRINE

The Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" doctrine is a direct by-product of the weakening position of U.S. imperialism arising out of the twofold process of the rapidly deepening general crisis of capitalism on the one hand, and the flourishing peaceful development of the socialist sector of the world on the other. It is a diseased recognition by imperialists of the increasingly indisputable fact of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. It also expresses the growing doubts in ruling circles that U.S. imperialism can consolidate full hegemony over the capitalist world by any means, and their growing conviction that it certainly is impos-

sible by anything remotely resembling "peaceful" means.

A very valuable insight into the thinking entering into the "liberation" doctrine is given in a feature article carried by the Sunday magazine supplement *This Week* in its issue of February 7, 1953. The article, "Can America Liberate the World?" is written by James Burnham, author of a book scheduled for early publication, *Containment or Liberation?*, as well as a number of other books including *The Managerial Revolution*. Because of their revealing character it is worth while giving several extended quotations from this article. Speaking of the Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" doctrine, he says: "There is nothing mysterious about a policy of liberation, no matter how complex and difficult may be the details of its application. Its goal is freedom for the peoples and nations now enslaved by the Russian-centered Soviet State system—freedom for all the peoples and nations now under Communist domination, including the Russian people."

After thus stating (in the usual Aesopian terminology of the warmongers) U.S. imperialism's objective of crushing and conquering the nations embracing 800 million people enjoying the freedom of Socialism, Burnham proceeds:

... I believe that Moscow will not deliberately start a general war in the next period. However that may be, it is still more important to realize that

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the peril to the U.S. (and to all other independent nations) does not depend exclusively or even primarily upon the probability and timing of general war.

This peril can be summed up in a single sentence. If the Communists succeed in consolidating what they have already conquered, then their complete victory is certain. The simple, terrible fact is that if things go on as they now are, if they merely stabilize, then we have already lost. That is why the policy of containment even if 100 percent successful, is a formula for Soviet victory.

... We are lost if our opponent so much as holds his own. There remains only a limited time during which it will continue to be possible to move against him.

It is doubtful whether even Dulles could present more eloquently the poverty-stricken moral and material premises of U.S. imperialism's frenzied efforts to organize the launching of war against the Soviet Union.

Stripped of its nauseating "liberation" and "freedom" verbiage the Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" doctrine is simply this—the extension of the Truman doctrine of intervention in the internal affairs of other nations and the glorifying and legitimizing of the criminal concept of preventive war.

The Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" doctrine, while representing a certain advance in the "clarification" of U.S. imperialism's war objectives, in no way advances the closing of the gap between these objectives and U.S. imperialism's ability to achieve them. On the contrary, this gap

grows apace, and the objectives become more fantastically illusory, from month to month.

The gap between the anti-Soviet war objective and plans of U.S. imperialism, and its actual strength is shown by the lost war in Korea, where its real weakness has been most graphically exposed and the shaky character of its imperialist alliances revealed. The Korean war is also a most vivid reminder to the men of Wall Street and Washington of the catastrophe that would befall their beloved capitalist system should they be so insane as to catapult our country into a world war.

The Draft Resolution in stating that, "Despite the fact that World War III would inevitably end in the defeat of U.S. imperialism, both parties adhered to the insane design of launching a war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies," correctly characterizes the anti-Soviet objectives held by U.S. ruling circles and their futility. It must be said, however, that this section could well stand considerable elaboration.

The warmongering anti-Soviet, anti-People's Democracy character of the "liberation" doctrine is only one of its aspects however. It also has immediate and practical meaning for the future of relations between the U.S. and the other nations of the capitalist world.

#### THE "GET TOUGH WITH OUR ALLIES" POLICY

The Eisenhower Administration takes over in a period in which U.S.

relations with other capitalist nations, and in particular with its key allies, are undergoing significant changes. The ruling capitalist circles of these nations, and in particular of England and France, no longer display the docility with which they accepted Eisenhower when he arrived in Europe as the Washington-appointed head of N.A.T.O. and the "free world"; or with which they acquiesced to the Truman Doctrine or the Marshall Plan. Elements of national resistance are coming to the fore.

Great Britain refuses to become part of the U.S.-bossed N.A.T.O. Army, rejects support of the Schumann Plan, and proceeds with the development of her own atomic bomb. She stubbornly insists on having a somewhat greater say about the shape of her own national budget and scale of participation in the U.S.-run armament race. She refuses to obey the repeated orders from Washington to break diplomatic relations with China and drag her feet in Korea. Finally she has the audacity to openly protest the Eisenhower order on Formosa involving the direct intervention against China of the 7th Fleet and to declare that the British Navy would defend British and Ceylonese shipping to and from China. She refused to repudiate, on Washington's orders, the Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran Pacts.

France protests having its budget written in the American Embassy, drags its feet on the European Army, and lets it be known that it sharply

disapproves U.S. Far Eastern policy.

Even though still in the strait-jacket imposed by U.S. armies of occupation, Western Germany and Japan move in the direction of stronger efforts to regain national sovereignty. Everywhere the working class and popular masses spearhead the fight to free their countries from U.S. imperialist influence and domination.

All of these events represent striking, although very early and embryonic, confirmation of the brilliant Stalin prediction that the capitalist rulers of these and other nations would be impelled to take the path of developing resistance to and struggle against U.S. imperialist domination. Already this trend has severely strained U.S. relations with its allies, places troublesome stumbling blocks in the way of U.S. aggressive plans in the Far East and Europe, and threatens to explode the system of alliances which Washington has already built (N.A.T.O., Pacific Security Pact, Organization of American States).

A large part of the significance of the Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" doctrine lies in the fact that it involves an effort to overcome difficulties with allies by greater use of "the big stick" and sharper methods of intimidation. The "get tough with Russia" policy must now share space with an officially proclaimed "get tough with our allies" policy.

The first blast in Operation "rough up our allies" was the arrogant Dulles ultimatum to London and

the other West European capitals to bring their foreign policies into line with Washington's orders or face the further disruption of their economies through the reduction and manipulation of U.S. "aid" funds. The demonstrative, unilateral, Eisenhower order on Formosa and the 7th Fleet was the second. As times goes on the "get tough with our allies" arsenal will undoubtedly be stacked with a full range of weapons in the fields of financial and loan pressures, market raids, the exercise of raw material controls, and diplomatic intimidation. Undoubtedly also this "get tough with our allies" line leads remorselessly in the direction of resort to and reliance on military means and methods.

The Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" doctrine calls for "allies" of the Franco Spain, Greece and Turkey type. The "get tough with our allies" policy is aimed at the reduction of such nations as England and France to that status. It will undoubtedly meet with increasingly sharp and all embracing forms of resistance and struggle from these nations.

Ruling-class circles have been by no means united on how the developing crisis in the relations of the U.S. with its allies should be met. This question has long been a sharp bone of contention between the Truman - Acheson - Dulles - Eisenhower trend on the one hand and the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend on the other. The "get tough with our allies" policy undoubtedly represents a certain ascendancy and

more general adoption of the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur viewpoint on this question.

While the events transpiring since the publication of the Draft Resolution, in particular the formulation and setting forth of its program and policy outlook by the Eisenhower Administration, as well as the extensive discussions taking place in Party ranks, will undoubtedly enable the final version of the Resolution to achieve a higher level of clarity and precision of formulation, it seems to this writer that the following section dealing with this subject is basically correct in analysis and prediction:

The Truman-Eisenhower-Dulles trend has been and continues to be the dominant viewpoint of monopoly capital. This viewpoint is founded on the perspective of an anti-Soviet war as its central and first objective. This "global" policy, as well as the whole body of policies—foreign and domestic—developed by this trend within monopoly capital, arise out of their overall strategy for achieving world domination and the anti-Soviet war. Ever increasing exploitation and subjugation of all nations and states is an integral part of this strategy. This trend seeks to execute this policy behind a facade of an "alliance of free nations."

The Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend represents powerful forces of monopoly capital but is not the viewpoint of the dominant sections. This trend also pursues world domination and war against the Soviet Union but it seeks at this stage full subjugation of the capitalist world by an unrestrained offensive



against its capitalist rivals, in the first place Britain and France. It presses for the more rapid fascization of the United States and the swiftest destruction of the labor movement. It demands even more aggressive policies aimed at carving out an expanded colonial empire for U.S. imperialism. The tendency of this trend is also to attach great importance to the unfoldment of more reckless imperialist policies in Asia.

At many points the concrete manifestations of the policies pursued by these two trends overlap and merge. Wall Street's direct representative, John Foster Dulles, works feverishly to heal these rifts and strives to bring the two trends into greater harmony.

As the body of the Truman-Eisenhower-Dulles policies based on early anti-Soviet war founders on the growing difficulties in Europe and Asia, the tendency is for growing support in the ranks of monopoly capital to the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend.

The American working class can take advantage of these contradictions only if it takes upon itself the historic responsibility of uniting and leading the majority of the nation in a great peace crusade against any kind of imperialist and aggressive war. Unlike the Roosevelt period, no basic political realignment, no great and powerful people's coalition against war and fascism can be built today which can succeed in reversing American foreign policy *that does not have the working class as the basic organizer, leader and backbone of the coalition.*

In the opinion of this writer, however, the formulation in an earlier part of this section of the Draft Resolution that, "The main rift in

the ranks of monopoly capital in this period arises over the question of the feasibility of launching an early war against the Soviet Union," needs correction.

Of course, the monopolists and their political and military representatives are by no means united on the question of the feasibility of launching an early war against the Soviet Union. They are by no means unaware of the profound truth of Stalin's statement that "... war with the U.S.S.R., as a socialist land, is more dangerous to capitalism than war between capitalist countries: for whereas war between capitalist countries puts in question only the supremacy of certain capitalist countries over others, war with the U.S.S.R. most certainly puts in question the existence of capitalism itself."

This does not mean, however, that it is correct to place differences over the feasibility of early war with the Soviet Union as the *main* rift in the ranks of monopoly capital. The main rift in the ranks of the monopolists arises over the broader question: What strategy shall U.S. imperialism pursue in its drive to achieve world mastery?

Involved here is certainly the question of early or late war against the Soviet Union. Involved also, and very centrally, is the question of what strategy to pursue towards the rest of the capitalist world—how best to achieve and maintain domination over the capitalist nations. It is around these latter questions that the trends represented by Taft-Hoov-



er-MacArthur on the one hand, and by Truman-Acheson-Eisenhower on the other, have been in sharpest collision.

It is clear that in the recent period Eisenhower and Dulles have moved closer to the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur viewpoint. Undoubtedly, as the resolution says, this is largely due to the increasingly apparent bankruptcy of the main policies and projects undertaken by the Truman-Acheson regime.

#### UNITED STATES ECONOMIC BLOCKADE POLICY

One of the least successful of the Truman Administration's ventures in "free world" leadership was its arrogant orders to all capitalist nations to cease trading with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia. The Eisenhower Administration in its first days has made clear that it is not only reissuing these orders in its own name, but it is also going to use its "get tough with our allies" policy to do what the Truman Administration never succeeded in doing, namely, get the 100 percent obedience of the "free world."

A major objective of this attempt to create a "cordon sanitaire" around the socialist-based world market was to cripple and choke it off. As Stalin explains in the section of the Marxist classic *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* dealing with the disintegration of the single world market, the effect of this U.S.-dictated blockade "was not

to strangle, but to strengthen the new world market."

The policy of imposing an economic blockade on the U.S.S.R., China and the European People's Democracies has, however, had serious consequences for the economies of the capitalist nations. Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and others, not to mention the U.S., have great and growing need for the vast potential markets as well as raw material reserves and manufactured products of the powerful socialist economies of the boycotted countries. The blockade is an important factor in generating economic crisis within the capitalist world. This is why the U.S. is meeting increasingly sharp and stubborn resistance (and more frequent instances of open defiance as with Argentina) to its blockade from all quarters of the capitalist world.

In the face of all this: Why does the Eisenhower Administration, as a part of its "liberation" doctrine, not only hang onto the discredited Truman blockade policy, but elevate it to a position of even greater importance in its general outlook? Now, of course, it is possible, even probable, that the Washington planners still cling to the vain hope that somehow the blockade will do serious damage to the U.S.S.R. and its allies. There is, however, another reason why they attach such great importance to the blockade policy. This arises from the fact that the policy of imposing an economic blockade on the U.S.S.R. and the People's De-

mocracies is at one and the same time also a policy of imposing an isolation from the virile and crisis-free socialist-based world market on the capitalist nations dominated by the U.S. The isolation of other capitalist nations from the socialist-based world market is an indispensable condition for their maximum exploitation and domination by U.S. imperialism. That is why trends on the part of Great Britain and other capitalist nations to break away from U.S. domination are indissolubly linked with resistance to the U.S.-dictated economic blockade and with efforts to continue and develop relations with the socialist-based world market. That is why the Eisenhower Administration makes the policy of economic blockade so important a part of its "liberation" doctrine.

That is why, also, we have the Henry Fords proposing the elimination of tariff barriers between capitalist nations and championing "free trade" in a U.S.-dominated capitalist world market.

The finalized version of our Party's resolution should not ignore, as does the Draft Resolution, this vital question of the role and consequences of the policy of economic blockade and of the important effect that its breakdown will have on the struggle between the forces of peace and war.

#### THE "DEEDS NOT WORDS" POLICY FOR ASIA

For over seven years, ever since the end of World War II, the ma-

ior imperialist powers, the United States, Britain and France, have been engaged in trying to shoot to pieces the swelling tide of national liberation movements throughout Asia. The demented imperialist spokesmen in Washington boast that the U.S. has already expended more bombs and munitions killing Korean men, women and children, and Chinese volunteers than were used by American forces against Nazi Germany and fascist Italy in World War II. In Indo-China, Burma and Malaya, the planes, artillery, tanks, infantry, and navies of the Big Three of the Western imperialist powers are carrying forward similar "liberating" missions. Despite the infliction of horrible slaughter and privations, the armed forces of the U.S., Britain and France have not prevented the historic victory and consolidation of the Chinese People's Republic, the North Korean People's Republic, the People's Republic of Viet Nam, and a continued general advance of the national liberation movement throughout Asia.

The U.S., Britain and France, while having in common opposition to the national liberation movements in Asia, and participating jointly in the project of trying to shoot them out of existence, are also busily engaged in knifing each other. This is particularly true of the U.S. and Britain. The U.S. tries to force Britain out of its trade positions in Southern Asia, using the puppet government of Japan for this purpose. It tries to choke off British trade

with China and provoke situations that would result in the loss of the British toenail hold on the continent, Hong Kong. Britain resists inroads into its sphere of influence in Southern Asia, hangs desperately onto Hong Kong, and stubbornly refuses to relinquish the present, and extremely great potential, advantage which it has over U.S. imperialism due to its continued diplomatic recognition of and trade relations with the Chinese People's Republic. Recent events, above all the sharp opposition of Britain and France to Eisenhower's measures and proposals for spreading the war in Asia, show that these inter-imperialist antagonisms are rapidly intensifying.

At the same time, because of its flagrant violation of campaign promises to the people, the Eisenhower Administration is most vulnerable on the issues of peace in Korea and Asia. As the Draft Resolution states: "There is a very real contradiction between the attempt by millions, including large numbers of women and youth, to register a peace mandate through Eisenhower and the actual course and policies of the Republican Party. This, in the first place, accounts for the fact that these millions do not represent a stable base for the Eisenhower regime."

As this is written the Eisenhower Administration is far from having unfolded fully its "deeds not words" policy for Asia. Nevertheless, from its early statements and actions, three main policy lines emerge clearly.

#### 1. *Beat China into submission:*

About the only really valuable thing we Americans should have acquired as a heritage from the Truman-Acheson regime is an understanding that the days of beating China into submission are gone for good. They ended for all time with the victory of the Chinese People's Republic and the conclusion of the treaty of mutual defense between China and the U.S.S.R. By its words and actions the Eisenhower Administration makes clear that the central feature of its Asian policy is the flying in the face of this fact. Attempting to close the door irrevocably on the always available method of peaceful negotiation and settlement, the Eisenhower Administration is moving in a direction involving the step-by-step unfolding of major military measures against China. The Eisenhower action on Formosa and the 7th Fleet is intended to be the first such measure. The significance of this act does not lie, of course, in the largely fictional armed forces of Chiang Kai-shek. It lies in the fact that it is intended to lay the basis for direct intervention of the 7th Fleet, and other portions of the U.S. military machine. Whatever the priority of their attempted application, the other measures that make up the content of the truly insane "beat China into submission" policy include (1) mass bombing of Chinese territory, (2) use of the atomic bomb, (3) economic blockade, (4) participation of U.S. armed forces in attempted invasion

of Chinese territory, (5) attempts to enlarge sabotage and terrorist activities.

The Eisenhower-Dulles policy is nothing less than a strategy of step-by-step transformation of the war in Korea into a large scale general war against China. The American people have not so lost touch with reality that they support this insanity. The big danger is that the Eisenhower Administration by its demagoguery, and by its step-at-a-time tactic, may succeed in carrying through its strategy before large masses realize what has happened. The Draft Resolution correctly calls for our Party to "persistently help the working class, Negro, and democratic forces to develop the broadest united movements in action for an immediate end to the war in Korea." In its final version it must also warn most sharply of the danger and consequence of a general war against China and must say in effect:

Either we Americans, all of us no matter what our political beliefs, defeat and change this stupid, this insane Eisenhower "beat China into submission" policy or we, all of us, will bear the bloody consequences of a large scale general war which our country can not possibly win, and which might well not result in stalemate as in Korea, but in catastrophic national defeat.

2. *Merge the "little" wars in Asia into one big war:*

In his message to Congress, Eisenhower attempted to lay the basis for carrying this policy forward

when, in speaking of Korea, he stated: "It is clearly a part of the same calculated assault that the aggressor is simultaneously pressing in Indo-China and Malaya and of the strategic situation that manifestly embraces the island of Formosa and the Chinese National forces there.

"The working out of any military solution of the Korean war will inevitably affect all these areas."

Obviously this "merge all the little wars into one big war" policy is a part of the Eisenhower Administration's bigger insanity of "beating China into submission." It also represents a major effort on the part of U.S. imperialism to eliminate completely Britain and France from any voice in Far Eastern affairs. The Eisenhower Administration, of course, doesn't just want a merger of the forces and policies in the areas named. It demands a merger under complete and full U.S. command. Such a command would then deal handily with remaining British and French spheres of influence.

3. *Organize Asians to fight Asians:*

It is understandable, after the licks suffered by the armed forces of the U.S., Britain and France at the hands of national liberation forces in Asia during the past seven years, that the Eisenhower Administration should now desire that the Western imperialist "white man's burden" of attempting to put the chains of colonial bondage back on China should be shouldered by the Chinese and other Asian peoples. It is flight from the realm of political

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reality, and an insult to the intelligence of the American people, to propose such a course as national policy.

The decisive characteristic of the national liberation struggle throughout Asia is that it is everywhere a struggle for full national independence against imperialist domination and exploitation by the U.S., Britain and France. It is this characteristic which ensures it the support not only of the peasant masses and working class but all national minded capitalist elements and restricts imperialist support to a narrow strata of isolated, primarily feudal elements represented by the Chiang Kai-sheks, Syngman Rhee, and Bao Dais. The comment of the Alsop columnists "Drivel, Gentlemen, Drivel" aptly characterizes the main ingredient of the Eisenhower "Asian against Asian" policy proposal.

Its main significance is twofold: First it expresses the intention of the Eisenhower Administration to intervene with U.S. armed forces against the Chinese People's Republic, using the tattered camouflage of assistance to the fictional armies of Chiang Kai-shek. Secondly, it expresses the policy, and the futile hope, of U.S. imperialism that it will be able to build Japan into a militarily powerful, yet politically subservient and docile, instrument for waging U.S. wars in Asia.

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The fact that the first war measures of the Eisenhower Administration

have centered largely on Asia should cause no one to underestimate the Draft Resolution's warning of the "danger of provocative actions in Europe" in the immediate future. At the present moment, however, the key feature of the political situation is the extreme sharpness of the clash between the widespread peace hopes aroused by the Eisenhower election campaign promises of a quick end to the Korean war, and their dashing by the grim reality of Eisenhower's steps to intensify and enlarge the war in Asia during his very first days in office. Such simon-pure, arrogant, brass-hat contempt for the deep feelings and heartfelt desires of tens of millions of common people carries a political price. A significant change in the attitude of masses towards the Eisenhower Administration is underway, and all the objective prerequisites exist for it to take on sweeping proportions. The Truman and Stevenson Democrats, the A.D.A. top leadership, the top strata of Right-wing and Social-Democratic union officials of the Meany-Reuther-Dubinsky schools, will undertake—are already undertaking—the "loyal opposition" role of attempting to channelize mass disillusionment with the Eisenhower Administration into partisan support of the Democratic Party, while at the same time ensuring bipartisan support of the Administration's main war measures. The all-decisive task of our Party, of all Left forces, of all who consciously fight for peace irrespective of their political lean-

ings, is to ensure that the growth of hostility to the Eisenhower-Republican Administration takes the form of masses struggling on the vital issues of a peace program—the form of masses moving to take the issues of war or peace into their own hands.

The Draft Resolution makes an accurate estimate when it states: "The Republican victory opens up a perspective of broader and sharper class struggles involving the decisive sections of the working class now under reformist and Social-Democratic leadership."

It is correct in stating:

Communists must not rely on spontaneity or on illusions about Social Democracy. What is required is a deeper understanding of the role of our Party as the foremost force stimulating, organizing and influencing the development of mass united front struggles on the key issues confronting the working class. What is needed is greater understanding of the primary importance of Party shop organization in the basic

industries in the forging of working-class unity. What is needed is confidence that as our Party resolutely unfolds a broad and flexible united front policy against the pro-war, pro-fascist measures of the Republican Administration, and as the masses move in the direction of united front struggles against these measures, new opportunities for the development of united front relations at all levels will arise in the labor and people's movement.

The Draft Resolution, in the opinion of the writer, establishes a sound and firm basis for the widespread discussion now developing throughout our Party, and on the new political situation arising from the outcome of the 1952 elections. This discussion will undoubtedly result in the finalized Resolution achieving an even higher level of analysis and clarity of formulation. It certainly must, and will, result in the achieving of a decisive unity of political estimate, political perspective, and of tactical line, in all sectors of our Party organization.

*This article, as well as the article by John Swift, "The Struggle for a Mass Policy," in our last issue, are contributions to a discussion of the Draft Resolution of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., on "The Situation Growing Out of the Presidential Elections." Additional material will appear in the next issue.—The Editor.*

## THE TITLE OF MEMBER OF THE PARTY

“ . . . There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party founded and led by Comrade Lenin. It is not given to all to be members of such a Party. It is not given to all to withstand the stress and storm that accompanies membership in such a Party. Sons of the working class, sons of poverty and struggle, sons of incredible deprivation and heroic effort—these are the ones who must first of all be members of such a Party. That is why the Leninist Party, the Communist Party, at the same time calls itself the Party of the working class. . . .

“Heavy and unbearable is the lot of the working class. Painful and burdensome are the sufferings of the toilers. Slaves and slave-owners, serfs and feudal lords, peasants and landlords, workers and capitalists, oppressed and oppressors—such has been the structure of the world for ages, and such it remains today in the overwhelming majority of countries.

“Scores and hundreds of times in the course of centuries have the toilers tried to throw their oppressors off their backs and become masters of their own conditions. But every time, defeated and disgraced, they were compelled to retreat, their hearts burning with shame and degradation, anger and despair, and they turned their eyes to the unknown, to the heavens, where they hoped to find salvation. The chains of slavery remained intact, or else the old chains were exchanged for new ones equally burdensome and degrading. Only in our country have the oppressed and suppressed masses of toilers succeeded in throwing off the rule of the landlords and capitalists and in putting in its place the rule of the workers and peasants.

“You know, comrades, and now the whole world admits this, that this gigantic struggle was led by Comrade Lenin and his Party. The greatness of Lenin lies first of all in the fact that he, by creating the republic of Soviets, showed by deeds, to the oppressed masses of the whole world, that hope of salvation is not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists will not last long, that the kingdom of labor can be created by the efforts of the toilers themselves, that the kingdom of labor must be created on earth and not in heaven. By that he inflamed the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation. This explains the fact that the name of Lenin has become a name most beloved to the toilers and the exploited masses. . . .”

—*Speech of Joseph Stalin on the occasion  
of the death of Lenin, January, 1924*



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