

# Expect Vast Changes in Socialist World

## In Wake of Revelations About Stalin Crimes

By JOSEPH CLARK

THE ENORMOUS transformation that has been taking place in the Soviet Union since Stalin died was climaxed by two events: Khrushchev's report on the repressions of the Stalin regime to the closed meeting of the 20th Soviet Communist Party congress; Tito's visit to the Soviet Union. It is regrettable that the Soviet leaders themselves did not publish the Khrushchev report. This only enabled the State Department to do the job for its own unsavory motives. Not least of these was the attempt of the State Department to make it seem that nothing is really changing in the Soviet Union.

But the very fact that the Soviet leaders disclosed the unspeakable horrors of Stalin's rule showed how much of an upheaval was taking place. Nevertheless, the magnitude of the departure from socialist principles under Stalin indicated that far more remained to be done to wipe out the vast injustices and undemocratic precedents in which the present leaders were implicated.

So while the State Department was having what James Reston of the N. Y. Times called a "field day" broadcasting the Khrushchev speech, Reston also reported that "some observers emphasized that Mr. Khrushchev had started a more liberal program which was bound to affect the development of the Soviet state and would not be easy to reverse." Reston also quoted various officials and diplomats who "questioned whether it was wise for the United States Government to place so much emphasis on the theme that the new leaders were still carrying on the same old Stalinist system."

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THE ARRIVAL of Tito in Moscow was another sign of the deep-going changes in the socialist world. After all, it was only little more than three years ago that Tito was being assailed as a "fascist" by Communists everywhere. But here was Tito in Moscow receiving a hero's welcome and then describing the break between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia as follows:

"We were greatly pained, but we believed that the time would come when everything separating us would be overcome and when our friendship would receive a new and still more firm foundation. This time has come, thanks to the Leninist policy of the Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"The arrival of Comrade Khrushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan and others in Belgrade, the talks with them, the declaration which was drawn up on that occasion, and afterward the courageous and far-sighted foreign policy of the collective leadership of the Soviet Union are, in my profound conviction, a guarantee that nothing of the kind will ever happen again between the two countries marching along the path of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

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THE SIGNIFICANT thing about the Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation was that Tito come to



DMITRY SHEPILOV, new Soviet foreign minister. He replaced Molotov as part of a shift from the old to new in the leadership of the Soviet Union.

Moscow not as a penitent but in triumph. Walter Lippmann sensed the historic meaning of the Tito mission to Moscow when he derided the State Department assumption "that nothing really changes in the Soviet Union." (N. Y. Herald Tribune June 5).

Lippmann points out that Washington deludes itself when it interprets the Yugoslav-Soviet reconciliation as a "propaganda stunt." He shows how profound the repercussions will be in the East European socialist countries. Indeed Lippmann underlines the "very substantial changes" already taking place in those countries.

"These changes," Lippmann writes, "are in the direction of increased national independence, the dismantling of the old economic colonial devices such as the joint stock companies, and a substantial increase in the freedom of the press. The changes in Poland are, I have been told by reliable observers, so impressive that they are beginning to look like a change of the political regime."

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ACTUALLY, POLAND is now in the midst of intensive nationwide discussion on changing their parliament to make it a real live peoples law-making body and changing their judicial system to end the abuses of arbitrary trials and frame-up. For that matter all the socialist countries, from Czechoslovakia to China, are overhauling old concepts and correcting shortcomings.

In the Soviet Union the legal monstrosity of guilt by confession has been denounced and ended. The idea that a man is innocent until proved guilty is gaining currency. And in various Soviet newspapers criticism has appeared of the shortcomings in the operations of the Soviets, or law making bodies. In China there has been an appeal for greater and freer discussion in cultural and scientific and political matters.

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THE YUGOSLAV-SOVIET reconciliation has been a triumph for the socialist principle of complete equality of nations, large and small. It is a rebuke to the practice under Stalin of assuming the automatic pre-eminence of the Soviet Union in the family of socialist nations. Things had reached the sorry pass where Romanian, Polish, Hungarian newspapers all put their editorials on the left hand side of page one and their theater and radio listing on the right hand side of page four because that's how Pravda did it.

Marxism is based on the idea that each nation, each people will arrive at socialism in its own way, through its own national forms. The new emphasis on this old Marxist principle has also been felt throughout the communist movement in the capitalist countries.

It was noteworthy that Tito had a two day conference with Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist Party, just before Tito departed for Moscow. One subject they discussed was the development of a greater unity between socialists and communists and among all the diverse progressive currents in the world today. It was natural that the profound changes in the socialist countries would have a positive effect on such unity trends in the capitalist world.

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ONE THING indicated by the



President Tito of Yugoslavia receiving the salute of the Soviet honor guard on his arrival in Moscow. President Voroshilov of the USSR accompanies him.

## Comment on Khrushchev Speech

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Union's reduction of its armed forces that they hoped to divert attention from the whole issue of disarmament.

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WE DO not hesitate to state that we don't like the way Khrushchev's speech was made public. The leaders of the Soviet Union probably had their reasons for letting the contents come out piece-meal and in round-about way. In our opinion they made a mistake and should have published the speech immediately and made it available throughout the world.

We also express our concern that in the long list of crimes mentioned in the speech, there was silence on those committed against Jewish culture and Jewish cultural leaders. To date, this series of outrages has not been publicized in the socialist countries except in the columns of a Jewish-language paper in Warsaw.

We do not consider the speech to be the last word on just how Stalin terror control came into existence and maintained itself for 20 years and of the role of the other Communist leaders.

One of the conclusions this paper began to draw when the

Khrushchev report and by Tito's mission to Moscow was that the transformation of the past three years is still in its early stages. Far more changes are still to come.

As far as the international picture is concerned they point not only to peace but also to lasting coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries. The Big Four had already recorded this at Geneva. And for those still trying to maintain the cold war and the armaments race the trend was disastrous. Ambassador C. Douglas Dillon in Paris wailed because "the so-called Russian new look has had a certain impact on public opinion." NATO is dying on its feet as he saw it because Europe seems "pretty well convinced that Russia doesn't want to start a war." (N. Y. H. T., June 6.)

And Premier Bulganin of the

20th Congress was still in progress back in March was that the revaluation and correction of the Stalin regime represented a long overdue turning point not only for the Soviet Union and for other countries of socialism but likewise for Communist movements everywhere.

The blind and uncritical attitude of the Daily Worker in past years to the repressions in the Soviet Union, only did grave damage to our goal of promoting a socialist movement in this country. It created obstacles to what we consider was a notable contribution over the years in defending the genuine socialist achievements in the USSR and its policy for peace.

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THIS PAPER has attempted to express the need for an effective Marxist movement in this country to base itself on the conditions found in America, on the traditions of the American workingclass and of the people as a whole. Its decisions and policies must be independent ones and must arise from the needs of the American working people. At the same time, the struggle for socialism in America can be effective only if it is carried on in the spirit of international workingclass solidarity

Soviet Union made things even more difficult for the cold warriors when he told a correspondent of the Mexican paper Excelsior that there just was no prospect of war at all.

As the poet put it a long time ago: "But Times do change and move continually." The trick is keeping up with it.

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U. S. SUPREME COURT ruled against the United Auto Workers on its appeal against a Wisconsin anti-picketing order in the Kohler strike. This labor struggle, now in its third year, is the longest and toughest of our time. Early in the strike, in 1954, the union-busting Kohler Corp. in Sheboygan won a State Labor Relations Board ruling (upheld by the Wisconsin Supreme Court) stopping the union from mass picketing against scabs.

—genuine internationalism, based on equality, fervent support of the socialist achievements of other people coupled with fraternal, open and frank criticism wherever it may be due.

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WE DEDICATE ourselves to unrelenting struggle against the monopolists in our country who build up their fantastic profits out of the sweat of the American workers, out of a runaway armaments and H-bomb race, out of exploitation, discrimination and injustice.

We dedicate ourselves to building a people's coalition against the policies of these monopolists and to help bringing about a new political alignment to the end that peace and democracy and civil rights should prevail and that the forces of atomic energy and automation may become boons to our people instead of threats.

We dedicate ourselves to helping the American working people find the American road to a complete re-organization of our society.

This will be a society of democratic socialism in which the civil and political rights of the individual and of groups will be guaranteed under the Constitution. It will be a society in which the American people will own the resources and giant factories which they have built with their own hands and will at last, in friendship with the peoples of the whole world, determine their own destiny in their own way.

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THE PRESENT situation, in our opinion, underlines the urgency of the outlook put forward by Eugene Dennis at the National Committee meeting of the Communist Party of a new "mass party of socialism in our country" and of the need to "create the conditions for such a necessary and historic development." We believe that the situation calls for an all-out, effort and cooperation of all socialist-minded forces, in order to bring about such a new party without unnecessary delay, and as quickly as circumstances will permit.