

LABOR'S STAKE IN FOREIGN POLICY

(See Editorial Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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Columbia U. Dean Refuses to Assist Gov't Snoopers

In a forthright and courageous move, Dean Carl W. Ackerman of the Columbia University School of Journalism last week withdrew cooperation from the witch hunters. His statement, published as an article in the bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, said: "After twenty-two years as dean, I am now discontinuing my practice of cooperating with Federal, state and police investigating agencies, except on written request and on advice of counsel."

Rosenberg Appeal To Supreme Court Charges Perjury

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, under sentence of death in Sing Sing, have placed a new appeal for re-trial before the Supreme Court, charging their conviction and sentence were secured through the use of "deliberate false testimony by their prosecutor."

Twin Cities Hold National Lead In Sub Campaign

The Militant Subscription Campaign maintained a steady pace this week with a gain of 69 six-month subs and 38 one-year subs. The Twin Cities brought in the most sales and are still in the lead. Chicago is in second place, but this week New York narrowed the gap between the two cities by 442 points. The Los Angeles comrades moved from seventh to fourth place on the national scoreboard with the second best gain of the week. The Seattle comrades also made a good gain of 486 points, moving up from ninth to fifth place.

GIs to Stay "Quite a While" In Korea, Eisenhower Admits

Half Million In L.A. Hear SWP Views

LOS ANGELES, April 7 — More than a half million people here are estimated to have heard the Socialist Workers Party program against the Korean war and the witch hunt for socialism in the election campaign of Myra Tanner Weiss for mayor and Robert E. Morgan for member of the Board of Education. The voters are balloting today.



PROPOSED POLICE-STATE LEGISLATION AROUSES PROTEST MOVEMENT IN OHIO

The attempts of witch hunters in the Ohio legislature to enact the Devine bill (House Bill 308), has touched off a protest movement headed by Ohio chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union and organized labor.

The article goes on to analyze particularly the sweeping provisions and loose definitions of the Devine bill. Here the usual prohibition of "the overthrow of the government by force" — itself a loose and frequently misused formula — is widened to include the "attempt to commit any act intended" to "overthrow, destroy or alter constitutional government in Ohio or the U.S."

Under this far-reaching provision, witch hunters could pretend to see in the acts of those they disliked politically the "intention" to "alter" constitutional government whether the acts were really committed or merely attempted. Penalties would be five to 20 years imprisonment and \$5,000 to \$20,000 in fines.

Plans to "Spring" New Provocative Demands To Block Real Peace

General Eisenhower has made clear at the very start of the renewed cease-fire negotiations that a truce in Korea will not bring fulfillment of the peace promises he made to the American people during his election campaign. U.S. troops, whatever the outcome of current negotiations, will be kept in Korea "for quite a while," Eisenhower admitted. Conclusion of a truce, it is plain, will not mean peace but only a breathing spell between active military operations.

Burma Deals Blow To Wall Street Aims in Far East

Burma's rejection of U.S. aid after next June 30 strikes another sharp blow at Wall Street's attempts at imperialist penetration of southeast Asia. The Burmese government's recent announcement of its new policy on U.S. aid served notice that it views with extreme suspicion Washington's aims in Asia.

Moscow Attempts to Appease Mass Discontent

No sooner was Stalin embalmed than three major Soviet developments unfolded. First — a definite swing in foreign policy toward "peaceful co-existence" with the imperialists. Second, a number of concessions to the Soviet masses in order to allay the deep popular discontent under Stalin. Third, a repudiation of Stalin's intense oppression of national minorities which was dramatized on January 1953 by the arrest of top Kremlin physicians amid a campaign of anti-Semitism.

Capitalist periodicals and commentators of all shades have centered their attention on an indicated tussle of contending groups (among the Kremlin "big chiefs") and on the foreign-policy implications of the purge (need to rehabilitate the Kremlin abroad, a possible policy reversal toward Israel and the like). But these aspects, though not unimportant, are quite subordinate. In fact, derivative.

Behind the ideas and slogans now being brought to the fore, behind the muffled struggle at the Kremlin summits, is a stifled but passionate political struggle which is today being waged throughout the Soviet Union, and which finds its distorted expression in the moves of the leaders, from Malenkov on down. This applies to Beria's purge.

On the other hand, Pravda continues to fulminate against "spies and diversionists," against "bearers of bourgeois ideology and degenerates," (a poetic label for the restorationist Right) and against "Trotskyites" and "Bukharinists" (i.e., the Soviet Left) who, for the first time since pre-war, are figuring prominently again in all Soviet dailies.

Above all, warns the Kremlin, don't mistake Beria's exposure of the frameup of 15 doctors for more than it is. It is intended primarily to refurbish our apparatus of repressions and frameups, the better to exert it, the better to mask the big political frameups of the past, the easier to carry out future frameups, along with the current ones.

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Monday, April 13, 1953

Labor's Stake in Foreign Policy

Last week we published in full the bold front-page declaration — "We Shall Speak Up Now!" — in the March issue of *The Packinghouse Worker*. This voiced the recognition by the CIO United Packinghouse Workers leaders that "the military clique has lined up with the big business boys to usher in a new era of reaction" and that the attempt "to drive Americans into subservience to the wishes of the military and war profiteers . . . is the challenge facing labor today."

The statement denounces the "tragic waste of human life in Korea." It warns that the rulers of this country "are preparing the way for a bigger war on more fronts" and that "their blueprint calls for a divided and weakened labor movement."

We hail this as a sign of a growing awareness in the labor movement of the relation between American foreign policy and the fate of organized labor, of the connection between Wall Street's war program and its drive to intimidate, silence and, if possible, crush the unions.

From the tone of the *Packinghouse Worker's* declaration and the reports we have received of discussions and activities under way among the UPWA leaders and ranks, we get the feeling that they are serious and mean business. If so, they have the possibility of influencing the whole labor movement in the direction of an independent fighting policy aimed at halting the war drive and witch hunt.

One "Slight" Amendment on T-H

According to the April 3 *Wall Street Journal*, "A powerful drive is under way to add one short, simple sentence to the Taft-Hartley law — and thereby drastically change some of the rules governing labor-management relations in some places."

The *Wall Street Journal*, which is much interested in this question, says "the change looks mild enough, even non-controversial: It would say simply that nothing in Taft-Hartley prevents the states from writing and enforcing their own rules on striking and picketing."

But this innocent-looking change is loaded with dynamite, as this voice of Big Business makes clear: "Business groups are backing the change because they want the states free to enforce tighter curbs on union activity. . . it would put a crimp in unions' power in many states — open the way for new, tough laws in all 48."

Many states have already passed anti-labor laws exceeding the Taft-Hartley slave-labor measure in viciousness. However, the courts have held generally that the Taft-Hartley law has "pre-empted" the labor law field. It is true that T-H permits states to pass tougher measures on the closed shop, union shop, etc., but on other questions affecting the unions such as

Apologists for the Kremlin

Apologists for the Kremlin's frame-up trials always fall back on the invariable "confessions" as proof that the GPU's victims have been "guilty as charged." Whenever irrefutable material evidence has been produced to show that these "confessions," however obtained, are false, the apologists fling the question that is supposed to be the stumper: "Why did they confess, if they weren't guilty?"

This stock argument of all whitewashers of Stalinist justice has been literally exploded in the face of the frame-up apologists by the admissions of the Soviet rulers themselves, in the case of the 15 leading doctors who were arrested last January and demonstratively denounced in the Soviet press as "foreign agents," "Zionist spies" and "assassins."

For reasons explained elsewhere in this issue, the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs has publicly disclosed that the 15 physicians were falsely accused. Most significant is the fact that their "confessions" had been obtained "by the use of impermissible means of investigation." This, as the *Stalinist Daily Worker* itself indicated, refers to the "third degree" — that is, physical and psychological torture. In short, the methods for extorting false confessions are no different in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe than they were in the Spanish Inquisition.

The American Communist Party has been put in a most embarrassing position by this disclosure. But as loyal and servile minions of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the American Stalinist leaders are doing their best to salvage what they can from the collapsed structure of the monstrous

What is most encouraging about the developments in the UPWA is not that the leadership has achieved full clarity on all the vast, complex and pressing problems of our times, but that they have recognized the responsibility of organized labor to fully and freely discuss these great fundamental problems and to carry out an independent program for their solution.

Alert and progressive elements in the labor movement will undoubtedly follow the developments in the UPWA very closely. We hope that the other unions will undertake similar discussion and evaluation of our basic problems of war, the witch hunt and the growth of military power in this county and develop a program of action to meet the "challenge facing labor today."

There is no power on earth which can halt the capitalist drive toward war and dictatorship except the organized workers. In their hands lies the fate of mankind. They alone, united and mobilized in action, can send the war-mongers and witch hunters scurrying. And the American workers, in the very citadel of world reaction, can play the decisive role in the titanic struggle that is shaping up.

Organized labor is the mightiest force in America, representing the interests of the overwhelming bulk of the populace. It is potentially irresistible. If it but will, it can become the unconquerable champion of the peoples of the earth in ending everywhere and forever the rule of the few.

picketing, strikes, contracts, etc., the courts have thrown out state laws that were worse than T-H provisions.

This is what Big Business wants to "rectify" by having Congress pass the one "slight" amendment.

Given a free hand by such an amendment, state legislatures will certainly follow up, the way they followed up Truman's "loyalty" purge order and the rash of Congressional measures that came later. The states picked up where the federal laws left off, going much farther down the road of police-state legislation. The infamous Ober law of Maryland, Trucks law of Michigan and proposed Devine law of Ohio are examples.

The new threat points up once again the inexcusable weakness of labor on the political front. The powerful American trade union movement, the strongest in the world, does not have a single spokesman of its own to stand up in Congress and fight the political representatives of Big Business on their own ground. And the situation is just as bad in the state legislatures.

Isn't it high time that the unions began organizing to put union men and women in office? Or must we wait until the shackles are forged and we are bound hand and foot before we wake up?

frame-up system they have always shamelessly upheld.

The April 6 *Daily Worker* brushes over the significance of the disclosure of "why they confess." It darkly hints that anyway the whole business was the work of "foreign agents." There is "some plausibility," opines the *Worker*, to the idea of "penetration of the Soviet security apparatus by the agents of foreign powers, resulting in a frame-up attempt" and it is "not unbelievable" that this was "an attempt to discredit the administration of justice in the Soviet Union as a part of a 'psychological warfare' plan."

Only the most gullible, unthinking Stalinist follower will swallow this fantastic line. Moreover, the very source makes it suspect. We wonder, however, what explanation will be cooked up by the Stalinoid elements like Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, editors of *Monthly Review* magazine and professed "independent socialists," who in their March issue defended the Moscow frame-up trials of the Thirties as well as the more recent anti-Semitic trials in Eastern Europe?

The *Monthly Review* has the job of fooling people who cannot be taken in by the crude propaganda of the *Daily Worker*. Huberman and Sweezy present the GPU poison with a sugar-coating of "objectivity," "impartiality" and "independence." The latest disclosures reveal how little "independence" there is in their "thinking" on the Kremlin trials. We await with interest the *Monthly Review's* "fresh thinking" on the Kremlin's own answer to the magazine's contention that the "confessions" only "underline the total inadequacy of the frame-up theory."

Boycott, Strike Threatened If Malan Wins in Election

By Charles Hanley

What will happen if white-supremacist Prime Minister Malan is voted back into power in South Africa's April 15 election and South African native leaders carry through their plans for a new campaign of protest? Here is the answer of the April 2 *Wall Street Journal*: "Racial chaos in South Africa could spread like wildfire over all of Africa. That would weaken an important strategic hub of the democratic powers in any future war. It could shake the British Commonwealth to its very foundations."

There is good reason for this conclusion. The suppression of the colored peoples under the fascist-like Malan regime has reached extreme lengths. "Today, the dark-skinned man must carry a pass just to walk on public streets. He is practically barred from any work except the most menial kind. If he happens to be fired even from that sort of job, he can be forcibly deported from urban areas to semi-civilized tribal reserves hundreds of miles away," reports the Johannesburg correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal*.

"While Malanisms frightens much of South Africa's European population, it is driving blacks, Asiatics and half-caste coloreds to desperation." And desperation is driving these victims of Malan's dictatorship to action. "For the first time, South Africa's 8.5 million blacks, one million half-caste coloreds and 350,000 Asiatics, mostly Indians, are now joined into one organized band, dedicated to the uplift of the non-Europeans."

BOYCOTT AND STRIKE

The National Action Committee of the non-Whites is considering a big industrial strike and buyers' boycott against the white capitalists and merchants. About 500,000 of South Africa's 730,000 industrial workers are Negroes and Indians: "Non-white leaders think they can now pull out 30%

to 40% of these persons at a moment's notice."

In rural areas white farmers depend on two million natives for field labor. Many of these could be expected to strike at the same time. And although it's difficult to organize the 400,000 colored mine workers who are recruited mostly from far-away regions, Negro resistance leaders hope

they can encourage tribal members to reject employment offers of mine recruiting officers.

While new mass actions are being planned by South African Negro leaders ("non-violent" actions so far, but liable to change their character should provocation and violence by the dominant white minority become excessive), open war between the Mau-Mau partisans and the British is developing in Kenya.

BRITISH VIOLENCE

Some 200 African "collaborationists" are said to have been killed in a Mau-Mau raid north of Nairobi, March 26. Another Mau-Mau group seized 50 rifles, 12 submachine guns, carbines and thousands of rounds of ammunition in the town of Naivasha after killing five African policemen. British troops and native police arrested 7,000 natives in one great mass raid April 3, holding 300 after questioning. On April 5, they arrested six members of the staff of Government House in Nairobi as members of the Mau-Mau organization.

Dozens of Mau-Mau partisans are being killed by British troops, hundreds are being arrested. (For example, 30 were slain and 86 captured in a fierce battle April 1-2.) Yet the war is only just starting, and the British know it. Easter leave for all security forces was cancelled. According to an April 2 Reuter dispatch one high Army officer declared the Mau-Mau were "every bit as good" as guerrillas he fought in Ethiopia and Greece during and after World War II. "The terrorists' recent big raids were carefully and systematically planned and carried out with astonishing skill," he states.

After a century of oppression culminating in the present South African government's anti-Negro fury, the peoples of Africa are on the move, adding their weight to the revolutionary ferment in Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. From Bolivia to Kenya and to China the masses are awakening.

Beck Captures Large CIO Local In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, April 3 — On Feb. 23 Local 1145 of the International Union of Electrical Workers withdrew from the CIO and affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers, AFL. In as transparent a "deal" as has been seen for a long time in the American trade union movement, Dave Beck of the Teamsters took over one of the largest CIO locals in the Northwest.

The pattern was much the same as the "deal" through which he gathered in some eight or ten thousand wholesale and retail clerks and warehouse employees from the CIO in St. Louis a short time ago.

Local 1145 TUE-CIO, comprising some 8,000 Minneapolis Honeywell Regulator employees, deserted industrial unionism in support of the deal made by Robert Wishart, president of the local, with Dave Beck.

So far as the records show, there was no more complaint about pay standards or job conditions among the Honeywell workers than in the ranks of the average CIO union at present. Bureaucratic suppression from the International office of the IUE-CIO has never been the basis for dissatisfaction in the ranks. No such complaint had been made by Wishart or any other of the local's officers. Local 1145 enjoyed almost complete autonomy.

Robert Wishart had been singled out on several occasions by the the CIO tops and given wide authority in the Minnesota CIO movement. After the expulsion of the United Electrical Workers from the CIO he was put in charge of the campaign in the Twin Cities designed to win back expelled UE locals to the IUE.

From the first it was clear that Wishart showed something less than an acute interest in this task. As a matter of fact it can be said that his attitude facilitated the passage of some minor

CIO sections to the AFL Teamsters at that time.

For more than a year prior to the shift of Local 1145 to the Teamsters it had, been common knowledge in both the AFL and CIO headquarters that Wishart was shaping his course toward this end. Wishart was president of the Hennepin County CIO Council. The Council delegates knew about his intentions. Local, state and national CIO officials who were fully aware of the situation kept all the powerful CIO machinery on dead center all this time. One of the largest CIO locals in Minnesota (not an important unit even on a national scale) was allowed to desert with scarcely a registered protest.

This attitude of the CIO elected and appointed officials reminds one of a pigeon transfixed by the python's menacing approach. The python swallows the terrorized victim without a struggle.

The 8,000 production workers of the Honeywell Regulator Company, a national concern, are only one sector of the tens of thousands of CIO workers that the Teamsters have taken over in the recent period. Dave Beck's boast that he intends to build the Teamsters into what is now referred to as a three-million-man membership "empire" is not simply an idle boast. This powerful, bureaucratically controlled machine is being directed first of all towards raids on the CIO in the initial line of march towards the announced objective.

Weeks after Wishart's desertion, Adolph Germer, veteran organizer for the CIO, has been sent into Minneapolis. He issued a public statement about the situation which was recently published in *Minnesota Labor*, official state organ of the CIO.

"What is happening right now in Minnesota," he says, "is just part of the pattern that is shaping up all over the United States. The AFL is talking unity out of one side of its mouth and raiding out of the other. The AFL will effect organic unity with the CIO only on AFL terms, and you may feel sure those terms would be humiliating and degrading. AFL raiding has started in many parts of the country and in most instances it is the Teamsters who are carrying the ball. . . . The Teamsters are headed nationally by Dave Beck, one of the slickest labor racketeers that ever walked in shoe leather. . . . We'll take on Dave Beck just as we took on General Motors and General Electric — and we'll lick them, too!"

These are brave words indeed. But what action will be taken remains to be seen. Close observers say that Wishart since his break with the UE leadership several years ago has developed into a real businessman's business agent. There is a rumor here in AFL and CIO offices that Beck's real bid for Wishart's local was a "proposal" that Wishart could quite possibly replace Sidney Brennan, Vice-Pres. of the Teamsters' and local Teamster's director who is at present in rather bad repute with a considerable section of the Teamsters membership.

Clams Up

Questioned in the \$5,100,000 damage suit brought by columnist Drew Pearson against Sen. McCarthy and eight others, the Senator's top aide, Raymond L. Kiermas, refused to answer questions about the bank deposits totaling \$96,921.26 he had made from 1948 through 1952. The Senator himself had accumulated in the same time deposits totaling \$172,623.18, when his salary was \$12,500 a year.

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(To be continued next week.)

Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism

The Nature of the Soviet Bureaucracy

By John G. Wright

(Fourth of a Series)

Leon Trotsky submitted the nature and role of the Soviet bureaucracy to scientific analysis; he established the objective lawfulness governing its rise, growth and inescapable demise. His work in this connection is of lasting theoretical and political importance, an immortal contribution to the body of Marxist thought on a par with his own celebrated theory of the Permanent Revolution and the history-making dissection of the final stage of capitalism (the epoch of imperialist death-agony) achieved by Lenin and continued by Trotsky.

In elucidating the dynamics of Soviet society under the bureaucracy's rule and in discovering the laws determining this phase of Soviet development, Trotsky undertook a task which does not differ essentially from the task undertaken by Marx and Engels in the middle of the last century with regard to capitalist society.

True enough, Trotsky did not have to discover a wholly new method (the materialist dialectic) as Marx and Engels were obliged to do before pursuing their scientific investigations of capitalism. Their method was available for Trotsky to apply, which is no simple or mechanical feat, as far too many capable, gifted, even original thinkers, notably Mao Tse-tung, obviously assume. This Marxist heritage of method was undeniably an inestimable advantage for Trotsky. But in other respects he was confronted with problems his great teachers did not have to face.

Thus Trotsky labored under a handicap of confronting a social formation, which, unforeseen by any one, appeared for the first time on record, and was radically different from previous social formations. There was little, if anything, either in past historical experience, or in the history of social thought for Trotsky to summon to his assistance. The "finished products of the past" in both these fields provided the scantiest of "raw materials" for him to work upon.

Marx and Engels had at their disposal, on the one hand, the recorded evolution of class antagonisms in capitalist society over a span of more than two centuries; and, on the other, the body of thought incorporated in pre-Marxist economic science, the classic economists, Ricardo's school in particular.

Lenin in his pioneer work on imperialism had the advantage and aid, as he gratefully acknowledged, of prior studies by the English economist J. A. Hobson, who by 1902 had supplied in his book, *Imperialism "an excellent and comprehensive description of the principal economic and political characteristics of imperialism";* and the "very valuable theoretical analysis" (except for the error in the theory of money) contained in the 1910 "Work of the Austrian Marxist, Rudolf Hilferding, *Finance Capital*" (Lenin).

STARTED FROM SCRATCH

Trotsky, in contrast, was compelled to start virtually from scratch. In this respect his investigations of Soviet society are unmatched in the history of Marxist thought.

No one else before him studied the processes of social decay on the foundation of new social institutions, new relations of production. No one, in fact, had conceived before of the possibility of a historical variant of this type. Moreover, every key fact, not to mention subordinate but by no means unimportant details, relating to this decay, including the actual existence of the social agency promoting it, was, as it still is, denied or hidden, distorted or expunged, falsified or suppressed.

It is no exaggeration to say that no other creative thinker was ever obliged to work against such odds, under such difficulties, amid such hardships as Trotsky.

In his introduction to *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky states: "The bookstalls of all civilized countries are now loaded with books about the Soviet Union. It is no wonder; such prodigies are rare. . . . The reader, however, would seek in vain on the pages of this literature for a scientific appraisal of what is actually taking place in the land of the October Revolution." Trotsky's works on the Soviet Union are to this day the only systematic studies available covering Soviet developments up to 1940.

Further on in this same introduction, he points out: "The enemies of the Soviet Union are far better informed about it than its real friends, the workers of all countries. In the general staffs of the imperialist governments an accurate account is kept of the pluses and minuses of the Soviet Union, and not only on the basis of public reports." This applies

with an even greater force today than in Trotsky's lifetime.

Trotsky's general conclusion concerning the Soviet Union under Stalinism may be stated as follows: It is a social organism shot through with contradictions of such nature and intensity as to make it impossible for Soviet society to reach, under Stalinist rule, any lasting or stable internal equilibrium. (Extended to the world arena, this same general conclusion applies with equal, if not greater, force. That is to say, lasting external stability — between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world — is likewise unattainable, notwithstanding the Kremlin's past and current "peaceful co-existence" campaigns.)

Trotsky's general conclusion, applicable inside as well as outside the USSR, appears to have been invalidated by the 30-year duration of Stalin's regime, by the postwar expansion of Soviet power, the extension of Soviet property forms to East European countries, Mao's victory in China, etc. But this is what Hegel, the greatest of German idealist philosophers, used to call "false appearance." In reality just the contrary is true.

Although processes of social decay differ radically from biological processes, there is an instructive lesson to be gleaned from an analogy with a frail human organism which may survive for years while afflicted with a fatal disease. History, too, affords many examples of gangrenous social organisms, surviving, under certain conditions, far beyond their inherent powers. We cite only three: The Austro-Hungarian empire of the 19th century, the Czarist empire, and — most contemporary! — modern capitalism as a whole.

CONTINUAL PAROXYSMS

What is more, in the course of the last 30 years, Stalin's regime suffered one paroxysm after another, staggering from one crisis to the next, at home and abroad alike. It has been, from its inception a regime of crisis par excellence. It remains a regime of crisis.

"To be sure," wrote Trotsky, "the contradictions of Soviet society are deeply different from the contradictions of capitalism. But they are nevertheless very tense. They find their expression in material and cultural inequalities, governmental repressions, political groupings, and the strug-

