

# Is the Daily Worker Appeasing Foster?

By Harry Ring

It is now three months since the national convention of the Communist Party. At that convention the delegates voted to put an end to the past practice whereby the CP "viewed uncritically developments in the Soviet Union" and "tended to accept uncritically many views of Marxists in other countries." The convention action was a rejection of the line of the Foster wing of the party leadership which has pushed doggedly to choke off any serious discussion or criticism of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The stand taken by the convention was favored by that section of the Party leadership headed by John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker. Yet in the period since the convention the pages of that paper have been marked by an increasing tendency toward appeasement of the Fosterites. Here is a recent case in point:

On May 13, in printing excerpts from Khrushchev's May 10 interview with the New York Times, the Daily Worker ran the following of his remarks: "Stalin had big deficiencies and drawbacks. . . . However, he was a devoted revolutionary and a devoted follower of Marx and Lenin. He made mistakes, but he also made many contributions to our party, to our working people and our country. The people will always regard him as a great man."

Khrushchev's latest tribute to the tyrant who wiped out workers' democracy in the Soviet Union was reprinted by the DW without a word of comment. The incident is not an isolated one.

In its efforts to preserve an uneasy "co-existence" with the Fosterites, the DW editors have avoided carrying out the convention mandate for independent political analysis and have failed to keep the pledges that it made after the 20th Congress to speak out against crimes, "no matter where committed."

## FOSTER IN MINORITY

It cannot be argued that the editors have been blocked by a Fosterite majority. Foster was in a minority at the national convention and in the national committee elected after it. This fact is underscored by a report by Harry Schwartz in the N. Y. Times May 11. He reports that in the voting in the national committee for a 17-man national executive committee, Foster failed of election and was placed on the committee only after a motion was adopted to expand it to 20 members. At the same meeting, a motion to oust Gates

as editor of the paper, the second of its kind, was also defeated, according to Schwartz.

Along with the necessary editorial control, the DW editors certainly have no lack of major developments which require serious evaluation and blunt criticism.

There has, for example, been a growing demand among radicals that the Soviet government publicly detail its stand on the Jewish question. The DW has failed to join in this entirely legitimate demand.

The recent convention also voted for the right to criticize other Communist parties when necessary. Recently, conventions have been held by the Italian, British and Canadian parties. In each case efforts to chart a new course were beaten down and it was made crystal clear that, regardless of cost, the leaders of these parties intend to continue functioning as in the past—that is as unquestioning defenders of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The international process of re-Stalinization has also escaped the editorial notice of the DW.

## SILENCE ON HUNGARY

The most glaring instance of the DW's failure to carry through on initial efforts to formulate policy independently is seen in the Hungarian events. At the time, of posthumous "rehabilitation" of Rajk in Hungary, the DW declared its principled opposition to capital punishment everywhere. Yet it remains silent as the Kadar regime dooms hundreds to death.

Little moral credit accrued to the paper when it reported the death of one-time CP leader John Steuben without any mention that he had broken with the party on the eve of the convention with an anguished cry of protest against the Kadar decree establishing the death penalty for strikers.

The shameful silence on the crimes being committed against the Hungarian workers flows logically from the unprincipled convention compromise with Foster to "neither condemn nor condone" the Kremlin intervention in that country. And that capitulation to Foster derived from the totally inadequate basis of the DW's original critical stand on Hungary. To take and to maintain a resolute stand of opposition to the Kremlin intervention demanded a second step. That was to take a stand for the Hungarian working class in its political revolution against the bureaucrats, native and Russian.

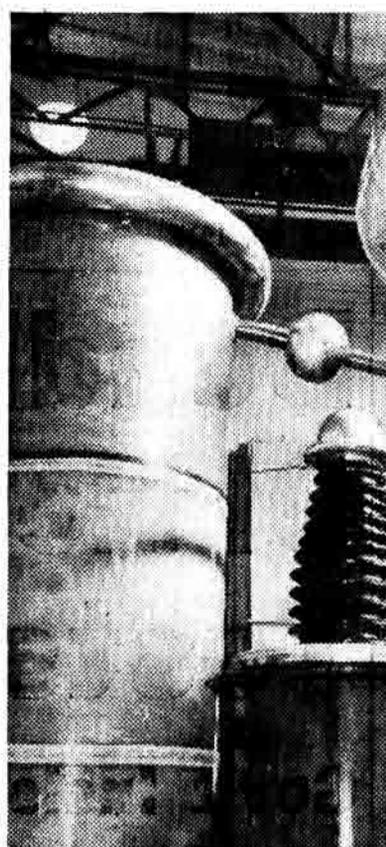
But why didn't the Gatesite leaders give political support to the Hungarian workers in their struggle for socialist democracy and national independence? A serious examination of the nature and role of the Soviet bureaucracy certainly leads to such a position. But it is precisely such an examination that the DW editors have failed to make.

## ACCEPT WHEEZE

The efforts of the Gates group to break with the methods of Stalinism have been circumscribed by their acceptance of Khrushchev's utterly false explanation of the rise of Stalinism—an explanation that boils down to a "great leader" developing some "negative features" in his old age.

Bureaucratic self-interest prevented Khrushchev from making the simple but correct Marxist explanation that Stalin and his associates committed their odious crimes in the process of defending the material privileges of a huge, entrenched bureaucracy. Today the masses of the Soviet Union and East Europe are determined to eliminate that bu-

Part of a Soviet



This atomic device, one of Moscow's Joint Nuclear Research Institute's latest designs, reflected the huge industrial effort of the Kremlin to attempt to devise production plans.

# ... Soviet

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gions, it is hoped, will result in the use of all economic facilities without duplication within the regions.

In the process of reorganization of Soviet industry the struggle within the bureaucracy, we can be sure, also plays its role. That Khrushchev is able to do the reorganizing means that he is still the preeminent figure in the Kremlin oligarchy. He will try by staffing the new regional councils with members of his bureaucratic entourage to increase his power. Nevertheless, that eight ministries—mainly heavy industry—were at the last minute excepted from the reorganization means that Khrushchev's wing of the bureaucracy is not completely dominant.

## TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

In his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, written in 1937, Leon Trotsky anticipated the present situation confronting Soviet economy. He wrote:

"The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases laid down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic com-

reucracy The Hungarian uprising was a major step on that road.

This historic development is at the same time of key importance for those in the American CP who are resisting a return to the past. A Marxist understanding of the Kremlin bureaucratic caste and of the need to support the Soviet-orbit workers in their struggle against the bureaucracy is essential for effective opposition to Stalinism in America.

# Final Score On the SWP Fund Drive

By Constance Farr

Party-Building Fund Director

The final scoreboard in the \$19,256 Party-Building Fund as it appeared on May 1 is printed in this issue.

Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco and Akron all paid up on their pledges in time to make the final scoreboard. Earlier in the campaign, San Francisco's Fund Director wrote that he was afraid they could not possibly make their quota of \$800 this year. Yet not only did this branch come through, but it sent in \$2 extra as a punctuation mark! New York too deserves great credit. With a quota of \$5,000, they came over the finish line with \$130.35 extra, to take second place on the scoreboard with 103%.

We received \$50 from an old-time friend who pledged this amount at the start of the campaign, and thereby increased

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