

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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New Purges in Russia

BY TED GRANT

In the last few weeks, news reaches us of the new wave of purges in Russia which is affecting all strata of the lower strata of the bureaucracy. Managers in industry are being dismissed and replaced in thousands on charges of graft and corruption, bureaucratism, incompetence, swindling and misuse of funds of the state.

In agriculture the collective farms are being purged. And a tremendous campaign against "ideological" backsliding in a capitalist and nationalist direction in literature, the arts, the press, cinema, science, the schools, the army, has been begun at a signal from the Kremlin.

Collective farms' distributable income; to misappropriation of public lands on a mass scale through the extension of private allotments beyond the legal limit and the allocation of common land to various local organizations; to the pilfering of collective farm property by local State and party officials, some of whom, it is stated, are dipping their hands into collective property as if it were in their own pockets; and, finally to slowness on many farms in holding general meetings and electing leaders, a habit which is debarring workers from taking part in the farms' affairs.

The decree calls for a decisive end to these violations of the collective farm charter and threatens offenders with prosecution under the criminal code. It demands an immediate correction of abuses, including the expulsion from the collective farms of all "drones" who fail to contribute a minimum quota of labour, and, by cancelling a war-time measure, it brings to an end the practice by which local authorities are empowered to take over common land for their own subsidiary enterprises.

This indicates how far the collective farms had disintegrated under the pressure of the war, the destruction of tractors and other agricultural implements, the destruction of the land and the transforming of industry into producing almost entirely war material. Under these conditions having to fall back on old primitive methods and the individual plough, individualistic and small capitalist tendencies were inevitably produced. More and more the most energetic and grasping of the peasants began to seize tracts of land from the collective and operate them as their own individual property. The manager-bureaucrats on the land, in return for bribes, turned a blind eye upon this development and many participated in it themselves.

But the bureaucracy does not desire to share power with such elements. Moreover, individual production is very uneconomic in comparison with giant collective farms. The moment that the bureaucracy were in a position to do so, they have turned upon the neo-kulaks. They were compelled to turn a blind eye while industry was not producing sufficient tractors to serve the needs of the collective farms. With the restoration of a certain measure of production, of tractors and other mechanical agricultural implements, they have launched a new campaign to restore the collective farms. All petty capitalist tendencies within agriculture (it has not assumed any great importance for industry) are to be ruthlessly crushed, as they were during the first Five Year Plan. And in this, undoubtedly the bureaucracy will gain the support of the big majority of the workers and peasants.

But this does not mean that capitalist tendencies will be eliminated or curtailed. On the contrary they will receive an impetus during the new Five Year Plan, but in a different direction. Far from moving in a Socialist direction; towards greater and greater equality and the abolition of privilege for the favoured officialdom: this is to be increased during the next few years.

As Lenin ceaselessly hammered, differences of this character are capitalist differences which have nothing in common with Socialism. Yet "Labour Research" controlled by the Communist Party, blatantly declares in its issue of July, 1946: "Certain developments in Soviet organisation apparent before the war are emphasised in this plan. Wage differentiation, a stimulus to efficiency and exhibition of skill, is to increase within each industry. . . There is greater cash stimulus for good work by technicians and organisers."

The sharpness of the measures in the Soviet Union demonstrate that even under the totalitarian regime of Stalin the class struggle still goes on. The discontent of the masses, particularly the soldiers, who have seen the lies and propaganda of the bureaucracy exposed by the fact that the standard of living in the countries they have invaded is higher than that in the Soviet Union; the shortages and hunger, the further sacrifices for the building up of industry while the difference between the masses and the bureaucrats becomes greater and greater, produces a mood of bitterness and antagonism among the workers and peasants. The repercussions of this social antagonism will have great consequences in the long run. But meanwhile,

"The decree calls attention to the inflation of the managerial staff to the detriment of the

DUTCH SOLDIERS AND WORKERS SUPPORT INDONESIAN TRIESTE

Hotbed of National Hatreds

BY ENRICO

Towards the end of the first world imperialist conflict, the spirit of international solidarity was in great evidence. climaxed with the international actions of the first workers' state, the Soviet Union. To-day, this spirit is sadly lacking. The Soviet Union is not the spearhead of the struggle. The Stalinists, alongside the reformists, are turning the workers' struggle away from their real enemies, to the national defence of their "own" capitalist state on the one hand, or to the defence of Stalin's reactionary foreign policy on the other. Only when the working class realises this, will they understand and reject these politics of betrayal. It is for this reason that we, of the Fourth International, appeal to the militants in the Labour and Communist Parties to examine the role of their leaders in the disputed territories in general, and Trieste in particular.

Intense National Hatred in Trieste

It goes without saying that Trieste is of the utmost importance to the contending powers, Russia and the Anglo-American bloc. The walls and streets of Trieste and other disputed cities of Venezia Giulia are covered with anti-Tito and anti-Italian slogans. High on the hills overlooking Trieste itself, supporters of Tito have written "We want Tito" and slogans demanding the inclusion of Venezia Giulia in the Yugo-Slav republic. Far below, in the busy streets, the uneasy peace is disturbed by mass demonstrations and counter demonstrations, the battle of words being transformed into actions, both sides spilling blood. Both sides are racial hatreds, with an intense blind nationalism.

For many years, the workers Venezia Giulia, Italian and Yugo-Slav alike, lived in peace realising common desires and interests. Even when Mussolini compelled the Slavs to accept the Italian language as the only language taught in Venezia Giulia schools; even with the oppression of the Slavs as a minority, the workers remained united in their hatred towards Fascism. Both the Italian and Yugo-Slav workers were imprisoned for anti-Fascist activity. Together in the Partisan movement they conducted a bloody struggle, first against Fascism and then against the German occupation under the red flag of internationalism, not as today under the nationalist flags of Yugo-Slavia and Italy.

Why The Change?

Why then, this change of heart? Why then this terrible split in the ranks of the workers? The responsibility can be laid directly at the doors of the "Communist" and reformist leaderships. We will go further, and say at the doors of the Stalinists alone, for the working class have grown accustomed to the betrayals of Social Democracy and have long believed Stalin's policy to be communist, due to the traditions of the October Revolution.

Four months ago, the Stalinists in Italy, in line with their international degeneration, split on the issue of Trieste, and they had to split. But as we now see, both sections serve their Muscovite master. The pro-Tito, Venezia Giulia Communist Party, aided by Yugo-Slav officers are behind many acts of terrorism against the minority of Italian nationalists. In Trieste, Manfoucone, Gorizia and Pola, they and their controlled trade union "Sindicati Uniti" have led, and are leading strikes which are in fact reactionary in the extreme. Not one class issue is involved, not one demand for higher wages to meet the terrible cost of living. The one demand that is in evidence is that Venezia Giulia must be included in the Yugo-Slav Republic.

Meanwhile, the capitalist Christian Democrats, Italian Socialist Party and Camera-del-Lavoro (Italian T.U.C.) are not idle. They in turn conduct strikes and demonstrations in the interests of Italian capitalism, the pawn of British and American imperialism.

Role Of Stalinism In Italy

What then, is the role of the Stalinists in Italy proper? We have seen that the Stalinists in

As the Dutch Imperialists, assisted by the Labour Government, prepares for a renewed offensive to crush the Indonesian masses, the workers and soldiers of Holland are showing, through militant action, their solidarity with the oppressed Indonesian people. On Tuesday, September 24th, dock workers, transport, public service and factory workers of Amsterdam staged a 24-hour strike as a protest against the embarkation of fresh troops for Indonesia.

In an attempt to break up a demonstration organized by the strikers, the police opened fire several times and charged the demonstrators with drawn swords. The 24-hour strike was the culmination of growing resentment on the part of the Dutch workers against the war against the Indonesian people.

Hundreds of young workers are today languishing in Dutch jails because they refuse to go out to the Far East to fight against the Indonesians. The father of a conscript who had refused service met the police who came to arrest him with the following words: "I am convinced that you are coming to arrest my son to place him in the hands of your superiors. They will place him, against his will, in a struggle against those who are not our enemies. My son does not serve the cause of the capitalist-owners. There is no difference between this and murder, for our people are menaced neither from Indonesia nor by any other people. Like many more, my son will under these circumstances, refuse to serve in the army."

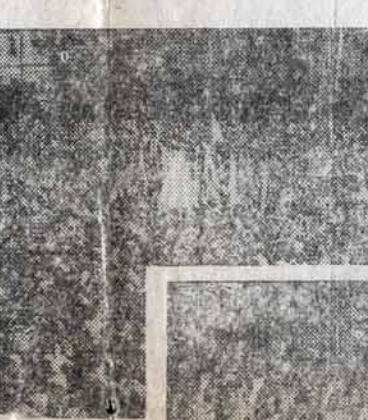
(From "De Tribune" Dutch Trotskyist paper).

For nearly a year now, the Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch Section of the Fourth International has been foremost in mobilizing the workers of Holland into action on behalf of their class brothers in Indonesia. Shortly before the outbreak of the 24-hour strike, they issued a leaflet, addressed "TO THE DOCKERS AND SEAMEN OF AMSTERDAM" from which we publish the following extract:

Amsterdam dockers and seamen have been to the fore when it came to defending the interests of the Dutch proletariat against the Dutch exploiters. During the February strike in 1941, directed against the crimes of German capitalism, the dockworkers stood at the head of the struggle. Now it is once again necessary, through action to prevent a new crime by Dutch capitalism. This crime is the war against the Indonesian workers and peasants. To regain its throttlehold on this people, already squeezed for 300 years, Dutch imperialism seeks to bloody suppress the Indonesian revolution. The exploiters, who live only on the blood and sweat of the workers, want to compel thousands of Dutch workers to break the resistance of their class-brothers in Indonesia.

... The leaders of the Big Trade Union organizations, the N.V.V. and the E.V.C. have often declared in the past that work in the docks and on the ships would come to a standstill if it actually became a question of violence being used against the Indonesians. That moment has now arrived. Now that it is a question of deeds, however, these gentlemen have openly betrayed the cause and declared that the sending of tens of thousands of working-class youths to the slaughter is a POLITICAL QUESTION. . . . The Dutch workers have made it implicitly clear, through resolutions, that they have no desire to suppress the Indonesian Republic or to restore colonial exploitation. . . . At this critical moment, the leaders of the big working class parties, the Labour Party (Party van de Arbeid) and the Communist Party of Holland (Stalinists), also remain silent. By paper action they attempt to divert the militancy of the workers. Neither petition nor protest meeting can prevent the Dutch bourgeoisie from commencing their war against the Indonesian Republic. Only the united struggle of the working class can achieve this.

Dockers, Seamen, the lives of thousands of Dutch and Indonesian comrades are in danger. The Dutch capitalists demand sacrifices from us, so that they



SUPPORTERS OF YUGOSLAVIA Because of the policy of Stalinism the workers are divided on racial lines instead of being united on a class basis.

Supporters of Italy In Trieste hardly a day passes by without a demonstration or a clash. . . .

4 Y.C.L.'ers JOIN R.C.P. Statement to the C.P.

In view of the recent expulsion of Comrade O'Donoghue from the Hanwell Branch of the Communist Party, we, the undersigned members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. have decided to issue this statement to Party members and sympathisers.

Comrade O'Donoghue, a Party member of several years standing, recently raised for discussion within the Branch, on a notice of motion a question of great Political importance, namely, the speech of the Chief of the Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union—Alexandrov (Feb. 1st, 1946). In this speech the entire Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State is openly revised. Instead of this matter being discussed in a democratic manner, Comrade O'Donoghue was immediately called before a meeting of the Branch Committee.

At this meeting, after being questioned for more than an hour, charges of disruption and distributing Trotskyist literature to Party members were made against him. These charges, which were sent to the London District Committee were so stupid and baseless that they were never pursued. The additional charge that he was in contact with Trotskyists, which he had never concealed and which was in fact known to leading and rank and file Party members, was the only reason given for his subsequent expulsion.

skysts, and the demand that Comrade O'Donoghue break off such contact—a demand that no genuine Party claiming to be based on democratic Centralism can defend—demonstrates quite clearly that the C.P. Leadership is fearful of the impact and strength of Trotskyist ideas.

FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION! LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Signed: J. O'DONOGHUE, (Late Sec. Hanwell C.P.) E. GEORGE, (Late Sec. Hanwell, Y.C.L.) B. JOHNSON, (Late Lit. Sec. Hanwell C.P.) B. GRIMES, (Sec. Hanwell Y.C.L.) The above statement was sent to every local member of the C.P. and Y.C.L. together with a notice of a meeting to be held with Comrades E. George and J. O'Donoghue among the speakers.

COMMUNIST WORKERS! Link up with us! FOR A SOVIET BRITAIN! FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

Venezia Giulia serve the Soviet Bureaucracy alone. We claim that the Italian Communist Party serves the same bureaucracy. Togliatti, not daring to condemn the reactionary role of Tito, speaks of "Justice" and urges the working class to believe that the problem can be solved by U.N.O. His party does not conduct a struggle against the Italian capitalist class. On the contrary, his party participates in that government, Togliatti being a minister himself, in that very Government which is called imperialistic and Fascist by both the Soviet Delegation in Paris and the Venezia Giulia Communist Party.

Togliatti, carrying out the orders of Stalin knows that his task is to maintain Stalinist influence in Italy proper, and needless to say to speak for Venezia Giulia being included in the Yugo-Slav Republic will antagonise the Italian working class, who feel strongly on this issue. Already thousands of militants are demanding to know why Togliatti supports Stalin's claim of \$25 millions in reparations. They know, as all class conscious workers know, that capitalism was responsible for the war and that these reparations will not be squeezed from the Italian capitalist class, but from the workers and in this case with the aid of the Stalinist leadership in Italy.

There is no doubt, Togliatti is not in an admirable position. Who knows, the Soviet delegation may yet come to an agreement with Britain and the U.S.A. on Trieste. The Venezia Giulia Stalinists may yet be the next scapegoats of Moscow's power politics.

We have written much on the role of official working class leaders but this could not be complete unless we begin to realise the policy of the Allied imperialists through A.M.G., a policy for which the British Labour Government must be held responsible. A.M.G. has a huge police force of British trained, pro-Italian, nationalists, also the British 1st Armoured Division, 56th London Division, and the American 88 Division to keep "law and order". But they serve the interests of Western imperialism against Russia. This occupation only tends to antagonise Tito's followers further, resulting in terrorist attacks against British and American troops. This serves to widen the gaps already existing between the workers and occupying troops.

Workers! Unite Against Capitalism

We have appealed to the mill-Communist Labour Party and once again we say in the past; out for our class and as a way The monstrous politics of the present day working class leadership can only end in further defeats of our class and the third world war. The Fourth International declares, and our Italian Section, the Workers' Communist Party (P.O.C.) carries forward the only programme for the workers in Venezia Giulia and Italy itself. A united front of all workers against both Tito and the Italian capitalist class, a programme of economic and political demands to raise the standard of living and to enable the workers to choose their own future. The guarantee of civil rights to all minorities, for a struggle against the racial hatred of Stalinism and Italian nationalism. The withdrawal of all Allied troops. We do not claim that even this will solve the problem of Trieste but it is the only way forward to internationalism and the only solution: A Socialist Federation of the Balkans within the United Socialist States of Europe and a Socialist world.

Seamen's Solidarity

FRENCH SEAMEN IN NEW YORK JOIN AMERICAN SEAMEN'S STRIKE

New York, 19th September. 1,000 French seamen in New York, members of the World Federation of Trade Unions, joined the strike of the American seamen, members of the National Maritime Union, C.I.O.

A resolution from the French seamen states:

"We salute the American seamen. We want to express the solidarity of the international working class, whose ties are bound closely in common struggles for emancipation from exploitation and wage slavery."

The "Militant" (organ of the Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyist)), gives in its issue of 14th September, more examples of this excellent demonstration of international solidarity. It reports that Swedish, Danish and Norwegian seamen's union instructed their union branches to do everything in their power to aid the American striking seamen.