## 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.

These convulsions have shaken the political superstructure in the Soviet Union. They are a reflection of the discontent of the population after the great efforts and exertions of the masses during the war. The Soviet population up the war with greater handships and put up with greater hardships and endured greater privations than any of the other main belligerents, Now, after the war is over they see that the bureaucrats still intend to maintain their inflated standards of life, while the Soviet standards of life, while the Soviet people: continue to exist on a level of hunger and privation not much higher than their incredibly low leade during the war. The standards during the war. The officials with whom the masses come in contact—that is, the lower ranks of the bureaucracy who ape their superiors in the heirarchy of officialdom right up to the Kremlin bosses—arouses their disgust and antagonism.

Stalin and his bureaucratic elique are, to a certain extent, leaning on the masses in order to restore the pre-war equilibrium within the bureaucracy. The usual Stalinist method is being employed: making scapegoats of the lower ranks for carrying out a policy decided by the Kremlin. The nationalistic and middle class ideology put forward during the war, glorifying the Czarist past of Suvurov, this chauvinist ideology was ordered and encouraged by the Kremlin in order to serve the needs

racial outpourings about the superiority of the Slavs at a time also serves to lull the workers abroad, who have become alarmed at the inequalities and sumptuous standards of the bureaucracy, and by the iron dictatorial regime established by Stahnism. But in reality nothing fundamental is changed. Only a different varnish

A few quotations will illustrate the process taking place. The foreign press reports "Drastic purges" in the Communist Party of the Ukraine for "failure to make careful selections of party and administrative personnel, a prevalence of 'bourgeois-nationalist ideology' among the intelligentsia

and widespread bribery."

According to "Bolshevik" the "theoretical" journal of the Russian C.P., the Stalinogorsk Coal Trust "never fulfilled its plan," but simply inflated its figures to make up monthly quotas, e.g. reported a daily production of 544 tons when the real production was only 150 tons. (Quoted from "Time"

Magazine Sept. 9th).

'Le Monde" reports on Septem ber 13th, that Gorechenine, Soviet Attorney-General, has started investigations, and 'Pravda' comments: "The Party must play a preponderant role in the re-estab-lishment of national discipline."

The Union of Writers of the U.S.S.R. has expelled the novelist Mikhail Zoschenko and poetess Anna Ahkmatova, on charges of apoliticalism". The Central apoliticalism". Committee has attacked the entire cinema industry, particularly singling out the Cinema Minister Bolchakov and Eisenstein, worldfamous producer. The Arts Committee which produced Soviet plays is accused "of having tried to poison the consciousness of Soviet citizens with an ideology hostile to Soviet society, to revive the residues of capitalism in people's minds and customs."

The purge has been very extensive in agriculture. The "Times" of September 24th, reports a Decree of the Council of Ministers and of the Central Committee of Soviet Union, signed by Stalin

and Zhdanov jointly:

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

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 organiza-tions; 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 pro-perty as if it were in their own perty as if it were in their own pockets; and, finally to slackness on many farms in holding general meetings and electing leaders, a habit which is de-burring workers from taking one in the farms, affairs

part in the farms' affairs.

The decree calls for a decisive 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 on 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, Russia and deifying such oppressors of the Russian people as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, of such Czarist hangmen as the Generals Kutuzov and as the Generals Kutuzov and peasants began to seize tracts of land from the collective and operate them as their own in-dividual property. The manager-Kremlin in order to serve the needs dividual property. The managerand interests of the bureaucracy bureaucrats on the land, in return for bribes, turned a blind eye upon this development and many partici-But while the masses could be reconciled to such chauvinistic and pated in it themselves.

But the bureaucracy does not desire to share power with such elements. Moreover, individual production is very uneconomic in superiority of the Slavs at a time when they were directly menaced by the threats of German Fascism, they could not be inspired to make further sacrifices for the Five Year Plan under this banner once peace had been restored. The fruits of victory for the workers in Russia has been the perspective of harder and harder toil under the regime of Stalin for the indefinite future, in order to rebuild and expand the power and industry of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the endeavour to reconcile the workers and peasants to this, the bureaucracy has had to resurrect phrases about Socialism new campaign to restore the collective farms. With the restoration of a certain measure of production, of tractors combines and other mechanical agricultural implements, they have launched a new campaign to restore the collective farms. to this, the bureaucracy in Socialism resurrect phrases about Socialism new campaign to restore the collective farms. All petty capitalist tendencies within agriculture (it has not assumed any great imporance for industry) are to be ruth lessly crushed, as they were during the purge in agriculture 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 elim-inated or curtailed. On the contrary they will receive an impetus during the new Five Year Plan. but in a different direction. 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 Soviet organisation apparent before the war are emphasised in this plan. Wage differentiation, a stimulus to efficiency and ex-hibition of skill, is to increase within each industry. . . There is greater cash stimulus for good work by technicians and organ-

The sharpness of the measures 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 particularly 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 re-percussions of this social antagonism will have great consequences

in the long run. But meanwhile. (Continued on Back Page.)

# DUTCH SOLDIERS AND WORKERS SUPPORT INDONESIANS

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 embarcation 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 cul-mination 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 and the service met the police who came to arrest him with the following and the service met the ser 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 brothers in Indonesia. Shortly before the outbreak of the 24-hour strike, they issued a leaflet, addressed "TO THE DOCKERS AND SEAMEN OF AMSTER-DAM" from which we publish the following averset: following extract:

'On many occasions the 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 dock-workers stood at the head of the struggle. Now it is once again necessary, through action to prenecessary, 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 bloodily suppress the Indonnesian revolution. The exploiters, who live only on the blood and sweat of the workers. blood and sweat of the workers, want to compel thousands of Dutch workers to break the resistance of their class-brothers

". . . 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 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 so 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), action they attempt to divert the militancy of the acorkers.

Neither petition nor protest meeting tan prevent the meeting can prevent the Dutch bourgeoiste 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

will be able to haul in their profits in the near future again. Only the working class has the power to prevent it.

NOT A MAN NOT A CENT FOR THE OPPRESSORS' WAR AGAINST INDONESIA! NO TROOPS AND ARMS FOR INDONESIA!

NOT A DROP OF BLOOD FOR THE OIL AND RUBBER CAPITALISTS!

COMRADE DOCKERS AND SEAMEN, INTO ACTION !

The Dutch workers, through their 24-hour strike, have given a great lead. Only class action can call a halt to the great offensive in which a great number of British troops will be involved. The organised Labour Movement in this country must follow the example of their Dutch comrades and take action against any future shipment of men or munitions to Indonesia. Pressure must be brought on the Government, through the Trade Inions, Co-operatives and other working class organizations to withdraw all British troops from Indonesia. The Labour Government must be compelled to recog nize the Indonesian Republic.

END THE WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE INDONESIAN REPUBLIC! WITHDRAW THE TROOPS ! ALL AID TO THE COLONIAL

REVOLUTION!

SUPPORTERS OF YUGOSLAVIA

Because of the policy of Stalinism the workers are divided on racial lines instead of being united on a



# 4 Y.C.L'ers JOIN R.C.P.

OF ITAL

stration or

Statement to the C.P.

In view of the recent expulsion of Comrade O'Donoghue from the Hanwell Branch to Company the company of the CP, and V.C.L. have of the Communist Party, we, the undersigned members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. have prisoned for anti-Fascist activity. decided to issue this statement to Party members and sympathisers.

member of several years standing, recently raised for discussion within the Branch, on a notice of motion question of great Political portance, 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 Comrade before a meeting of the Branch

harges of disruption and distributing Trotskyist literature to Party members were made against him. These charges, which were sent to the London District Comwere 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.

In view of Comrade O'Donoghue's good record as an of. active Party member, this expul-sion bears all the hall marks of a heresy bunt and political victimisation. The refusal of the local leadership to accept for discussion in the Branch a matter raised in a correct and democratic manner, clearly exposes the claim of our Party to be a democratic Party as utter humbug and hypo-A full discussion around crisy. Alexandrov's speech, would clearly show all honest Party membersas it has shown us-that the principles of Marxism in dealing with the State has been rejected by Stalin. No wonder that the local Stalin. No wonder that the local leadership recoiled from a discussion on this theoretical question. for not a word in speech or print has been given by the leadership of the British C.P. on this matter. There was, and still is, no "line

on it. The expulsion of this active member for contact with the Trot-

Comrade O'Donoghue, a Party ember of several years standing, cently raised for discussion within the Branch, on a notice of motion estimated by the 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.

This experience has led us to seriously study past and present C.P. policy.

The unprincipled belly-crawling manner in Chich the affiliation campaign was conducted, its terrific defeat and the subsequent attack on the Labour Government, show the dishonest non-Marxist character Committee.

At this meeting, after being questioned for more than an hour, of the so-called Communist Party many years have no relation to the emancipation of the workers in their struggles, but are dictated by the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy The Third International, which was founded by the Bolsheviks to World Revolution, was rendered impotent by the policies of Stalin and then dissolved by him overnight with no dis

The failure to produce at the Nuremberg Trial any documentary or other evidence from the captured Nazi archives, to prove the allegations that Trotsky was linked with the Nazis, exposes the whole campaign against Trotskyism as a monstrous falsification.

For these reasons we are con-inced that the "Communist" vinced Party is Communist in name only and that the traditions and prin ciples of Communism are carried on by the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section

Gallachers—and the local satellites—have found their way into its ranks and we intend to take our place by their side.

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

### the demand that FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION! LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

J. O'DONOGHUE,

E. GEORGE,
(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 George and J. O'Donoghue among the speakers.

This meeting, on Monday, September 23rd, was picketed by three prominent local members of the C.P. for the purpose of (1) Preventing their members from attending, and (2) Reporting those members who did attend for the purpose of taking action against

These Stalinist pickets were approached by local R.C.P. members and offered ample time from the floor of the meeting in which to put forward their own case and denounce the ideas of the plat-rm. Needless to say, this form.

democratic offer was rejected.
G. Chapman, a member of the London E.C. of the Y.C.L., hotly criticised them for not accepting this offer and their refusal to defend their ideas when challenged; making it quite clear that he was attending the meeting in order to hear the case of those comrades of the Fourth International.

Many ex-C.P.ers, disgusted by the opportunism of the Pollitts and defying the ban, this comrade will

be on the carpet.
5 or 6 other Y.C.L.ers accepted the dictates of the pickets, in spite of our appeal to them to listen to us and defend their Party. 2 ex-Y.C.L. members attended the meet-

The gain of four members to the R.C.P. from the C.P. is the result of the first direct contact in the Hanwell area between the two parties, and we go forward with optimism for future gains.

# Hotbed of National

Hatreds

TRIESTE

BY ENRICO

the spirit of international solidarity was in great evidence. climaxed with the international actions of the workers in defence 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 the national defence of the solidarity was in great evidence according 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 Guilia Communist Party.

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 very Government which is called imperialistic and Fascist by both the Soviet Delegation in Paris and the Venezia Guilia Communist Party.

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 very government which is called imperialistic and Fascist by both the Soviet Delegation in Paris and the venezia Guilia Communist Party. 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 realise this, will they understand and reject these politics of betrayal. It is for this reason 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.

Tresponsible 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 Guilia 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.

The walls and streets of Trieste and other disputed cities of Venezia Guilia 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 Guilia in the Yugo-Slav republic. Far below, in the busy streets, the uneasy peace is disturbed by mass demonstrations and is disturbed by mass demonstra-tions and counter demonstrations, the battle of words being trans-formed into actions, both sides milling blood. Both sides are further freed with an intense of blind nationalism; ing the ends For many years, the workers Venezia Guilia, Italian and Yugo Slav alike, lived in peace realising Slav alike, fived 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 Guilia schools; even with the oppression of the 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 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 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 inter-national 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 Guilia Communist Party, aided by Yugo-Slav officers are behind many acts of terrorism against the minority of Italian nationalists. · In Trieste, Manfoncone, 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 Guilia must be included

in the Yugo-Slav Republic. Meanwhile, the capitalist Chris-tian Democrats, Italian Socialist Camera-del-Lavoro Party and Camera-del-Lavore (Italian T.U.C.) are not idle They in turn conduct strikes and demonstrations in the interests of Italian capitalism, the pawn 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 striking seamen.

Venezia Guilia serve the Soviet Towards the end of the Bureaucracy alone. We claim that the Italian Communist Party first world imperialist conflict, serves the same bureaucracy. Togliatti, not daring to condemn

to speak for Venezia Guilia being included in the Yugo-Slav Republic

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 SS 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 servento widen the gaps already existing between the workers and occupying troops.

### Workers! Unite Against Capitalism

We have appealed to the mili-Committee Labour Party and once again we sky in the past; out for our class and is a way The monstrous politics of the present day working class leader-ship 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 Guilia 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 We do not claim that even troops. this will solve the problem of Trieste but it is the only way forward to internationalism the only solution: A Socialist Federation of the Balkans within A Socialist 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 structured for emancination from struggles for emancipation from exploitation and wage slavery.'

The "Militant" (organ of the Socialist Workers' Party (Trot-skylst), 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