

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Stalinist Land Programme Wins Peasants

CHIANG'S CONSCRIPTS ROPED TO PREVENT ESCAPE

By TED GRANT

WITH the spectacular advance of the Chinese Red Army, the diplomats of the State Department in America and the Foreign Office in Britain are seriously discussing the possibility of the complete collapse of the Chiang Kai Shek regime. The entire capitalist press writes gloomily of the prospect of North and Central China to the Yangtse coming under Stalinist sway.

Within three years of the collapse of Japanese imperialism, the Red Army has conquered Manchuria and most of North China. The Chinese capital Nanking, with the richest city of China, Shanghai, which has a population of five millions, is rapidly coming within the grasp of the Red Army. The territory which the Stalinists already dominate has a population of more than 170,000,000.

The British capitalists with investments in China amounting to £450,000,000 are dismayed at the prospect of the loss of this lucrative field of investment. American imperialism, within whose sphere of influence China fell with the weakening of the other imperialist powers during the war, has given the Kuo Min Tang Government aid to the extent of 3,000,000,000 dollars in a fruitless attempt to save China for imperialist exploitation.

But the American imperialists now realise that further aid is merely throwing away good money after bad. With all the military and technical advantages in its favour in the early stages of the post-war civil war, the Kuo Min Tang has suffered defeat after defeat. The Kuo Min Tang regime, under the dictatorial rule of Chiang Kai Shek, represents the feudal landlords and capitalists. It is controlled by an utterly corrupt military clique which oppresses the workers and peasants and battens on their masters.

Chiang's Rise

Chiang Kai Shek came to power after the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 in which he played the role of chief butcher of the working class. He succeeded in this because of the policy of Stalin and Bukharin and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Their policy then was to form a bloc with the Chinese landlords, capitalists and feudal war lords, allegedly in the interests of the struggle against imperialism. In consequence, they sabotaged the attempts of the workers to take over the factories and the peasants to take the land. A "Communist" Minister of Labour sabotaged strikes and punished striking workers. A "Communist" Minister of Agriculture had peasants shot down when they attempted to seize the land.

A Sympathising Section

The capitalist Kuo Min Tang was taken into the Communist International as a sympathising section. In "The Third International After Lenin" by Trotsky, page 331, the Stalinists' role is shown in an explanatory note:

"The Kuomintang was admitted to the Comintern as a sympathising party early in 1926, approved by the Politbureau of the C.P.S.U., with the sole dissenting vote of Trotsky. Hu Han-min, Right wing Kuomintang leader, participated in the Sixth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., February, 1926, as a fraternal delegate from the Kuomintang. Shao Li-tze a henchman of Chiang Kai-shek, was fraternal delegate to the Seventh Plenum, E.C.C.I., November, 1926 (Minutes German edition pp. 403f.).

On March 21 and 22, 1927, the workers of Shanghai captured the city. Chiang immediately began preparations to

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CEYLON M.P. JOINS TROTSKYISTS

LAKSHMANE RAJAPAKSE, a C.P. member of the Ceylon Parliament has broken with the Stalinist Party and joined the Bolshevik Sama Samajists (Trotskyists), Ceylonese Section of the Fourth International.

The Stalinist faction has now been reduced to 3, and the Trotskyist faction in Parliament increased to 7.

There are also 10 members who belong to a dissi-

dent Trotskyist organisation.

The break of Lakshmane Rajapakse is a considerable blow at the Ceylon Stalinists, especially in view of the fact that he has issued a public statement refuting Stalinist slanders regarding Comrade Colvin de Silva, Trotskyist M.P. who was recently in this country, and defending the activities of Colvin de Silva during the war.

London Busmen DESERVE SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC

By R. TEARSE

ON Saturday, January 1, 30,000-40,000 London bus workers, from 83 out of 111 garages, began their Saturday afternoon and evening strike.

Their demand is for time and a half payment for Saturday work after 1 p.m.

As is usual, especially with transport strikes, the press has been shedding crocodile tears about the long-suffering "public." Heart-rending reports of women and children trudging through wind and rain have been given prominence. The bus workers are depicted as selfish rogues who don't care tuppence for the welfare of the public. Nothing could be further from the truth.

They Serve The Public

The same bus workers have maintained services in such adverse conditions as would have justified a refusal to take their vehicles out. They drove through air-raids and black-outs during the war; they maintained services in the seemingly impossible conditions of the recent fogs. They often drive the public over icy roads when many motorists flinch from handling much smaller vehicles.

Busmen's Wages

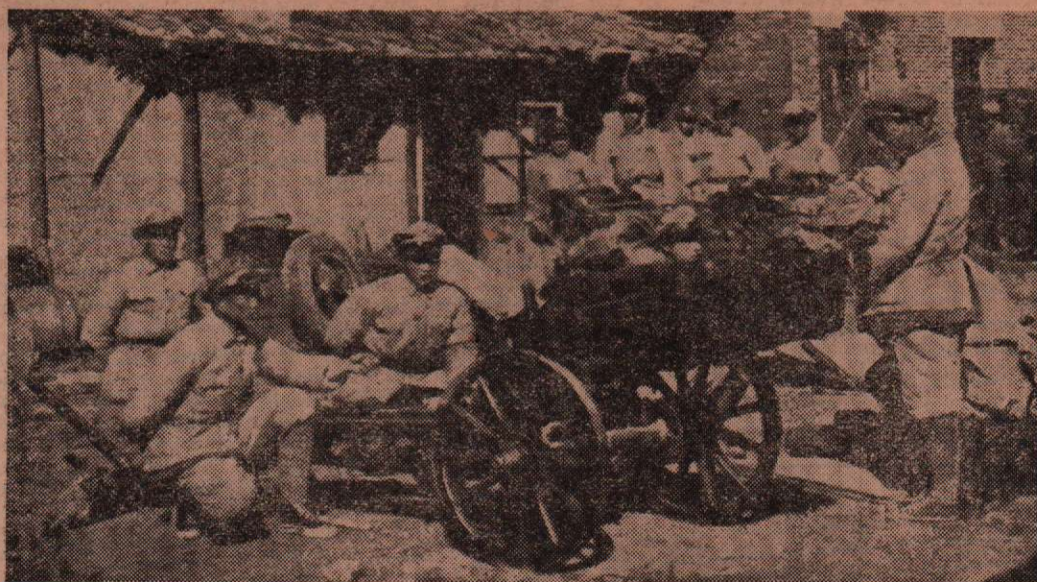
Statements have been made in the capitalist press that the average earnings of central bus drivers are £7 1s. 6d. per week, and conductors £6 16s. And that an increase in their wages will be passed on to the public by increases in fares.

In fact, the basic wages of these workers are £6 5s. for conductors and £6 9s. for drivers; this only after 18 months service, during which time the workers go through three incremental stages to reach this level.

Arduous Work

When one considers the nature of their work, the wage is far from liberal. On some shifts they begin their day when most people are sleeping. On others, they are working when everyone else is "off," and end when others are in bed. Then there is the "spread-over" shift,

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AMERICAN ARMS FOR CHINESE STALINISTS.—These are not the soldiers of Chiang armed by the "State Department," but those of Mao Tse Tung . . . In this sector of Tsinan alone the Chinese Stalinist army has captured sufficient American material to equip 3 divisions.

ABOLISH THE TITLES!

PROMINENT among New Year's Honours List are Will Lawther and Arthur Deakin.

Arthur Deakin is among those who received the Companionship of Honour from the King. This bureaucrat who receives one of the highest salaries in the trade union movement is far removed from the outlook of the rank and file.

Another recipient of knighthood is the cricketer Don Bradman, who is strongly anti-Labour.

Thus the Labour Government continues on the path established by its Tory and Liberal predecessors. This has the effect of reassuring the capitalists that the Labour leaders are "respectable" and willing to perpetuate those customs which assist the domination of the capitalists over the exploited.

In the past, even the Liberal and Radical capitalist revolutionaries fought against these caste

distinctions in Britain and on the Continent. It was Cromwell who abolished the House of Lords and the Monarchy, but the capitalists now use these outworn institutions in their own interests.

In the past, the abolition of the Lords featured prominently in the programme of the Labour Party. They too now participate in the undignified mumbo-jumbo.

Such is the environment which breeds the treachery of a MacDonald who boasted that the Duchesses would be kissing his hands on the morrow of the formation of his "national" government. It is in this atmosphere too, rubbing shoulders with capitalists and titled snobs, imitating their mode of living all working class outlook is lost, as is revealed by the Lynskey tribunal.

The Labour and trade union movement must demand a complete break with class titles and all that remains of medieval feudalism in the shape of the House of Lords and the monarchy.

THE WIMBORNE WARRIOR

WIMBORNE, Dorset, with a population of 4,100 is being mobilised by the brass hats for World War III. 00.0248% of its population have already joined the Territorial Army!

Private Cyril Vincent, the only recruit is still attending the local drill hall without uniform, where he is inspected each week by Company Sgt.-Major John Keely, who travels 23 miles from Dorchester to hold a "parade."

In an interview with the "Daily Mirror," Private Vincent declared: "The Sgt.-Major comes to the Drill Hall and I report to him, then we have a chat lasting about two hours. Then I go home. I reckon it is money for jam."

SOME FACTS ABOUT WAGES POLICY

By G. NOSEDA

SINCE last February when the T.U.C. gave official support to the Government's wage-freeze policy, some 6½ million workers have had their weekly wage-rates increased by an average of about 5 shillings per week. This may seem to be in contradiction to the Government's policy. However, for a true picture, it is necessary to relate these increases to the rise in the cost of living.

Douglas Jay, Economic Secretary to the Treasury, stated in the House of Commons recently (17.12.48), that it would be "misleading to raise hopes of any rapid and dramatic fall in the cost of living." The facts are that the situation to-day, particularly in the last 12 months, is one in which the trend is for the cost of living to rise with a consequent fall in the real wages.

The effects of the "disinflation" policy on the workers' wages is more clearly shown by the official Ministry of Labour statistics covering the past period. In the last six months of 1947, while the index of weekly wage rates rose from 100 in June to 103 in December, the index of retail prices rose by 4 per cent. By March, 1948, the wages index reached 105 while retail prices were still one point ahead. In the six months following March, the wage index moved up by only one point, while the retail prices index jumped up to 110 in June, falling back to 108 a little later.

Since then, the gap between the purchasing power of the worker and the cost of living is widening even further.

The main argument put forward by spokesmen of both Government and employers against granting appreciable wage increases is that (a) such wage increases would drive prices even higher in view of the demand for consumer goods exceeding the supply; and (b) the solution lies in increasing output of such goods and productivity generally. This method of posing the problem is an evasion of the real issue.

While no worker is opposed to the idea of increased productivity, what is at issue now is the equitable distribution of the existing national wealth, in terms of standard of living. The Government claims that it is pursuing a policy that seeks to achieve this end. But such a claim is patently false when it is recalled that 36 per cent. of the national wealth of Britain goes into the pockets of the capitalist class in the form of rent interest and profit. And the experience of the post-war (as well as the war) years has been that increased productivity

has meant a golden shower of profits for the employers while the workers have borne the burden of the increased cost of living through a shrinking of real wages.

That the workers as a whole have increased output, yet suffered a fall in real wages, is borne out by the authoritative capitalist financial press.

The "Financial Times" of December 10, in an editorial on "Wages Trend," concludes:

"... Recent progress with output per head has certainly been all too slow. But it seems to have been well in advance of real wages. It has been calculated that up to April last (taking the average of 1946—100) men's money earnings had risen to 114.1, men's real earnings had declined slightly to 97.7 (retail prices 116.6), while output per worker over the whole field of manufacturing, building, utilities and transport had risen to around 115."

Needless to say, this organ of capitalist interests does not concede that the wage demands now being pressed by large sections of the workers are justified. On the contrary, the "Financial Times" declares that "A sharp rise in productivity in one single industry does not justify a parallel increase in earnings for the workers in that particular industry."

referring to the wage claims of the building workers, it is stated that: "There is no objection to higher wages which result from increased output. If the building workers want more pay, let them operate the payment-by-results whose principles were agreed over a year ago" The carrot is there but the workers mustn't bite it! To justify wage increases the workers must increase productivity—but increased productivity does not justify wage increases!

What is the course to be pursued by the workers if they are to effectively raise their standard of living, and even defend existing standards in the light of the increasing cost of living?

In the House of Commons on

December 17, Mr. Maurice Webb, who has not been found among the left critics of the Government, declared:

"If the Chancellor was to reach solvency by 1952 he must get greater output from workers and prevent any resumption of wage demands. But the plan was threatened by the excessive cost of living. There must be a reduction in prices if the policy was to succeed."

Effective control over the distribution and sale of available consumers' supplies can only be ensured when such control is based upon the organised labour movement through Consumers' Committees composed of representatives from the Trade Unions and Co-ops, together with housewives and small shopkeepers. Such control would be the most effective counter to the Black Market and would constitute a defence of the workers' living standards.

At the point of production, similar committees based upon factory and trade union representatives of the workers must have access to the books. In practice this will mean real control over costs, prices and profits of industry.

However, even such steps can only effectively operate in the interests of the working class when they are part and parcel of an overall socialist economic plan. This demands that the interests of the capitalist class must be completely undermined.

In the meantime, a positive policy on wages is necessary. The Labour Government's policy on wages and prices has acted only to the detriment of the working masses and the interests of the bosses. The Unions must demand the reviewing of all existing wage contracts and the establishment of a satisfactory minimum throughout industry. More important, they must struggle for the introduction of a clause in such wage agreements to the effect that a rising scale will operate automatically. Any increase in the cost of living will be automatically compensated for by a corresponding increase in wages.

Letters

To the Editor,

PRITT REVEALS IGNORANCE OF STALIN'S WRITINGS

Stalin's Book A Trotskyist Forgery—says Pritt

Dear Comrade,—On November 22 D. N. Pritt spoke at University College, London. The meeting was organised by the Stalinist controlled Socialist Society, the subject was "Let's be friends with the U.S.S.R." About thirty students were present.

No discussion was allowed. During question time one of the Trotskyists in the audience quoted contradictory statements regarding the role of Trotsky in the Russian revolution from Stalin's book "The October Revolution." Pritt denied the existence of the book and called it a Trotskyist forgery! The passages which were quoted to him read:

"All practical work in connection with the organisation of the uprising was done under the immediate direction of Comrade Trotsky, the President of the Petrograd Soviet. It can be stated with certainty that the party is indebted primarily and

principally to Comrade Trotsky for the rapid going over of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the efficient manner in which the work of the Military-Revolutionary Committee was organised." (Page 30. Original article in Pravda No. 241, Nov. 6, 1918).

In contradiction to this is the statement on page 72 of the same book:

"Trotsky did not and could not have played any special role either in the Party or in the October uprising." (Original article in Pravda No. 269, Nov. 26, 1924).

This book — "The October Revolution"—is a collection of articles and speeches by Stalin and was published by Martin Lawrence. The day after Pritt's meeting a copy was shown to a number of Stalinists at the college. To them it proved nothing. Evidently, even when the facts are brought concretely before them, they refuse to believe Pritt can be wrong, let alone tell a lie.

A STUDENT.

U. S. TROTSKYIST ELECTION RESULT

THE Socialist Workers' Party has done a fine job of work in putting the name of Trotskyism on the political map of U.S.A. by its intervention in the

Presidential election.

The true result of the electoral activities is not accurately reflected in the vote. The real value of the work lay in bringing the message of international Socialism, amidst a capitalist war hysteria, to the thousands of workers whose signatures the SWP members canvassed in order to get their candidates "on the ballot"; in the holding of hundreds of campaign meetings; in the distribution of literature; and, above all, in the many broadcasts which brought the voice of Trotskyism to millions of radio listeners.

It is not easy to make a comparison between the political level of the American and British workers. Apart from the small minority parties, there was no Socialist alternative to the three capitalist candidates—Truman, Dewey and Wallace. The Labour leaders lined themselves up behind the Democratic candidates, and in consequence, the American workers consider Truman's victory as their victory. Fearful of letting in the Republican candidate for Presidency, many workers who voted for the SWP, the Stalinist-Wallace, or the Norman Thomas Socialists on a local scale, voted nationally for Truman.

S.W.P. Vote

On the national scale the S.W.P. candidates were on the ballot in 11 States. They ran Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson as candidates for President and Vice-President and polled, according to the published returns for 9 States 12,771 votes. (Returns for 2 States are not yet published.)

In the local districts, the voting was much more favourable. In Newark, New Jersey, George Breitman polled over 8,000 votes for Senator and a coloured Comrade, William E. Bohannon, 2,387 votes in the 11th Congressional District. Harry Press in the 20th Assembly District of San Francisco got 3,495 votes, 14 per cent. of the total vote. Vincent Dunne, U.S. Senate candidate for Minnesota, got 4,951 votes.

No mean achievements when one remembers that the

Party is on the Attorney General's list of "subversive organisations"!

Expose Truman!

The Labour leaders played an important part in the election of Truman. The next stage is to expose them by demanding that they make Truman implement his election promises to Labour. This will show that the road to Socialism in America lies through the building of a mass Labour Party. In this task the American Trotskyists, strengthened by their experiences in the election campaign, will be in the forefront in the coming period.

H.A.

Support Busmen's Demands

(continued from page 1)

which lasts from early morning until late at night, making the whole day subject to the job.

Added to all this, in recent years Saturday work has doubled. Due to football and shopping crowds, and the general activities of the public on this day, cash takings on some routes are as much as £17 for a single duty. They rightly claim that the extra rate could be paid without any difficulty. This is amply borne out by the fact that profits run into millions.

Reasons For Refusal

The demand for time-and-a-half was put forward months ago. After pressing the claim, the London Transport Workers' Trade Group Committee was given a final peremptory refusal by the London Transport Executive. Among other reasons given were: the Government policy as laid down in the White Paper on wages, prices and profits; the burden it would impose on the undertaking; it

would constitute a bad precedent for the industry.

No Confidence In Arbitration

On December 8, a joint delegate conference of workers representatives met at Transport House to consider the London Transport Executive's rejection. Their anger was increased by the fact that under the nationalisation set-up, top bosses like Lord Latham were unapproachable by the Union. They were usually fobbed off by "office boys" who had no authority to make a decision. Latham only deigned to see the men's representatives when it was obvious that the strike was a certainty.

The Union leadership throughout has attempted to "steer" the claim into the channels of arbitration. But the men consider that if the claim goes to arbitration, they have "had it." The recent example of how the railwaymen fared at arbitration strengthened the busmen's stand.

Democratic Decision

The bus workers have given their leadership a much-needed lesson in union democracy. Every rank and file bus worker has had his or her say. Double meetings were held at all garages so that every shift was covered. All delegates were strictly mandated.

Against this, all the union bureaucracy could do was to issue circulars condemning the action as "unofficial."

It is necessary to throw back in the teeth of the L.T.E., the press and the union tops, their accusations against the bus workers. Any inconvenience to the public is the responsibility of the L.T.E., in whose power it was to prevent the strike.

For the first time for years, the workers in bus, tram, trolley and country services are united in action. They have the support of their provincial comrades. They deserve the support of the public. Stand by the London Transport workers!

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BAN ARMS TO HOLLAND!

EVER since 1945, the Dutch Imperialists, aided by British and American arms and supplies, have been endeavouring to reassert their domination over the rich territories of the former Netherlands East Indies. This area is one of the prizes of the east. Wealthy in raw materials, rice, ground nuts, sugar, oil, tin and rubber this territory has contributed largely towards building up the wealth of Dutch capitalists for more than three hundred years. Hardly necessary to add, this wealth was built on the intensive exploitation of the native population.

With the collapse of Japanese imperialism at the end of the war, the Indonesian people grasped out for independence and for freedom from all national oppression. For a brief period the Dutch were driven out of the major part of Indonesian territory. It required the direct intervention of Allied troops and a series of broken agreements before Dutch capitalism could restore a strong foothold, though leaving a quarter of the population under the control of the Indonesian Republicans.

But the Dutch were not satisfied even with this. Because of its potential threat as a rallying centre for the forces struggling for Indonesian independence, they have sought to reduce this part of Indonesia to a puppet regime. Hence, after a stalemate in "negotiations," there followed the treacherous attack of the Dutch forces; a paratroop attack on the Republican capital Jogjakarta, and the capture and imprisonment of members of the Republican Government.

The Dutch representative at the Security Council of the United Nations declared that "his Government's action was the only way in which the East Indies could be saved from Oriental Communism" ("Daily Express," Dec. 23). The Dutch have pressed ahead with their aggression because of their fear of repercussions of events in China.

After holding back the masses in the months following the end of the war, denouncing Tan Mallaka and the Trotskyists for demanding a struggle against Dutch imperialism and Indonesian native exploiters, the Stalinists recently reversed their policy. After demanding an agreement with the Dutch imperialists, without warning or preparations, they suddenly launched an insurrection against the Republican Government's compromises with the Dutch. They led an uprising at Maidun and other towns. The insurrection was inevitably doomed to defeat. After the defeat, the Stalinists endeavoured to shift the responsibility on to the shoulders of the Trotskyists.

Embarrassment to U.S. Imperialism

The action of the Dutch has embarrassed American imperialism because it exposes the claim of the Western Powers to stand for peaceful negotiations as against the "aggressive methods of the East." In addition, if the Indonesians do achieve nominal independence, they will become completely dependent on America, which will become the most important power in this area.

The American imperialists are also alarmed at the reaction

of the masses throughout the East to this new attack. The Governments of India, Ceylon and Arab States have already protested under the pressure of this reaction. The American imperialists are afraid that if the Republican Government is completely destroyed, far from successfully eliminating "Oriental Communism" it will drive the masses further into the arms of Stalinism or Trotskyism. This explains the haste with which the American representatives in the Security Council have denounced the action of the Dutch, demanded immediate negotiations and have cut off Marshall aid to the Netherlands East Indies. They were getting in before the Russian representatives.

Rally To Support Indonesians!

Every internationalist worker will support the struggle of the Indonesian peoples. Despite the fact that the Republicans have conducted only a very shaky struggle against the Dutch, jailed the Trotskyists in 1946 for demanding measures in the interests of the masses and a real struggle against imperialism, it is necessary to support them in the struggle for independence.

In Holland the Trotskyists are waging a campaign, as they have done consistently in the past against the common exploiters of Dutch and Indonesian masses—Dutch capitalism. They are demanding the withdrawal of all Dutch troops and freedom for Indonesia. Protest strikes against the actions of the Dutch Government have broken out in Holland, although to its eternal shame, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Trade Unions has appealed to all workers to ignore calls to stop work.

The Federal Executive of the Australian Waterside Workers Federation have recommended an immediate ban on the handling of goods due for shipping from Australia to the Dutch in Indonesia. These workers are showing the way to defeat colonial imperialism.

Ban Arms To Holland!

Under the recently signed Brussels Pact (military alliances between the Western Powers and the Low Countries), Britain is supplying arms to Holland. Thus, the Dutch are using British planes and arms against the Indonesian Republic. The British workers must demand that the Labour Government institute a ban on all supplies to Holland and the Dutch forces in Indonesia.

LYSENKO CONTROVERSY

"VILE LACKEYS OF FOREIGNERS"



LYSENKO

Wide interest has been aroused in British scientific circles and among advanced workers, by the dispute over genetics which has been going on in the Soviet Union. The dictate of the Central Committee settled the issue and led to the removal of all the brilliant scientists who opposed Lysenko.

THE December issue of "Workers' International News" contains an article entitled "The Purge of Russian Biologists." In it, Comrade David James gives an excellent analysis of the recent biological controversy in the Soviet Union, which ended in the victory of Lysenko and his followers.

The writer establishes how the attitude of Lysenko and his supporters has nothing in common with a Marxist approach to science. Thus, Lysenko, attacks his opponents as friends of foreigners, and talks of "foreign reactionary biology hostile to us."

Comrade James gives a crass example of this reactionary attitude in a statement made by members of a collective farm and quoted in the Russian paper "Literaturnaia Gazeta" (8.9.48):

"Lackeys of the Foreigners"

"We the undersigned, members of the collective farm 'The Road to Socialism' (Romansk Region, Moscow Province) demand that the hangers on of bourgeois science, vile lackeys of the foreigners, should be expelled from our universities. They have no place among the scientists of our Fatherland. What have they given to the people who are advancing with sure tread to Communism?"

Biology Joins The List

The article points out that under Stalinism, objective research into history and economics is already impossible. All books dealing with the history of Russia must paint Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and many others as saboteurs of the revolution: anyone who dared mention their leading role in the early Soviet State would not spend a day free. Nor would an economist who submitted a statistical analysis of the national income, unless he carefully obscured the true position with regard to the privileges of the ruling strata. Now biology joins the list of "controlled" subjects. Nature must conform to the dictates of Stalinism if it happens that she fails to, no-one must mention the fact.

Reason For Lysenko's Success

How has Lysenko succeeded in rising to the top in Russia? The article deals with his genetic theories but declares that it is not on the basis of his scientific ability that he has overcome his opponents. The reason for his success lies in another direction—"... behind Lysenko and his theories stands the Russian Communist Party; behind that stands the N.K.V.D. (M.V.D. now)."

Comrade James quotes from Lysenko's report to the Lenin

Academy of Science. In it Lysenko declared that the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party had examined his report and approved it. The scientists who dare to oppose it must face up to the pressure of the Communist Party and the Russian State.

No wonder that Lysenko could declare:—

"The condition in the Academy has now sharply changed thanks to the interest taken in it by the party, the Government, and Comrade Stalin personally. A considerable number of Michurinists (supporters of Lysenko) have been elected members and corresponding members of our academy, and more will be added shortly, at the coming elections."

Undoes The Work Of October

Comrade James draws the conclusion that no government which fears and suppresses science can stand the test of history. When the free development of science is stopped, the source of progress dries up.

"Socialism, by liberating man from his class exploitation, frees his spirit for the pursuit of truth and beauty. Such was the effect of the Russian Revolution, although it was only a first step to socialism. By its suppression of the human spirit, together with its infernal suppression of the body, Stalinism demonstrates how far it is from Socialism, and how it undoes the work of October, 1917."

All readers of the Socialist Appeal should order a copy of this issue of the Marxist journal, "Workers' International News." A reading of the article on the "Lysenko controversy" is essential for an understanding of a subject now being widely discussed in Britain.

PURGE OF MUSICIANS

"FOREIGN" AND "ANTI-DEMOCRATIC" TRENDS IN MUSIC

IT is not only in the realm of science that the Russian purges have been taking place. A campaign has also been raging against what is termed "decadent bourgeois culture" in the sphere of philosophy, literature and music.

On the musical front, the formula of the campaign is the "struggle against formalism." The "Daily Worker" of December 29, reports:

"Foreign" Trends

"The Russian composer Sergei Prokofiev's latest music for the opera 'Story of Real Man,' has been criticised as 'extremely formalistic' by Tikhon Khrennikov, secretary of the Soviet Composers Union... 'Khrennikov's report follows the meeting of Soviet composers held in Moscow last week to discuss composition in the Soviet Union in the ten months since the statement of the Communist Party Central Committee, criticising 'formalistic and foreign (our emphasis) trends' in Soviet music."

Here, as in the Lysenko controversy, appears the same reactionary nationalistic trends.

"Formalistic Distortions"

At its meeting ten months ago, referred to by the "Daily Worker," the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party drew up a long decree on Soviet music. At that time, the Organisational Committee of the Union of Soviet Composers was attacked as a "weapon of a group of composer formalists and has become a major hotbed of formalistic distortions."

Since that time, the present secretary of the Composers' Union—Tikhon Khrennikov—has himself "done a Lysenko" among the musicians. He is the

main protagonist of the "anti-formalists." At the beginning of 1948, as part of the developing purge, he replaced Khachatryan as the President of the Association of Soviet Composers. Today, he is secretary of the Composers' Union, and with the aid of the decree of the Central Committee, that "hotbed of formalistic distortions"—the Organisation Committee of the Soviet Composers' Union—is being cleaned up.

The Decree

The Central Committee decree itself, published in the American "Daily Worker" on February 11, 1948, is an illuminating illustration of the attitude of Stalinism towards cultural activity. Here are some extracts:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers that the opera 'Great Friendship' (music by V. Muradeli, libretto by G. Mdivani), produced by the Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR during the celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of the October Revolution, is unsound both in its music and its subject matter and is an inartistic composition."

"The opera's fundamental shortcomings are rooted first of all in the music of the opera. The music of the opera is inexpressive and poor. There is no one melody or aria in it that remains in the memory. It is muddled and inharmonious, constructed entirely of dissonances, of combinations of sounds that grate on the ear. Into individual lines and scenes having a pretence to melody, there break in, all of a sudden, dissonant noises completely alien to the normal human ear which cause a reaction of a depression in the listener."

"... The composer has scorned the best traditions and experience of classical opera in general and Russian classical opera in particular, which is outstanding in its own content."

its wealth of melody and breadth of range, its people, and the fine, beautiful, clear musical form which has made Russian opera the best opera in the world, a genre of music loved by and accessible to wide groups of people."

Here again, the Central Committee plays on nationalism. Whether the general criticisms of the work of V. Muradeli are correct or not, the motives of the Central Committee are not to develop musical culture in a free atmosphere. Bureaucratic decrees, purges and repressive measures can never do that. Their method makes way for individuals to utilise the power of the apparatus to push themselves to the forefront by joining in the heresy hunt calculated to sever cultural links with the West and engender reactionary nationalism in Russian culture.

"Anti-Democratic" Music

The decree reads like a phantasy in its major conclusions. The composers are taken to task because, despite past warnings from the Central Committee on their "formalistic anti-public" trend, they failed to reorganise Soviet music, after the Central Committee had given directives in relation to their magazines and the repertoires of the dramatic theatres. Several composers are condemned because their music is "anti-democratic" (!). Among the four resolutions at the end of the decree were:

To censure the formalistic trend in Soviet music as anti-public and as, indeed, leading to the "liquidation of music"; and to develop music on "realistic lines."

As a consequence, leading musicians have been removed from their positions during the past year. Harmony has conquered dissonance. The "realistic" the "democratic" trend now reigns supreme!

R. HUNTER.

HOW THE CAPITALISTS VIEW THE EVENTS IN CHINA

(continued from page 1)

butcher them. He conspired with the imperialists to crush the workers.

"Absolutely Excluded"

Instead of preparing for the struggle the Stalinists gave full support to Chiang. The Communist official journal "International Press Correspondence," French edition, March 23, 1927, page 443, said:

"Far from dividing, as the imperialists say, the Kuomintang has only steered its ranks."

On March 30 they wrote:

"A split in the Kuomintang and hostilities between the Shanghai proletariat and the revolutionary soldiers are absolutely excluded for the moment. . . . Chiang Kai-shek . . . himself declared that he would submit to the decisions of the party. . . . A revolutionist like Chiang Kai-shek will not go over, as the imperialists would like to have it believed to Chang Tso-lin (the Northern militarist) to fight against the emancipation movement. . . ."

Chiang proceeded to organise a coup, massacre the flower of the workers, illegalise the trade unions, the peasant organisations, the Communist Party, and deprive the masses of all rights. The masses were utterly defeated and the remnants of the Chinese leadership of the Communist Party fled to the peasant areas—and there tried to organise a peasant war.

Peasant Army Held Out

The guerilla struggle threw up leaders of remarkable military genius. Mao Tse Tung, Chu Teh and others succeeded in evading the powerful military forces which the Kuo Min Tang had arrayed against them. Despite the false political line which led to successive disasters in one of the most remarkable military feats in world history, Mao was driven from Central and South China in a 6,000 mile retreat to the mountain fastnesses around Yen-an, where a "Soviet" Republic was set up. There, despite all the efforts of the Chiang regime to dislodge them, they succeeded in holding out against one attack after another. The secret of their success was that the land had been divided among the peasants in this small area, comprising, according to some estimates, about 10 million population.

Corrupt Chiang Regime

In the intervening period between the wars, the Chiang regime piled up ever increasing burdens on the workers and peasants. In some areas the taxes were collected from the peasants by the corrupt local officials 80 years in advance.

CHRISTIAN JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

IN August, 1948, a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at Calvinia, South Africa, was found guilty of assaulting a coloured school teacher, Mr. J. J. Carelse, by beating him with a sjambok (whip). In a subsequent court case, Mr. Carelse was awarded £100 damages against the clergyman.

On September 6, Mr. Carelse was kidnapped by three "unknown" men in typical Klu-Klux-Klan fashion, taken out on the veldt, and thrashed. Since then, life has been made intolerable for him in Calvinia, and he has had to leave the district. The police say that they are "still investigating the kidnapping incident." No-one has been detained yet.

Calvinia is represented in the South Africa Parliament by the Prime Minister — Doctor Malan—also an ordained clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church.

There was an endless militaristic squandering of wealth, and the feeble Kuo Min Tang regime showed itself as incapable of waging a revolutionary struggle against the incursions of imperialistic Japan.

The Chiang regime resolved itself into one of bribery and police terror. In a period of two decades it became so completely degenerate from top to bottom that it had lost most of its support even among the middle class.

War Changed Situation

After the collapse of Japan, with a certain aid from the Red Army in Manchuria which helped the Stalinists to capture Japanese material, large parts of Manchuria and the North fell into the hands of the Stalinists. The Chinese Red Army had waged a guerilla struggle against Japanese militarism throughout the war and were in a strategic position to seize certain areas with the Japanese collapse. Even throughout the war Chiang's main preoccupation was the social danger at home, to deal with the Stalinists and workers, and had it not been clear that Japan was going to be defeated in the later stages, it is quite likely that he would have capitulated and made a compromise with Japanese imperialism.

A Dying Regime

American imperialism assisted Chiang by pouring in munitions and other supplies, and even direct military intervention in the transport of Kuo Min Tang troops to Manchuria and North China by the U.S. fleet and air force. Chiang had initial successes, but all in vain. He was leading an archaic regime in Russia. So rotten was the regime that large parts of the supplies were sold by officials to the Stalinist armies for gold, and Ministers and other officials in Chiang's Government pocketed a great part of the dollars supplied for the war by America. Only the lesser part of supplies and munitions actually reached the Nationalist troops at the front.

The military commanders ceaselessly intrigued against one another, as in all doomed regimes. Chiang, for example, starved General Fu Tso Yi, the only outstanding general who showed any real capacity on the Nationalist side, of supplies, for fear he might seek to replace him. The generals were out-classed by the superior strategy and tactics of the Red Army command.

Social Questions Involved

However, the main reason for the victories of the Chinese Stalinists has been readily pointed out by Mao Tse Tung: the social questions involved. "Land to the peasants," as in the Russian revolution, sounded the death knell of feudal landowners and their corrupt regime. In large part, the Chinese Stalinists have carried out the agrarian revolution. That is the significant difference between the struggle in 1927 and now. It is this which has been responsible for the melting away of the armies which Chiang tried to use to crush the agrarian rebellion. Chiang's armies are composed of peasants—the poorest peasants at that—who have not enough money to escape conscription by bribing the officials.

"Roped Together"

Even the "News Chronicle" (11.12.48) admits that: "There is discontent among rank and file of the Nationalist army. Chiang's privates get about five pence a month."

"In some villages conscripts are roped together on the way to barracks, and when they travel by train carriage doors and wagons are locked so that they cannot escape."

Naturally, they desert with

their arms, even to the extent of whole divisions when confronted with the agrarian programme of the Stalinists.

The Stalinist Agrarian Programme

At the National Agrarian Conference of the Chinese Communist Party held on September 13, 1947, it was proposed to carry through an agrarian law containing the following provisions:

"Article 1. The agrarian system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation is abolished. The agrarian system of 'land to the tiller' is to be established."

"Article 2. The land ownership rights of all landlords are abolished."

"Article 3. The land ownership rights of all ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, schools, institutions, and organisations, are abolished."

"Article 4. All debts incurred in the countryside prior to the reform of the agrarian system are cancelled."

"Article 10, aimed directly at the soldiers and even the officers of the Kuomintang reads, in part:

"Section c. All personnel of the Peoples' Liberation Armies, democratic governments, and all peoples' organisations whose home is in the countryside shall be given land and properties equivalent to that of peasants for themselves and their families."

"Section d. Landlords and their families shall be given land and properties equivalent to that of the peasants."

"Section e. Families of Kuomintang officers and soldiers, Kuomintang Party members, and other enemy personnel whose homes are in rural areas, shall be given land and properties equivalent to that of the peasants."

Workers Passive

One of the outstanding facts in the situation in China is the relative passivity of the working class. It is true that as a result of the collapse of the Chiang armies, there have been widespread strike struggles in the large cities, Shanghai, Canton, Hankow and Nanking, despite the repressive conditions. However, it is clear that as the Stalinists advance towards the big cities on the Yangtze, the workers for lack of a mass alternative can only rally to their banner. The workers never supported the Chiang Kai Shek regime.

Every Socialist worker will wholeheartedly applaud the destruction of feudalism and of large-scale capitalism in this important section of Asia, even though it is carried out under the leadership of Stalinism. In its long-term implications it is as important as the October Revolution itself. One could give no better Marxist analysis of the gloomy picture for the world capitalist class than expressed in the editorial of the "Times," 10.11.48:

How The Capitalists See It

"At the best this spells only a single check (Hsueh-chow held by the Nationalists at the time and since fallen) after months of gains which have swung the balance of power—military, industrial, ideological—to the Communist side. Their widening hold on large areas of Northern and Central China has a much deeper meaning than the Japanese invasion of ten years ago, for the Communists—decisively helped by Russia as they have been and Marxists as they remain—summon up and organise native revolutionary forces. In its vastness and in its all too likely consequences the present upheaval has rather to be compared with the Russian revolution of 1917—from which it directly and obviously springs. Wider success for the Chinese Communists would offer wider influence, and at the ripe moment wider success, for the

Power with which they ally themselves. Long-cherished Soviet plans for swinging the backward millions of Asia into the camp which already stretches from the Oder to Sakhalin would receive the greatest measure of reinforcement so far."

"... They can draw upon the peasantry for their divisions, and they have been able to win over the support of the peasantry by expropriating most of the landlords and redistributing the land. So far the agricultural reforms of the Communists have prospered the more obviously because they have not had to feed many large towns; the food has mainly been kept in the country areas."

"In some regions a commander has ruthlessly shot or imprisoned those whom he has judged to be anti-Communist; in others there has been a show of tolerance with few changes in the traditional way of life. Businessmen and others have even been given the choice of staying or leaving. This show of tolerance seems to be the policy of Mao Tse Tung, the highly astute Communist leader. His writings and speeches show him to be an unshakable Marxist, but one who recognises that Marx's analysis of the opportunities for revolution in the industrial Europe of last century cannot be applied strictly to the mainly agricultural and primitive state of much of China. He seems to have decided to reach his Communist goal by two stages. First, there is to be a system of relatively free trading, similar to the New Economic Policy which Lenin introduced after the initial failure of militant communism in Russia. It is this stage which he proclaims at present, hoping, not without success—not only to win the peasants but to assuage the fears of many townspeople. Secondly when the first stage has been accomplished, he plans to make the further step to Marxist Socialism."

The references to Marxism and the Communist policy of Mao, are of course false. The policy of Stalinism in Russia, in Eastern Europe and in China has been labelled Marxist by all present day capitalist journalists. It is a perversion of Marxism. Nevertheless the "Times" sees that the tactics of the Chinese Stalinists will be similar to those of the Stalinists in Eastern Europe.

Two Sides Of The Coin

While supporting the destruction of feudalism in China, it must be emphasised that only a horrible caricature of the Marxist conception of the revolution will result because of the leadership of the Stalinists. Not a real democracy, but a totalitarian regime as brutal as that of Chiang Kai Shek will develop. Like the regimes in Eastern Europe, Mao will look to Russia as his model. Undoubtedly, tremendous economic progress will be achieved. But the masses, both workers and peasants, will find themselves enslaved by the bureaucracy.

The Stalinists are incorporating into their regime, ex-feudal militarists, capitalist elements, and the bureaucratic officialdom in the towns who will occupy positions of privilege and power.

On the basis of such a backward economy, a large scale differentiation among the peasants (as after the Russian revolution during the period of the NEP) aided by the failure to nationalise the land; the capitalist elements in trade and even in light industry, might provide a base for capitalist counter-revolution. It must be borne in mind that in China the proletariat is weaker in relation to the peasantry than was the case in Russia during the NEP owing to the more backward development of China. Even in Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries similarly, where the capitalist elements were relatively

weaker, nevertheless the danger of a capitalist overturn existed for a time. The fact that the workers and peasants will not have any democratic control and that the totalitarian tyranny will have superimposed upon it the Asiatic barbarism and cruelties of the old regime, gives rise to this possibility. However, it seems likely that the capitalist elements will be defeated because of the historical tendency of the decay of capitalism on a world scale. The impotence of world imperialism is shown by the fact that whereas they intervened directly against the Chinese Revolution in 1925-27, today they look on helplessly at the collapse of the Chiang regime.

However, it is quite likely that Stalin will have a new Tito on his hands. The shrewd capitalist commentators are already speculating on this although they derive cold comfort from it. Mao will have a powerful base in China with its 450-500 million population and its potential resources, and the undoubted mass support his regime will possess in the early stages. The conflicts which will thus open out should be further means of assisting the world working class to understand the real nature of Stalinism.

Balance Of Forces Changed

The world balance of forces is being decisively changed. The effect of the Chinese revolution, in however distorted a form, will inevitably prepare the way for further upheavals in an Asia already beset with colonial wars of independence and civil wars between the classes in Asiatic society. Imperialism will be irreparably weakened. Many decades ago Marx wrote that revolution in China could presage the collapse of capitalism in Europe. The editorial writer of the "Daily Telegraph," November 30, 1948, wrote with foreboding of its effects on Western Europe: "Even the defeat of Communist efforts to get control of Western Europe might scarcely compensate for the loss of China, with its immense population and, in Manchuria, valuable industrial potential."

In Shanghai, Canton and other big cities, the Trotskyists have established groups among the workers with quite a big influence in some of the illegal trade unions. They remain true to the principles of Marx and Lenin. They are establishing the tradition for the Marxist movement which in the long run will lead to the overthrow by revolutionary means, of the bureaucratic regime of Stalinism and the setting up of a healthy workers' state in which democratic control will rest in the hands of the masses.

FRANCO FREEDOM

"DEMOCRATS" in Britain, France and the United States, who are at present conducting a campaign in favour of Gen. Franco, will have a hard job to find a grain of democracy in the way the "Christian general" carries out elections in Spain.

Under a new law, Municipal Councils (for which there have been no elections since 1936) will consist of three equal groups of councillors. The first group have been elected by heads of families who were legally declared to be economically independent. The second group have been elected by the Nazi-model Labour Front. The third group will be co-opted by the first two groups of councillors from a list submitted by the Provincial Civil Governors. The Falange is the only party allowed by law, and there was no campaigning.