

# BUREAUCRACY KEY TO REDS' CONFLICT

## Statements by Party Chiefs Outside Soviet Show Basis for Discord at Present

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

The explosive issue of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, first raised by Trotsky and raised more recently by Yugoslav Titoists, appears to have moved to the center of world Communist discussion.

The latest Soviet Communist statement on the downgrading of Stalin criticizes Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist leader, for having spoken of "degeneration" in the Soviet Union. Signor Togliatti used the term in connection with his description of the rise of Soviet bureaucracy. His discussion came in an article published after his secret conference with Marshal Tito, Yugoslav President.

William Z. Foster, United States Communist leader, also raised the issue of Soviet bureaucracy, in an article published in yesterday's Daily Worker.

The Moscow statement rejected any suggestion that Stalin's crimes could be attributed to the present organization of Soviet society as it evolved over the long years of Stalin's rule. The tone of the denial appeared to indicate the degree of alarm in the Soviet leadership at the injection of the Trotskyist views into the present world Communist discussion.

### Deductions Called Wrong

Yesterday's Soviet statement said: "It would \* \* \* be a serious mistake to deduce from the past existence of the cult of personality some kind of change in the social order in the U. S. S. R. or to look for the sources of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social order. Both alternatives are absolutely wrong."

Against this is Signor Togliatti's charge that "it seems to us that undoubtedly Stalin's errors were tied in with an excessive increase in bureaucratic apparatus in Soviet economic and political life, and perhaps, first of all, in party affairs."

In his article in The Daily

Worker, Mr. Foster described the Stalin period of Soviet history as one in which "the party's traditional fight against bureaucracy, as taught by Lenin, was virtually dropped.

"Stalin made the most of the aggravated disciplinary aspects of the situation and he built his ultra-bureaucratic machine with tragic final results," the United States Communist leader wrote.

From 1948 to 1953, during Yugoslavia's estrangement from other Communist countries, Yugoslav Communist theoreticians often assailed the bureaucratic perversion of Soviet society away from the socialism envisioned by Marx and Lenin. Even since the recent reconciliation between President Tito and the present Soviet leaders, Yugoslav diplomats have expressed their belief that powerful bureaucratic forces in Soviet society are hindering the full extirpation of the consequences of Stalinist rule.

The latest Soviet statement appeared to show that Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist party and other Soviet leaders refused to accept any responsibility for Stalin's crimes and refused even to answer directly the questions raised about their present responsibility.

Their contention was that they were the victims of a historical situation in which, though they knew Stalin deserved to be removed, they could not act against him because to do so would have been in vain and to try to do so would have endangered the Socialist cause and the Soviet Union. It appeared that these explanations might be questioned by non-Soviet Communists.

If the Communist discipline that prevailed under Stalin retained enough force, it appeared that the Communist movement could accept the Soviet leaders' explanation, incomplete as it seemed to be. A possible alternative was that the turmoil might have gone too far to be satisfied by anything but a complete statement.