

**SOCIALIST
APPEAL**

Organ of the Revolutionary
Communist Party, British Section of
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Unite the Working Class

Unity is in the air. The "Communist" Party raises it to divert the attention of the workers away from the communist solution. Fearful of their seats and privileges, as usual, the Labour leaders reject it.

In the clouded atmosphere, one vital question is overlooked: **UNITY WITH WHOM AND FOR WHAT?**

The Communist Party proposes it as an electoral bloc between the Labour Party, the Communist Party, Common Wealth, the Liberals and "progressive" Tories.

This bloc is to form a "progressive" capitalist government which will introduce certain social reforms. But there will be no fundamental changes: the capitalist structure will remain. There will be no expropriation of the means of production. Where industries are nationalised, this will only be with the consent of the capitalists, and with compensation to the owners. The British Empire will remain intact.

This is a resurrection of the Popular Front such as was formed in France. There the leftward moving workers had won concessions as a result of stay-in-strikes; under the pretext of "national crisis" the Government took these concessions away to maintain capitalism, and ultimately delivered them, tied hand and foot, to Petain.

In Spain, the Popular Front was in power. The factories the workers had seized were handed back to the owners; the feudal landlords were given back the land; arms were taken away from the workers' and peasants' militias. Finally, the workers and peasants of Spain were delivered by the Popular Front to Franco.

The Popular Front is a reactionary snare for the working class. France and Spain serve as a bitter lesson against such electoral blocs.

But the workers want genuine unity. Their standard of living is being undermined every day; their hard won rights are being taken away; legislative attacks are directed against their organisations. To defend their living standards, their rights, and their fighting organisations, the workers want unity.

In the factories, in the mines and transport, in the Trade Unions and Trades Councils, in the Shop Stewards Committees, the Revolutionary Communist Party stands shoulder to shoulder with members of all other working class parties in a struggle to defend these and other rights of the workers. We support an agreement with all the parties of the working class for such a struggle.

But such agreements must be reached openly; discussions must be conducted publicly before the working class. No manoeuvres at the top; no machinations behind the scenes; and no arrangements in private.

The workers want unity for the purpose of returning a Workers Government. "Unity Conferences" are run up and down the country by the Communist Party for the purpose of selecting candidates. We support such conferences, provided they are genuinely representative, including delegates from Trade Union Branches, Labour Party Wards and Divisions, C.P., I.L.P. and R.C.P. Branches. Each party must be given the opportunity to present its programme and policy. Let there be a genuine democratic selection—not Stalinist "rigged" Conferences and stampeded meetings.

In general, millions of workers support the Labour Party. They believe that a Labour Government will solve their problems. We do not. The Parliament will not solve their problems. Only Soviets, or Workers' Councils can. But the workers do not yet have confidence in our party. We will not stand aside; we will unite with the workers to force the Labour leaders to take power. We will demand that they take power on a socialist programme. We will give them critical support even on their own programme. Nothing will serve to expose the Labour leaders as agents of capitalism better than this.

NO UNITY WITH THE CAPITALIST PARTIES UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS. Temporary agreements between the working class parties against the capitalists—that is the essence of the unity we support.

TROTSKYISM LIVES

A Comrade writes:

"I have been fortunate these days. First of all I worked with Italian prisoners and later with Russians. The Italians were very interested in the American 'Militant' showing the mass demonstrations in Naples. I managed in a pidgeon way, to explain what was going on there under the 'liberators'."

The Russians were different. Most of them were educated and could speak German. I had a look at some "Pravda's" they had and J. Stalin's name was most prominent. They hated Stalin. Trotsky was a man for the people, they said. When I showed them the picture of the Bolshevik Old Guard and explained that Stalin was the sole survivor, they understood. I also explained to them

about the C.P. of America and the cancerous growth that the Third International had become before its collapse. They were interested in the Fourth International and seemed surprised to learn of Trotskyist groups in other countries, especially America.

From a Polish comrade who spent two years in Stalin's jails after the occupation of Poland in 1939, comes news that while in Stalin's jails, he met many members of the Trotskyist Opposition who, despite years of imprisonment, are still imbued with the Trotskyist ideas of world revolution. Further, they are optimistic that the bureaucracy will be destroyed and the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky will triumph again in Russia.

WHY HITLER CAME TO POWER

By Ted Grant

Introduction to the Pamphlet now on Sale, "Germany — the Key to the International Situation" by Leon Trotsky.

THE imminent defeat of Hitler raises many questions as to the past and future of Germany. According to the reports at the Quebec Conference, *What to do with Germany* once she has been defeated has loomed large as the problem which is worrying the spokesmen of Anglo-American imperialism. They consider this to be as grave and thorny a problem as the destruction of German imperialist power itself. Their fears as to the possibility of maintaining control of Germany by means of Allied armies of occupation has led the imperialists to launch a virulent hate campaign. Now at the head of the gang, spewing forth the foul doctrines of racialism and nationalism; of indiscriminate hatred of the Germans as a nation, thus emulating the worst features of the racial doctrine of the Nazis, stands the so-called Communist Party leadership. In the rear, but more cautiously, for fear of their own membership, the Labour leaders, faithfully echo the Vansittart teaching of their imperialist master.

But the fate of Germany today, as it has been for many decades, remains a key question for the fate of Europe. The reason for the insistence of the ruling class, and of Stalin, on the formula of unconditional surrender, lies in their fear of the Socialist revolution which is rapidly maturing within Germany. Once the heavy hand of the Gestapo and the S.S. has been removed there will be no organised force capable of maintaining the repression of the German masses. During the rule of Hitler, monstrous crimes and repressions on the part of the Nazis have engendered a hatred which has few parallels in history. An enormous explosion is being prepared which threatens not only to blow the Nazi Party to smithereens but threatens the whole of the capitalist system itself. Every worker in Germany knows that it is the combines, monopolies, trusts and big capitalists who organised Hitler and placed him in control. As Rauschning, the ex-nationalist, ex-Nazi Gauleiter of Danzig has pointed out, the expropriation of the Jews leads inevitably to the posing of the problem of expropriation of all the capitalists. It is not for nothing that Hitler has attempted to give his demagoguery a "socialist" coloration. This reflects the aspirations not alone of the German workers, but the overwhelming majority of the German population as a whole. In the past few decades, all the forms of capitalist exploitation and political rule have been tried and found wanting. Inevitably, the socialist revolution will be automatically posed with the fall of Hitler.

GERMANY— the Key to the International Situation

By
Leon Trotsky

1931

Price - 6d.



But this is precisely what the ruling class of Britain and America and the traitors in the Kremlin, fear more than anything else. The spectre of a German revolution—of a new and this time completed 1918, is their main pre-occupation now that German militarism is in its death throes.

The instinct of the working class in the Allied countries is, while maintaining implacable hatred for fascism, to distinguish between the fascist thugs and the ordinary German worker. Profiting from their experience after the last world war when all the armies of occupation fraternised with the German masses (who easily convinced them that they were no different from themselves) the ruling class are attempting to place barriers in the way of its recurrence. The army staffs of both Britain and America have backed up the ideological campaign of chauvinist incitement by strict orders threatening punishment to any soldiers fraternising with German civilians.

The attitude of the British and American workers to the German workers can decide the fate of the coming German revolution and in so doing, will also decide whether there is to be a new version of Fascism and imperialist World War III. Under these conditions the necessity to enlighten the British masses as to the history and meaning of German events, at least since the last world war, becomes doubly important. It becomes necessary to restate the most elementary propositions of Marxism. Today, those traitors who point the finger of scorn at the German workers pretend that it is the fault of the German workers that Hitler came to power. They attempt to evade their own historic responsibility for this catastrophe. In commenting on the murder of Thaelmann the *Daily Worker* cynically says that he fought for the united front in Germany with all other working class organisations in order to destroy fascism. That is why it is all the more necessary to explain to the British and other workers exactly what did take place. The new generation in particular, must understand the part Stalinism played in German events prior to Hitler's seizure of power, if they wish to understand its present role.

Thaelmann has been murdered by the Nazis together with tens of thousands of other victims of the fascist-barbarians. But it is necessary to speak the truth if there are to be no more victims of the system which produced Hitler. Now the Stalinists wish to use Thaelmann's martyrdom as

a cover for their crimes against the German people. All the more necessary then, to show the rôle that Stalinism played in the rise of Hitler.

The truth of the matter is that the Stalinists devoted the major part of their energy to ridiculing the danger of the Nazis and concentrated their whole attention on fighting the social democrats as the "main enemy". They fought viciously against Trotsky's suggestion that the united front was the only means of smashing Hitler and preparing the way for the victory of the working class. From the lips of Thaelmann himself, we get the following:

"Trotsky wants in all seriousness a common action of the Communists with the murderer of Liebknecht and Rosa (Luxemburg), and more, with Mr. Zoergiebel and those police chiefs whom the Papen regime leaves in office to oppress the workers. Trotsky has attempted several times in his writings to turn aside the working class by demanding negotiations between the chiefs of the German Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party."

(Thaelmann's closing speech at the 12th Plenum, September 1932, Executive Committee of the Communist International, "Communist International" No. 17/18, Page 1329.)

The Stalinists went even further, openly inciting the Communist workers to beat up socialist workers, break up their meetings, etc., even carrying the fight to the school children in the very playgrounds! Thaelmann even put forward openly the slogan "Chase the social fascists from their jobs in the plants and the trade unions." Following on this line of the leader, the Young Communist organ *The Young Guard* propounded the slogan: "Chase the social fascists from the plants, the employment exchanges, and the apprentice schools."

But the line has to be carried through to the end. In the organ of the Young Pioneers which catered for the communist children, the *Drum*, the "unifying" slogan is put forward:

"Strike the little Zoergiebels in the schools and the playgrounds."

THAELMAN DENOUNCED THE UNITED FRONT

Thaelmann indignantly repudiated the very thought of a united front with the social democratic party. In an article published in *Die Internationale*, November December 1931, page 488:

"It (the Social Democratic Party) threatens to make a United Front with the Communist Party. The speech of Breitscheid (whose murder was announced at the same time as Thaelmann's) at Darmstadt on the occasion of the Hesse elections and the comments of Vorwaerts on this speech show that Social Democracy by his manoeuvre is drawing on the wall the devil of Hitler's fascism and is holding back the masses from the real struggle against the dictatorship of finance capital. And these lying mouthfuls . . . they hope to make them more palatable with the sauce of a so-called sudden friendship for the Communists (against the prohibition of the German C.P.) and to make them more agreeable to the masses."

and again in a vehement attack on Trotsky:

"In his pamphlet on the question, How will National Socialism be Defeated?, Trotsky gives always but one reply: 'The German C.P. must make a bloc with the Social Democracy. . . .' In framing this bloc, Trotsky sees the only way for completely saving the German working class against fascism. EITHER THE C.P. WILL MAKE A BLOC WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OR THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS IS LOST FOR 10-20 YEARS."

This is the theory of a completely ruined fascist and counter-revolutionary. This theory is the worst theory, the most dangerous theory and the most criminal that Trotsky has constructed in the last years of his counter-revolutionary propaganda."

Thaelmann, closing speech at the 13th Plenum, September 1932: "Communist International" No. 17/18, p. 1329.

But it is not necessary to deal with the dupe. The fountainhead of this criminal policy was Joseph Stalin. He proclaimed that the main enemy of the working class was not at all the fascists but the socialists. He even put forward the nonsensical theory that the socialist party and the fascists were one and the same thing:

"Fascism", said Stalin, "is the fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie, which rests upon the active support of the social democracy. Objectively, the social democracy is the moderate wing of Fascism. There is no reason to admit that the fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie could obtain decisive successes either in the struggles or in the government of the country without the active support of the Social Democracy. . . . There is also little reason to admit that Social Democracy can obtain decisive successes either in struggles or in the government of the country without the active support of the fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie. THESE ORGANISATIONS ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, BUT ON THE CONTRARY ARE MUTUALLY COMPLEMENTARY. THEY ARE NOT ANTIPODES BUT TWINS. Fascism is a shapeless bloc of these two organisations. Without this bloc the bourgeoisie could not remain at the helm."

Stalin, quoted in *Die Internationale*, February 1932.

In carrying out this theory the wise Manuilsky had explained at the 11th Plenum of the Communist International April 1931:

"The social democrats, in order to deceive the masses, deliberately proclaim that the chief enemy of the working class is Fascism. . . . Is it not true that the whole theory of the 'lesser evil' rests on the presupposition that Fascism of the Hitler type represents the chief enemy?"

(The Communist Parties and the Crisis of Capitalism, p. 112.)

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