

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

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# FOR A FREE, UNITED GERMAN REPUBLIC OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

## Against the Plunder Plans of the Big Four! Against Annexation, Reparation, Dismemberment

Manifesto of the Fourth International to the Workers of Europe and America.

The resounding failure of the Moscow Conference leaves the German problem temporarily "unsolved". But Germany is still covered with ruins, cut up into four occupation zones, under four different military dictatorships. The toiling masses are still the prey of ruin, famine, lack of clothing and of housing. Their most elementary needs are still unfulfilled after seven years of war and privation. And the most elementary democratic rights are still denied them after twelve years of Fascist dictatorship.

For all their sudden outbursts of "humanitarian" demagoguery, the Marshalls and Bevins did not go to Moscow in order to find a solution for these vital problems. While hypocritically opposing the plunder policy of the Kremlin in the form of reparations a policy dictated by the latter's particular requirements—the Anglo-American imperialists have clearly shown their own brigand policy by sharing out the coal of the Ruhr among their French, Belgian and Dutch satellites and by assuming complete domination of all industry in the Western zones of Germany.

Each of the Big Four tries as far as possible to include Germany in its own economic and strategic sphere of influence. Each plots, from the point of view of its own interests, the future and political structure of Germany. The Stalinist agitation for a speedy centralization, like all the various plans for a "German federation", conceals the occupation powers' common refusal to let the German people freely decide their own fate.

The Big Four explain their policy of oppression and plunder by the myth of the "collective guilt" of the German people in starting the war. But the capitalists of the whole world, who today throw this dastardly accusation at the German masses, themselves for years economically, politically and morally fortified Hitler, whom they regarded as their "anti-Communist bulwark".

While Hitler's concentration camps and torture chambers went on smashing the resistance of hundreds of thousands of German anti-Fascist working class fighters, the British and American capitalists continued placidly to supply German imperialism with all it needed to build up its war machine. While thousands of militant German workers were being murdered by the Nazis, the representatives of international capitalism wooed Hitler to gain his good services and made whole series of "Friendship Pacts" with him.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has particularly "distinguished" itself in this campaign over the "collective guilt" of the German people. But this miserable lie will not make the workers forget that in 1933, Stalin turned the German working class over to Hitler without a struggle. It will not make them forget that the Pact he concluded with Hitler in 1939 precipitated the invasion of Poland. Nor will it make them forget that the ultra chauvinist war-time propaganda of the Kremlin was one of the principal elements in paralysing the revolutionary energy of the German workers and in reinforcing Nazi chauvinism.

The reformist and Stalinist leaders, the lackies of imperialism and of the Kremlin, also join this chorus of mud-slinging against the German working class with this monstrous myth fabricated by their bosses.

But it was precisely the criminal policy of these same leaders that permitted Hitler to take power in Germany. Can we forget the constant capitulation of the Social-Democratic leaders to the advancing tide of Nazism? And their shameful vote of confidence in the Reichstag for the foreign policy of the first Hitler cabinet. Can we forget the obstinate refusal of the leaders of the K.P.D. (German Communist Party) to make a United Front with the Social Democracy against the Hitler menace, despite the urgent appeals of Leon Trotsky? Can

we forget the refusal of the two parties to issue a call for battle to the 13 million workers who were ready to fight in the decisive hours in 1933? And these charlatans, whose policy has proved to be so hopelessly bankrupt, to-day dare so shamelessly to throw the guilt for their own crimes onto the shoulders of the working masses worn down by decades of uninterrupted suffering.

### Workers of the world!

Destroy the myth that the entire German people are collectively responsible for the starting of the war! Understand that the policy of the Big Four, far from laying the foundations for a lasting peace, only prepares the starting point for the race towards the Third World War. Don't forget that a new robbers' treaty, just like the Versailles Treaty after the First

World War, will only create very fertile ground for the rebirth of another violent wave of chauvinism in Germany.

Against the secret diplomacy of the Powers of this earth, who are carving up the living flesh of the peoples, the Fourth International re-affirms the inalienable right of the German people to self-determination.

### Workers of Europe!

To destroy Germany's industry, to lower the standard of living and the productivity of labour of its masses to that of colonial slaves means condemning the entire European economy, in which German economy is the spinal column, to permanent depression. No industrial and agricultural revival of your continent is possible if Germany is transformed into a vast prison where 70 million galley-slaves toil for the production of reparations for the Stalinist bureaucracy or profits for the world capitalist class. The chains that the Big Four are forging for the German masses will only increase the weight of the chains that are crushing all of you.

Only a free, united Germany, under the leadership of its working class, can fully contribute to the swift economic reconstruction of your continent through the rational exploitation of its natural wealth, the development of its industrial potentialities and the complete utilization of the technical qualifications of its workers. The Socialist unity of Germany is the indispensable condition for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

### Workers of the

### United States!

The oppression of Germany by American imperialism, the final pauperization of the German workers, the definitive colonization of its riches by your own monopoly capitalists—the very ones against whom you have carried on such admirable strike struggles since the end of the war—all this must soon bear down heavily upon the further development of your own class struggle. The lowering of the standard of living of the German workers will give a powerful means of pressure to your capitalist exploiters to use against your own standard of living. The military dictatorship that your generals want to perpetuate in Germany is a training school for future would-be dictators of the United States. The same hyenas who prepare the anti-labour laws in Washington also want to reduce the German working class to abject slavery. Your struggle against the greedy and reactionary policy of the American trusts is one and the same with the struggle for the recall of the American troops from Germany and against all the reparations plans.

### Workers of Soviet Russia!

The bloody police dictatorship which weighs on your backs prevents you from openly voicing your hostility towards the bureaucratic Stalin regime. But at the same time you are more and more worried by the accelerated preparations of Yankee imperialism for the launching of a new World War. That war, far from freeing you

from the yoke of the Stalinist dictatorship, would only transform you into slaves of Wall Street. The nationalist policies of the bureaucracy and its vile practice of plunder and deportation are greatly facilitating the task of the American bankers and threaten to provoke complete indifference on the part of the German workers as to the imperialist plans of transforming their country into a bulwark of the encircling chain around the U.S.S.R. To fight this menace you must show the German workers, whenever and wherever you can, that the internationalist tradition of the October Revolution still lives on among you.

Remember the appeals of Lenin and Trotsky for "Peace without Annexations or Reparations." "For the fraternization of the workers of all countries!" Show the German workers that you want to take this path once more! For, only fraternal collaboration between a Germany free of national oppression and capitalist exploitation and a Soviet Union free of its bureaucratic parasites will give a new impetus to your collectivized economy and will give you the bread, liberty and culture of which the Kremlin deprives you.

### British Workers!

Your votes carried the Labour Government to power because you hoped to find a peaceful road to Socialism. But your ministers have shown themselves, in Germany as in Great Britain, to be the faithful agents of British imperialism. Will you allow those who are supposed to be building Socialism in Britain to tie the German workers down to forced labour?

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## R. C. P. May Day Rally

In the rain, our London comrades marched and sang revolutionary workers' songs in the May Day procession organised by the London Trades Council.

Only the R.C.P. contingent showed an increase in the numbers over last year's turnout. The Stalinist forces had very much declined. The Labour Party was absent.

Accompanied by policemen, our section marched to join the main part of the procession at the "Prince of Wales." With our large party banner swaying in the wind and dozens of placards bearing slogans, red flags and strip banners, the R.C.P. looked by far the most impressive and orderly section of the West London parade. Only our slogans had real meaning for the working class. These demanded: "Nationalisation without Compensation", "For a Communist Economic Policy", "Free the Colonies", "Workers' Control of Production", "Against Conscription of Working Class Youth", "For a Workers' Militia", "For a Communist Germany" and many others, including the demand for the 40 hour week and lower food prices, with the need for committees of the working class to control such prices.

The Stalinists had tried to prevent the R.C.P. from participating by raising an objection on the Executive Committee of the London Trades Council, and proposing that if need be, the police should be called in to keep us off the parade. This anti-working class proposal was met with defeat.

The rank and file of the C.P. were extremely friendly.

All along the route our slogans blazoned from every main wall, the handwork of 20 comrades who stayed up all the previous night to do the job. These slogans read: "Solidarity with the German workers", "Free the Prisoners of War", "U.N.O. is a Fraud—For World Socialism", etc. In prominent letters with each slogan were the words: "R.C.P., Trotskyist—Fourth International."

At Notting Hill Gate, German Prisoners of War joined with us in singing the "Red Flag" and marched alongside our contingent. Yes, only we Trotskyists gave an international character to workers' day.

It suited us fine to be the last contingent to enter the park. Thousands flocked the grass verge as we sang the "International". Sections of the crowd cheered as we entered the park.

Our meeting attracted a large crowd and among the audience were many C.P. rank and file who listened attentively and remained for discussions after the meeting had concluded.

May Day was a great success for our London organisation. It brought home to thousands of workers in the capital the main slogans of our Party.

**CROYDON MAY DAY**—Our Croydon comrades celebrated May Day by marching in the local Trades Council demonstration under our banner. They were officially represented on the May Day Committee.

Our contingent compared very favourably with those of the other working class organisations, being the largest next to the C.P. It numbered about half the C.P. contingent, which was excellent considering it was our first year to participate. Sales of "Socialist Appeal" were good and leaflets were distributed.

## End Talks About "Unofficial" Strikes

The Labour and Trade Union leaders, backed by the full weight of the capitalist press, have launched an attack on workers who are participating in strike activity.

Behind the apparent self-sureness, this campaign indicates the waning confidence on the part of those "leaders" in their ability to control the rank and file workers in the interests of the employers.

The most outspoken and brutal statement emanated from the pen of Alfred Edwards, "Socialist" M.P., in the "Sunday Express," of May 4th. Advocating that strikes should be made illegal, he states:

"It should be a criminal offence to strike, punishable by a prison sentence and a heavy fine upon the Union. The Unions' funds should be attacked for this purpose. Exactly the same treatment should be used in the case of unofficial strikes. The men who walk out should be punished and again the Union fined for lack of discipline within its ranks."

He concludes:

"If they persist, put them outside the law and punish them as they deserve. I feel no pity for thugs."

In a speech to his constituents, Morrison, Lord President of the Council, stated: "What are known as unofficial strikes are really strikes against trade unionism and against trade democracy. There seems to be an idea in the heads of many workers that if there is a strike they must be in it, and that it would be a betrayal of trade union principles to stay at work... If the strike is not called by the elected trade union leadership then the strike is really an anti-trade union strike."

Other Cabinet Ministers, including Isaacs have made similar statements.

Strike activity expresses the very essence of Trade Union organisation. The Trade Unions were fashioned as independent fighting class organisations, under the banner: "United we stand—divided we fall." It has long been axiomatic in the working class movement that the ONLY weapon possessed by the workers is THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW ITS LABOUR POWER.

In saying that the workers today should not strike, the Labour and Trade Union leaders advocate, in effect, the acceptance of ANY TERMS THE EMPLOYERS CARE TO IMPOSE.

Were the workers to accept the advice of these leaders, the very basis of Trade Unionism would be undermined, for without the right to strike, the trade unions would be rendered completely impotent. The talk of "discipline" in the ranks of the Unions by the leaders and the capitalist press is a mockery. The indiscipline is on the part of the officials who flout the basic principles of trade unionism. In recent months we have seen the sickening spectacle of the General Secretary of the largest union in the country (Deakin) being escorted from a meeting of striking transport workers by a police body-guard. This in the name of trade union democracy! We have seen Donovan, Coppock, Fawcett, Lawther and others back-peddling on the struggles of the working class. We have seen the Minister of Labour ex-Chairman of the T.U.C., acting in the best traditions of any Tory who preceded him in that office. Acting in the name of trade unionism, they treat the principles of the movement with the utmost contempt.

It is no easy decision for workers to cease work. It involves loss of pay, and possibly weeks of starvation for the strikers' families. The recent sympathetic action of the London dockers, first with the Transport workers, then with the Glasgow dockers required the highest sense of class duty and the greatest morale. These dockers could well have done with their weekly wages, but they saw on these occasions that their fellow workers faced defeat without their assistance. Yes, Mr. Morrison, these dockers took the traditional socialist view that "it would be a betrayal of trade union principles to stay at work". They were the disciplined trade unionists; you were anti-trade unionist.

The talk about strikes being "unofficial" must be ended. One of the first steps must be the breaking of the Industrial Truce and the freeing of the Unions from all ties with the employers and State machine. If workers consider it necessary to take strike action in defence of their rights they have the right to receive the backing of their organisations, including the payment of strike benefit. The withholding of such benefits is precisely contrary to the interests of working class democracy. The only way to discipline the officials is to pay them the same wage as the worker on the job. When an end is put to their fat living filched from the pennies of the rank and file, they will concern themselves more with the welfare of the workers. When all officials are subject to regular election and immediate recall, they will soon strive to serve the rank and file instead of the employers. Those who fail to serve their class must be replaced by fighting militants who will.

Workers go on strike when their endurance has reached its limits. It is not they who are violating democracy, but the union leaders and the Government Ministers who imagine that democracy means that they dictate to the workers what the workers should do; not that the Unions and the Government are the servants of the workers but that the working class and unions must be obedient tools of their policy. This is their idea of democracy and socialism. It is not the workers' idea. Democracy begins at the bottom not at the top. All the statements of the union leaders show how far removed they are from the workers and prove the need for restoring genuine democracy within the Trade Unions.

## Congress Ministry Jails Workers

33,000 TEXTILE WORKERS ON STRIKE IN  
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BEHAR

### INDIA—

All the textile mills in the whole of the Central Provinces and Behar are at a standstill since March 9, about 33,000 workers have been standing solidly behind their union in its fight.

Under the notorious Public Safety Ordinance all the union militants either were arrested or had warrants issued against them. Comrade Mehendré, the most active worker in, and General Secretary of, the Central Provinces and Behar Textile Workers' Federation, was one of the first victims of the Public Safety Ordinance.

The Provincial Ministry has openly said it will break the strike at any cost or risk. Addressing the press conference called in the fashionable Mount Hotel, Minister D. P. Mishra said: "These so-called leaders do not want a peaceful transfer of power in June, 1948. We are prepared to stamp out these anti-social elements, even at the cost of bloodshed." This is the non-violent creed of the Congress!

The workers accepted the challenge by sending quite a large number of groups of three to demonstrate before the Assembly Hall. Even the order under Section 144 Criminal Penal Code does not illegalise a body of three!

Yet they were arrested and put in gaols. The Congress Ministry did shamelessly what the British Government's Section 93 administration had never dared to do.

These arrested workers were convicted and sentenced to from three to five months' imprisonment in trials lasting not more than an hour, in the police "chowkies" or in emergency courts.

Even when the Government is trying by all possible means to break this strike, the workers are firmly behind the union. The strikers' demands are: an increase in basic wages and an end to the system of discharging permanent and seasoned employees (who are usually union militants) and replacing them by temporary dilutees.

The latest news is that the Government has, at last, had to climb down, and Mehendré and other strike leaders have been unconditionally released. Preliminary arrangements for starting negotiations have been made.

H. L. MISHRA.

## Stalin-Stassen Interview

### Can Communism Live Peacefully with Capitalism? Lenin's Answer

BY H. ATKINSON

THE RECENT PUBLICATION OF THE STALIN-STASSEN INTERVIEW DEMONSTRATES ONCE AGAIN THAT STALIN HAS TURNED HIS BACK ON LENIN'S THEORY OF THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF A LONG-LASTING COMPROMISE BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM.

The central theme of Stalin's discourse with Stassen was that the difference between the economic systems of the United States and the U.S.S.R. is not of "essential importance" so far as co-operation between the two powers is concerned. What is being spoken of here, it must be understood, is not an expedient, an alliance of a temporary character, but a whole historical period of "peaceful co-existence of capitalism and socialism" to use the formula of "Browderism". "Let us not criticise mutually our systems, said the Generalissimo," according to the "Daily Worker", "We can live side by side."

But that is not all. Stalin has done more than up-date his monstrous "theory" of building communism in a single country. In an interview with the "goodwill mission" sent by the British Labour Party, published on 10th May, Stalin, according to the "Times", expressed his "gratification that Britain and Russia were travelling in the Socialist direction. The Russian leader said that, though Britain was travelling in a roundabout, British way, he felt that both countries would reach the objective."

C.P. leaders have certainly got something to bite on now! The peaceful co-habitation of Russian "socialism" and American imperialism, while Britain develops, also peacefully, in the "socialist direction" by the "roundabout

way" of reformism! What deception of the masses! what a travesty of Marxism-Leninism to which Stalin and the national Communist Party leaders continue to pay lip-service. This ideology which took root in 1924 in the "theory" of "Socialism in One Country" shortly after the death of Lenin, has unfolded over the blood and bones of the European and Asiatic toilers through two decades of betrayal of the struggle for socialism.

How does all this tie up with the ideas of Bolshevism, of Leninism? Let us go back to the fountainhead, to the annals of the Russian Revolution.

### Stalinism and Bolshevism

Stalin declares today that the differences of social system are not of "essential importance". In March 1919 Lenin declared:

"We live not only in a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for an extended period is unthinkable. In the end either one or the other will conquer."

This was not a casual utterance. It summarised the Bolshevik attitude towards the Russian and world revolution. "We have passed from war to peace," said Lenin in 1920, "But we have not forgotten that war will come

again so long as both capitalism and socialism remain, we cannot live in peace. Either the one or the other in the long run will conquer. There will be a funeral chant either for the Soviet Republic or for world capitalism. This is a moratorium in a war."

Mark well these words, Communist Party workers! And compare this prophesy so tragically vindicated by the bloody struggle just two years concluded, with the deception of the masses carried on by Stalinism today and in the years preceding the war. Before the war it was a question of the "peace loving democracies" getting together to block the "fascist aggressors". Now it's a question of "co-operation" with American imperialism.

In Russia itself, Stalin tells the world, the stage of socialism has been passed. Communism is now being built. Such is the contempt in which the Russian bureaucracy hold the masses, that they do not trouble to explain what has become of the ideas contained in the old Bolshevik Party text-books, the A.B.C. of Communism, by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky, in which we read:

"The communist revolution can be victorious only as a world revolution. . . . In a situation where the workers have won only in a single country, economic construction becomes very difficult. . . . For the victory of communism the



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victory of the world revolution is necessary."

For Stalinism differences of social system are not of "essential importance."

### Stalin Rejected World Socialism in 1924

The idea of capitalism and socialism getting along together is not new. In contradistinction to the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, Stalin developed the reactionary, nationalist conception of building socialism in one country way back in 1924.

In the autumn of that year, in a revised edition of his book, "Problems of Leninism", Stalin wrote:

"Having consolidated its power, and taking the lead of the peasantry, the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society."

Was this consistent with the ideas of Bolshevism? It was diametrically opposed. In April of the same year Stalin himself had written, in an earlier edition of the same book:

"To overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish the

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