SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

No. 43. MID-MAY, 1947. Price 2d.

END LABOUR'S IMPERIALIST POLICY

He's Back !

The return of the Royal Family, laden with diamonds, ostrich feathers and other "souvenirs" from the rich South African capitalists was marked by the usual flunkeyism and publicity that occurs on such occasions.

And, no doubt, the Court circles, Dowagers and ambitious socialite parasites feel happy that the Royal family is with them again, to grace their banquets and functions. But to the working class in Britain, the occasion makes about as much difference as the King's South African tour did to the overworked and exploited native slaves of the wealthy South African capitalists.

While some millions of the working class in Britain desperately seek decent housing accommodation, the Royal Family have returned to no such worries. Indeed, one of their twenty-two residences, Buckingham Palace, has been extensively and very expensively re-decorated in their absence, at a cost of some £58,000. A sum which would be about the cost of housing sixty workers and their families in comfort.

Attlee, in a most obsequious speech of welcome home, referred to the, **"deep disappointment to our fellow subjects in South Africa, who for the first time in their history were able to welcome in person their King and Queen . . ."**, if the Royal visit had been called off. But it is clear that Attlee, was not thinking of the unfortunate black workers of South Africa. He was concerned with fortifying the position of British imperialism in South Africa, which is now regarded as a sheet anchor of imperialist interests in the whole of Africa. The visit was intended to bolster Smuts' policy of "white supermacy" and hegemony on the African continent.

The truth is, that the working class of Britain have everything in common with fellow-workers like the South African natives, and nothing at all with any exploiting ruling class and its parasitic figureheads. Workers, black or white, can never enjoy the fruits of their labours while the capitalist system continues, while antiquated anachronisms like the institution of Royalty, continue to exist. But "socialist" flunkeys never offend their capitalist masters by speaking such truths !

For a Socialist Programme

"Keep Left" Offers No Alternative

THE DELEGATES TO THIS YEAR'S LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE, MEETING AT MARGATE, HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY OF GIVING A CLEAR ALTERNATIVE LEAD TO THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT, A POLICY WHICH UPHOLDS AND FURTHERS THE INTERESTS OF CAPITALISM AGAINST THOSE OF THE WORKING CLASS.

While certain nationalisation measures have been introduced, effective control of Britain's production and economy remains in the hands of the capitalist class. While a golden harvest of profits continues to pour into the pockets of the employers, the main burdens of shortages, of taxation, and of the production crisis continues to be borne by the working class. All this under the aegis of the Labour Government.

Almost one and a quarter million British troops continue to be stationed overseas to act as the protectors of British capitalist interests, and the colonial masses continue to be enslaved under British imperialist rule.

"Keep Left" No Alternative

Workers who are apprehensive about Labour's policy will study the pamphlet, "Keep Left", appropriately published by the "New Statesman", Liberal Labour weekly, which has come out with an "alternative" policy.

The dozen or so Labour M.P.'s responsible for this pamphlet, notably, Crossman, Michael Foot and Ian Mikardo, modestly state, in a short introduction: **"We found that we all agreed about the need for a more drastic Socialist policy if we were not to drift into disaster. . . ."**. Such a statement could only be welcomed by every worker who is seeking a real socialist alternative to official Labour policy — if it were a **genuine** attempt to come to grips with the problems facing the working class of Britain today! But, the fact is, that the authors of **"Keep Left"**, having no **principled** differences with official Labour policy, are incapable of developing any concrete Socialist programme of action that would operate in the interests of the workers in Britain.

Recognises Britain's Decline

One merit the pamphlet possesses is the description of the parlous plight of British capitalism and the exceedingly weak position in which it finds itself at the present time. It shows how the lust for profits on the part of the capitalists has resulted in the ruin of Britain's basic industries.

At the same time it points out the diseased state which world capitalism reached after the First World War, and the crisis of capitalism which was ushered in by the slump in 1929. Not only is the economic decline of Britain well diagnosed, but her diplomatic weakness and the shaky hold which she has on her colonial empire is shown. The signatories openly proclaim that on her own Britain will be hopelessly outclassed in a war against America or against Russia, the two modern titans.

New "Balance Of Power" Formula

But instead of drawing the correct socialist conclusion that only through the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe can the working class defeat the reactionary aims of world imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy, the "solution" of the **"Keep Left"** authors is just another capitalist "balance of power" formula, a "Western bloc" with France and other capitalist countries of Europe, in order that Britain can play an "independent" role between the two great Powers of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. They say:

> **"The task of British Socialism must be, wherever possible, to save the smaller nations from this futile ideological warfare and to heal the breach between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. But we cannot do this if we ourselves have taken sides either in a Communist bloc or in an anti-Bolshevik axis. It would be a betrayal of British and European Socialism if we meekly accepted [illegible] would be equally fatal to accept American leadership in exchange for dollars."**

Right Policy For Germany

"Keep Left" reiterates the official right wing policy for Germany:

> **"It should be possible, for instance, as a measure to prevent the revival of German militarism, to limit the reconstruction of the German steel industry and to get the extra capacity by building steel mills in the neighbouring countries to be serviced with German coal."**

Thus they help to perpetuate the legend of natural German aggressiveness, and then proceed to put forward a vague idea of a "United Socialist Europe" **without showing how this can be achieved without the overthrow of capitalism and a complete transformation of the economy in Germany and all the countries concerned, starting with Britain.**

A New Imperialist Policy

[illegible] policy they write as [illegible] no different from Morrison, that the Government could take no other course except

(*Continued on Page 4.*)

Make the Rich Pay!

Currency Cases Show Luxury Living of Wealthy Parasites

BY G. NOZEDA

THE MONOTONOUS PARADE OF RICH BRITISH IDLERS PASSING THROUGH THE POLICE COURTS ON CURRENCY EVASION CHARGES BRINGS HOME THE SHARP CONTRAST BETWEEN THE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR THE WORKERS TODAY, AND THE LUXUURY LIVING OF THESE WEALTHY PARASITES.

While the working class is exhorted to "work harder", to "spend less and save more", by capitalist employers and Labour Government alike, members of the upper classes are engaged in luxury spending on fantastic scales.

Those wealthy idlers, who have been "found out", squandered fabulous sums on gambling and high living in the favourite holiday resort of the capitalist class, the French Riviera. Money, coined from the toil and sweat of working people, flows like water in this haunt of the wealthy.

Some idea of the fantastic sums squandered by these rich holiday habitues in the Riviera is indicated by a **"Daily Mail"** reporter, who writes:

> **"Chartering of yachts at fees of anything from £500 to £5,000, all-day cocktail parties that cost £500 a time, and gaming debts that in some cases amount to £5,000 a night are some of the items that have been admitted."**

And, as an example of a "fairly quiet day's spending" by one wealthy idler, the report instances:

> **"Hotel, £5 (one day); Car, Cannes to MonteCarlo, £10; Lunch and Dinner, four guests, £32; Gambling losses, £25; Night club, £6; total for the day, £78."**

What a "hard" day's spending would amount to, is left to the imagination !

In one recent case, that of a wealthy captain and a woman friend, £8,740 was squandered in this fashion in 15 weeks. They spent, between them, almost £600 a week. At aproximately twice as much as a miner **earns** in a year !

To-date, the reported loss to the British Treasury incurred by such currency evaders, amounts to some millions of pounds. True, those currency dogers who were caught have been fined. But a few hundred, or even a few thousand pounds, in fines, can mean little to the pockets of these luxury spenders who spend as much in one day, (a 'quiet day), as a miner receives for three months of hard work. These rich gamblers and idlers come from the same wealthy capitalist class that howls for the workers' blood when poor wages and bad conditions force the workers to strike action; they come from the same capitalist class whose kept press never loses an opportunity to sneer and belittle the miners for alleged "absenteeism"; who never fail to inform the working class that they must "work harder", for the "benefit of all", but who regard it as "insolence" when the workers demand better conditions or even "go so far" as to demand, holidays with pay.

These wealthy idlers of the capitalist class consider the present capitalist "division of labour", whereby the workers produce the profits and they spend them, as right and proper, the ordained state of things! And it is to the shame of the Labour leaders, who claim to act as "socialists", as defenders of the working man's interests, that the capitalist profiteers and the idle rich have not been disabused of their belief in the right of capitalists' to profiteer. On the contrary! The Labour Government continues to place heavy taxation burdens on the backs of the working class, but takes no action against the wealthy employing class who continue to pile up profits.

The fact that their last Budget imposed a flea-bite of a profits-tax on the capitalists appears to be the Labour Government's last word in "equal sacrifice". But the working class will not tolerate this situation, whereby the main burdens of Britain's economic plight are placed on their backs whilst the wealthy capitalist monopolies reap higher and higher profits, and millions are spent by rich wasters in luxury living! This situation must be changed. It can be ended only when the organised workers in Britain force the Labour Government to match their words with deeds and take action to expropriate the profits of the capitalist class as a first step in implementing a **genuine** socialist economic policy. Labour workers, trade unionists and all Labour organisations, demand that the Labour leaders place the burden where it belongs, on the backs of the capitalist class. **MAKE THE RICH PAY !**

TEXAS CITY DISASTER

Capitalist Greed Blamed

BY EVELYN ATWOOD

U.S.A.—

The Texas City disaster snuffed out the lives of between 400 and 600 people, with many dead still uncounted, injured 3,000 more and laid waste an entire city.

The Texas workers bore the brunt of the disaster. Their flimsy shacks were built in an arc of danger around the inflammable chemical plants and oil refineries on the water-front. Among these workers were many Mexican-American and Negro families. This sector was virtually wiped off the map.

A fire aboard the explosive-laden French freighter **Grandcamp** on April 16, blasted the vessel and most of its crew out of existence. This first blast set off a chain of explosions that for three days rocked the Gulf Coast, and ripped through the jerry-built industrial Texas City.

The death toll was highest among the hundreds of workers in the $19,000,000 Monsanto Chemical plant, built at government expense during the war, which sprawled over 30 acres on Galveston Bay. No alarm was sounded in the plant when the **Grandcamp** fire started and none of the workers evacuated, although there was ample time to do so. The plant became a flaming shambles as its chemicals ignited. Other vessels in the Harbour exploded, including the **High Flyer**, also loaded with explosives.

Who is responsible for this horror? The **"N.Y. World Telegram"** on April 17 states: "It comes in the category of those indefinable acts of God . . . seemingly there is no one to blame." This is a lie. Evidence is beginning to accumulate that capitalist greed and reckless disregard for the lives and safety of the working people are behind the disaster.

City officials, dominated by the big chemical and shipping companies, permitted flagrant violations of safety laws concerning the docking of explosive-laden ships. During the war this small seaport town boomed into an industrial and shipping centre of 15,000, three times its pre-war size. Safety conditions in the narrow and crowded Houston channel, where Texas City is located, are notoriously bad. Shipowners repeatedly refused to adopt or observe needed safety measures.

CIO National Maritime Union officials point out that ammunition ships have no right to dock, but must lie out in the stream, handling cargo via barges. Yet the **Grandcamp,** admittedly carrying cases of ammunition, was docked at the pier for five days, loading tons of ammonium nitrate.

William T. Butler, expert on dangerous cargo shipments and now serving on the Coast Guard Board investigating the causes of the disaster, admits that nitrate is considered dangerous cargo. Never-the less the Coast Guard failed to order these nitrate-bearing ships out into the stream.

L. D. Boswell, foreman of a working detail of longshoremen, testified that a man on the **Grandcamp** yelled up to the deck from the ship's hold that he smelled something burning. Some water was sent down to help extinguish the flames. But a request for more water was denied on the ground that it would damage the cargo. This cargo, so carefully protected for the shipowners at the expense of an entire city and its population, was the dangerous ammonium nitrate, loaded in paper bags.

Chemical experts, meeting in Atlantic City, stated that ammonium nitrate explodes with about 25% more violence than TNT. It can be set off by heat or through detonation of ammunition. Hugh stockiles of ammonium nitrate were left at the end of the war. The government sold it cheap to investors who made big profits converting it into fertilizers. But the process of conversion is highly dangerous. The chemical experts warn that so long as this processing continues, danger of further explosions remain.

Several investigations are now under way to determine the causes for the disaster. But it can be safely predicted that the responsibility will not be placed upon the real criminals—the big corporations and shipowners who put profits ahead of human lives.

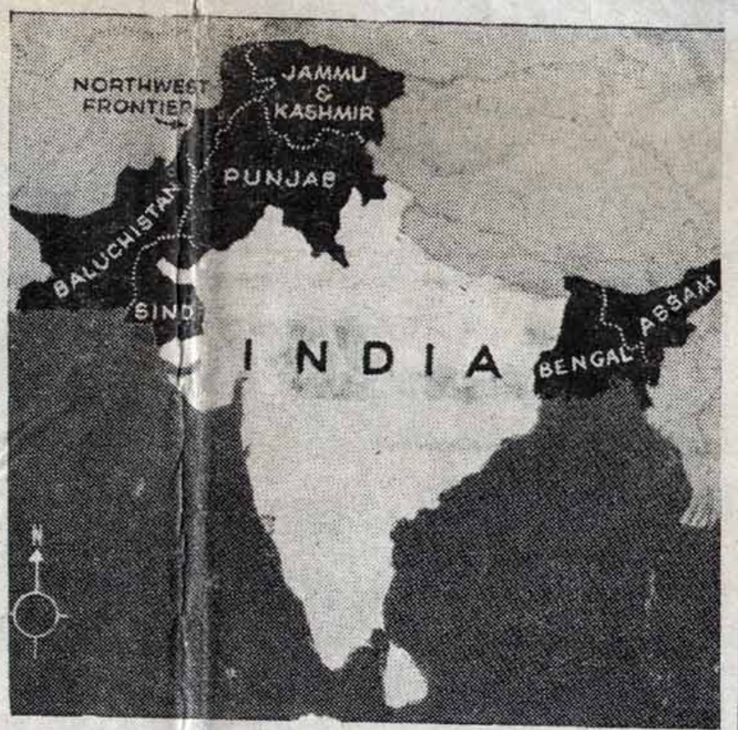
'Hidden Hand' At Work Again

...On May 6th, Major Beamish (Conservative, Lewes) asked the Minister of Labour "whether he is aware that the illegal road haulage strike" in January 1947, "was largely organised and encouraged by the Revolutionary Communist Party, Trotskyist and British Section of the Fourth International," and what steps he proposed to take against "illegal strikes organised for political reasons."

Mr. Isaacs replied that although the organisation mentioned might have encouraged the strike once it started, there was no evidence to show they organised it. Therefore, the question of taking steps did not arise.

Major Beamish and his kind do not seem to realise that if workers go on strike it is because they have a just grievance (even the capitalist press recognised the just grievances of the transport workers), and not because "agitators" lead them by the nose. The fact that people like Major Beamish see Trotskyists at work whenever working class militancy is forthcoming, is a tribute to the militant tradition that the Trotskyists are establishing and which is so lacking in other working class parties. We did support the Transport strike, as we will support all the struggles of the workers against the employers. Of this we are proud.

R.S.



PAKISTAN, shown on the map in black, is the demand of Jinnah's Moslem League, divides India and allows the wealthy princes to maintain their states.

Congress Leaders Consider Pakistan

By its deliberate policy of building up antagonisms and playing off Moslems against Hindus in order to "divide and rule", British imperialism tries to maintain some sort of foot-hold in India.

Recent despatches from India persistently contain the report that the Congress Party is considering Pakistan as a result of the pressure of the Moslem League. The Congress Working Committee is said to be working on plans for the partition of Punjab and Bengal as separate Moslem States.

This represents a break with the traditional stand of Congress, which always opposed Pakistan as a "madman's dream."

The intensity of the imperialist sponsored Moslem League's struggle against the establishment of a United India can be seen from the fact that in the past few weeks, the number of dead in the communal riots was 2,000, and most of these from the Punjab. In the North West Frontier, where the Congress represents a big majority, the Moslem League incited 150,000 Moslems to demonstrate for Pakistan before the Viceroy, who was on tour.

The meaning of Pakistan and the new turn of the Congress was made clear by a former Nationalist Moslem Minister of the Interim Government, Ali Zaheer:

> **"If Pakistan is conceded as appears inevitable, whether in a truncated form or otherwise, the presence of the British Government in India can be taken for granted. They will be there at the invitation of one party or the other."**

Because Congress acts in the interests of the basic sections of the Indian capitalists and landlords, it is incapable of developing a policy which would unify the Indian people around the banner of a United Independent India. Because of their vested interests, the Congress capitalists are not prepared to call on the people, Hindu and Moslem, to sweep away the Indian princes, who are kept in being only by the support of British imperialism. Only the working class can lead such a struggle under a revolutionary communist banner.

'Daily Worker' Defends Inequalities In Russia

BY T. CLIFF

The "Daily Worker" has been publishing a series of articles attempting to explain away the great inequalities in income which exist in present day Russia. These articles reveal the nervousness of the editors lest the British workers put their finger on the touchstone of the Stalinist system—as of every system—economic inequality.

The **'Daily Worker"** editorial of the 8th says that of course, there exist inequalities, but "It is an 'inequality' which renders a true reward for service and a guarantee that by promoting its best citizens the Soviet Union will finally advance to Communism, which means: from each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs."

The same tune is repeated by **J. R. Campbell** in his article "Soviet Income" on the 9th May, He writes:

> **"No Socialist has ever advocated that the manager of an automobile factory should only get the same wages as the man who sweeps the workshop floor, or that a top-ranking scientist should only receive the same wages as a newspaper seller.**
>
> **Nor have they advocated that a worker doing comparatively easy work in, say, the chocolate industry, should get the same amount of wages and paid holidays as a miner."**
>
> **". . . The harder the job, or the more difficult it is to learn, the higher mut be the wage, otherwise, the Soviet citizens say, nobody would do it at all."**

Certainly, if one worker works harder than another in the first stage of the new society, then he receives income according to the labour he gives to society. This applies only because the material conditions are not yet ripe enough to give to every worker an income in accordance with his needs, independent of the quantity of labour he gives to society.

Wages Under Lenin

Lenin's Government could not establish absolute equality immediately after taking power. But it established a maximum limit for differences in income between different workers, and established **as a principle** the striving towards **decreasing** the differences with time. Even the capitalist experts who were employed by the Soviet Government and who lacked any loyalty towards it, even for these, there was set a limit of approximately four to one.

> **"In accordance with the decree issued in the Autumn of 1919, the minimum income was 1,200 roubles and the maximum was 4,800 roubles, the latter figure being the maximum for the 'specialists' as well."**

N. Bucharin and E. Preobrazhensky in "A.B.C. of Communism", page 302, officially published by the Bolsheviks and the C.P. of Britain as a text book of Communism.

As regards the Government officials, Lenin wrote that the salaries must not exceed the average wage of a skilled worker. If the facts today showed that there is no absolute equality in incomes in Russia, but everyone received a wage according to his labour, then certainly the editor of the **"Daily**

(*Continued on page 4.*)

Adrema Workers Stand Firm

BY T. REILLY

The engineering workers of Adrema Ltd., have been on strike since May 6th; fighting against the victimisation of eight active union members, four of whom are shop stewards; they need the support of all organised workers.

In the latest statement of the Strike Committee, a copy of which has been sent to the "**Socialist Appeal**", the following facts are presented:

"Following the general return to work after the lock-out imposed by the Engineering Employers' Federation, as a result of the Fuel and Power Crisis, all workers were re-engaged with the exception of three fitters, whom the management stated they could not re-employ owing to lack of work on the fitting sections.

The Shop Stewards Committee consider this statement to be somewhat of a contradiction in view of the fact that 18 fitters who had been re-engaged have since left the company's employment.

In view of these facts, the workers at this establishment are of the opinion that the refusal of the management to immediately re-engage the three workers, is tantamount to deliberate victimisation.

The workers at mass meetings held some eight weeks ago instructed the stewards to place an embargo both on overtime and on the entry of new labour into the works, and also to take all the necessary steps to enable full publicity to be given to the case.

The stewards have secured the support of several M.P.s, including Mr. William Gallagher, who has intimated that he is pressing the Minister of Labour to hold an immediate enquiry into the dispute.

In addition, the stewards organised demonstrations both inside and outside the B.I.F., Olympia, on May 5th and 6th in an effort to bring to the notice of the public the anti-trade union attitude of the firm which is exhibiting there.

On May 7th, the management informed five of the demonstrators that they were dismissed for misconduct (i.e. for distribution of leaflets off the firms premises). Three of the five brothers are shop stewards.

On this new act of managerial provocation being explained to the 250 workers at a mass meeting on May 7th, they decided to cease work until their five fellow trade unionists have been re-instated.

The costs of the campaign and financial assistance to our three brothers over the period of the past eight weeks have been rather considerable. Consequently, the committee now find themselves in a serious financial position, and wish to take this opportunity to appeal to our fellow trade unionists for their financial support.

This support will enable us to alleviate distress amongst our 250 workers and to defeat this attempted victimisation of active trade unionists by employers."

Signed on behalf of the

Adrema Strike Committee,

C. RICKETTS, Chairman.

L. MILLER, Secretary.

All communications to the Treasurer:

G. Miller,
c/o 69, Avenue Road,
Acton, London, W.3.

The Acton Local Organisation Committee of the A.E.U. is backing the strike but only partial support is given by the A.E.U. District Committee. The District Committee have, however, asked branches to send financial aid. At its meeting next Wednesday (14th) delegates will press for all out support. The Hammersmith branch of the A.E.U. at its meeting on 9th May, unanimously passed a resolution asking the National Executive to recognise the strike.

The Adrema strike must not be left isolated. It is imperative for all engineering workers to demand in their Union branches that this strike be recognised. As a "Federated" firm this concern is challenging the very basis of workshop organisation.

Force the Union leaders to serve the interests of the workers!

Hotel Workers:

21 DAYS STRIKE NOTICE

Frank Piazza Still Victimised

The case of the victimised worker, Frank Piazza, has resulted in the union, rather belatedly, handing in 21 days strike notice to the Ministry of Labour.

If the union leaders take this question seriously, they will have to get down to the job of rousing all the London catering workers for the struggle which confronts them. Since October last, when the right to organise was established by the mass strike, the hotel and catering trades bosses have been trying to restore the old position. They have succeeded in some measure because of the failure of the official union leadership to maintain militant pressure against this reactionary group of employers.

At a meeting of the unionised catering workers, over 100 Shop Stewards and members assembled to hear a speech by Tom Cochrane, National Industrial Officer. It was revealed that progress since October last, so far as union activity is concerned is practically nil. With the exception of the Savoy group of hotels, by whom Piazza has been victimised, the Hotels and Restaurants Association has agreed to House Committees where favourable to both sides. No agreement has been reached with the Catering Association which involves **Lyons Corner Houses**, etc., nor with the **Restaurants Association** (as distinct from the H. and R.A.). On local, district and national machinery there is only **tacit agreement. So that since October the only gain has been a local agreement with the H. and R.A.**

No wonder the union members are disturbed.

The results of the past few months struggles is convincing catering workers of the need for their intervention in the handling of union affairs.

In view of the possibility of failure to get Piazza reinstated, union members should press for the immediate setting up of a central strike committee. All necessary organisational details should be thoroughly studied and assistance sought from the London Trades Council.

Only a widespread effort by all catering workers with help from broader sections of the organised Labour movement, can bring these employers to heel.

For the immediate and unconditional reinstatement of Frank Piazza!

For the Victory of the Catering Workers over their Employers!

How the

Stands

MAY, 1947.

	£	s.	d.
Hampstead	3	1	0
East London	1	15	7
Thames Valley	7	16	0
Manchester		5	0
I.C., Newcastle		7	6
Newcastle		9	5
Croydon	1	13	4
West London		12	4
Liverpool		18	3
Dan	4	5	0
London Social	7	3	9
Mrs. C.		2	6
[illegible]onial Marxist [illegible]eague		10	0
[illegible] Oakengates		2	0
[illegible]all		1	4
[illegible]		14	0
[illegible]	1	0	0
[illegible]mpton		10	0
[illegible]London	2	2	0
[illegible]	9	3	4
[illegible] Mac, Canada	1	0	0
[illegible] 12th May	£13	12	4

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

BY P. NORMAN

London Gas Engineers' Agreement

For eighteen months London gas engineers have, through their unions, been pressing for a 44 hour week and a substantial increase in wages.

After repeated threats of strike action, the gas employers have finally agreed to recognise the men's claims.

The joint shop stewards, led by Becton, submitted to the Executive Committee of Ship-building and Engineering Confederation, what they termed an overall "Comprehensive Agreement" covering wages and working conditions. This "agreement" was their mandate to the Confederation to be secured from the gas employers. Nothing less would be accepted.

After a series of breakdown negotiations, the gasworkers finally, at the beginning of May, gave the gas employers the last chance to negotiate. Finally, the Confederation wrested a 44 hour week and a general increase of craftsmen's wages from 2s. 9d. to 3/- per hour.

Overtime Sell-Out

The various E.C.'s of the Confederation, without consulting the workers, betrayed the rank and file on two important items. Firstly, whereas formerly time and a third had been paid for overtime, now time and a quarter only will be given. Thus the workers in effect, pay for their shorter working week. Secondly, the enhanced rates formerly paid for all working conditions commonly classed as "abnormal", such as height, heat and wet working, now go by the board. Another clause in the overtime agreement breaks a long cherished condition, i.e., originally overtime was based on each separate working day. Under the new agreement a 44 hour week must be worked before overtime rates are paid.

At a meeting of some 2,000 gas engineers at Holborn Hall on Wednesday, May 7, a resolution was unanimously carried calling upon the E.C.'s to reverse these conditions or issue 21 days' strike notice. In the meantime the status quo was to remain.

The need for a preparatory campaign by the gas shop stewards is most necessary if they are to conduct a successful battle with the employers.

The linking of works and shop stewards' committees nationally is a task of prime importance to secure united action for the reversal of agreements that impose such anomalous conditions.

1,000 City of London Workers' Strike

BY N. PENTLAND

Within the past few months, sections of workers in industries covering mining, railways and road transport have taken to strike action as a means of voicing their demand for the right to have a voice in the appointment of persons to managerial positions. The whole of the capitalist press has waxed indignant over this.

The latest of these strikes has recently been fought by T. and G.W.U. members employed by the City of London Corporation.

Beginning with a strike of Billingsgate market attendants and special police constables over the promotion of a non-union member of the private police force, 1,000 workers were eventually out on strike for eleven days.

Great Solidarity

Following the Billingsgate stoppage, juttymen, gravediggers, roadsweepers, sewerage men and crematorium attendants, all employed by the Corporation, rallied to the side of the Billingsgate workers in a great wave of working class solidarity, completely stopping burials, roadsweeping and cleaning. The strike committee stated that they put the whole blame for this squarely on the shoulders of the Corporation for its arbitrary appointment of a non-union man to a higher position.

The surprise of the whole strike which completely shook official quarters came when 75 union members operating the Tower Bridge bascules stopped work and publicly supported the City strikers, this being the first time in history that Tower Bridge has not been operated for this reason. By an ancient law of the City the bridge had to remain open for river trade.

Continuing the anti-working class policy of breaking strikes by the introduction of troops, the Labour Government manned the bridge with naval ratings from Chatham. To this, a leading member of the strike committee correctly remarked: "Our district office should have made the strike official."

This act, far from weakening the high morale of the strikers, only strengthened it. For, disgusted with the treatment of workers by the Labour Government on the one hand and its cringing before royalty on the other, 12 workmen preparing the Guildhall for the royal return, promptly downed tools also.

Lesson Of Solidarity

The strike is an object lesson to all workers.

With swift action, one section of workers after another saw the issue at stake and responded with enthusiasm, with a solidarity from which other sections of workers may fruitfully learn.

The demand of the workers to control and manage every sphere of life themselves, is one that must be given prime place by every organised worker.

Embargo On Overtime

GAINS VICTORY FOR RAILWORKERS

The 240 railway workers of the Parcel Department at Liverpool Street recorded a great victory when they forced their employers to meet all their demands which were:

(1) That the number of leading porters be increased from 41 to 62.

(2) The number of parcel porters be increased from 110 to 140.

(3) That the 9 second class foremen be re-classified to first class.

18 months of fruitless negotiation got them nowhere. It was when these workers went into action, using their own methods of struggle that a favourable result was achieved. An embargo on overtime and Sunday work forced the boss to capitulate.

T.R.

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

There Was No Unity

ON 6th May, the "**Daily Worker**" presents a write-up of a new Stalinist war film. Of the excerpts from the theme and dialogue which the "**Worker**" gives, here is an example:

"Churchill is portrayed as expressing his doubts about Soviet military might and the sufficiency of Soviet reserves, and as saying: 'We shall be glad if you succeed.'

"The British and Americans then leave.

"'Stalin: All is understood . . . the campaign in Africa, Italy. They simply want to be first in the Balkans. They want us to shed more blood so as to be able to dictate to us later.'"

At the time when this was supposed to be happening, the Stalinist press was lauding Churchill as the great leader and ally!

"Another scene", according to the "**Daily Worker**," "Shows the late President Roosevelt in his study reading the latest news and talking to an unnamed Journalist:

'R.: How can we help the Russians now?

J.: By invading Europe from the West.

R.: Alas, this does not depend on me you know.

J.: The British dream of a cheap victory.

R.: **Cheap victory and profitable peace, that is what suits them.'**"

Roosevelt's surviving partisans will not be over pleased at the unflattering implication that he was a stooge of Churchill who, apparently, made the major decisions. But, that aside, we now have two astonishing assertions from the Stalinists. First there was no "Allied unity", and the war, on the part of the British ruling class, **was waged for a "cheap victory and a profitable peace."** That is in line with what we Trotskyists were saying all along. But the corner-stone of Stalinist policy for four years was the "unity of the United Nations" and support for Churchill and his "just war for freedom."

You may be able to "fool some of the people all the time," Messrs. Stalinists, but surely some of your supporters will call for a balance sheet of your policies in the light of this latest example of cynicism.

In reality, there was of course, no difference in the fundamental strategy of Roosevelt and Churchill in their attitude towards the Soviet Union. Yesterday, the Russian and international Stalinist Press (in 1940), denounced Roosevelt as a war-monger and agent of U.S. imperialism. Tomorrow, they may "discover" again, the truth about Roosevelt as they did about Churchill. The pretence that this or that capitalist politician (particularly Roosevelt) is progressive or is interested in peace, plays into the hands of capitalism and deludes the workers.

* * *

'Work or Want' Dept.

DON IDDON, the £5,000 a year New York Correspondent of the "**Daily Mail**" is not renowned for his progressive views. All the more valuable, therefore, is the exposure of capitalist inequality contained in his report of his recent crossing on the Queen Elizabeth. It reads in part:

"£1,000 is wagered in the smoking-room every night, and I'm surprised to find the British bidding as strenuously as the Americans.

"This ship is laden down with money, full of fat-faced, cigar-smoking men and mink-clad women. Over the Martinis, the champagne and, later, the brandy, they talk heatedly of the workers, insist they're bone idle and that the prohibitive tax on tobacco and cigarettes is a damn good thing. After saying this they usually light an enormous new cigar. . . .

"It is almost as if there is too much of everything here. The menu is as opulent as anything to be found in New York—**trout, Salmon, halibut, lobster, shrimps, pheasants, lamb, ham, beef, tongue, steaks and chops, ice-cream, peaches, pineapples, pears, apples, oranges, bananas, thick whipped cream, fancy cakes and biscuits, bacon and eggs, cups of bouillon, cups and glasses of everything.**

"I do not deplore it. I merely report it. Each first-class passenger has paid his £100 or more for a one-way crossing, and it is important, I suppose that he gets his money's worth."

Demagogy? Yes. But it seems to point to the fact that, despite the poster campaign of the Labour Government there still remain, as always, a section who neither work nor want. It wasn't for this that the workers put the Labour leaders in power.

Letters To the Editor,

News From India

SINGAPORE.
S.E.A.C.
28.4.47.

Dear Comrade,

Just before I left Calcutta the riots had started there. They were deliberately engineered in order to try and split the ranks of the Calcutta working class who were due to have started a General Strike in sympathy with the Calcutta tram-workers and dockers who had been on strike since February and January respectively.

Although the Stalinist controlled B.P.T.U.C. called off the General Strike, it did not succeed in stopping the rioting. One important point however, is that the main working class areas of Calcutta such as Kiddapur, were not affected by the trouble. It was in the main confined to the middle class and professional districts.

One of our Party comrades had some limited success in forming workers' guards to patrol the troubled areas and stop any incidents.

Our Comrade Khan who is the President of the Mill Workers Union is conducting a great fight and has unanimous support of the workers in the area.

From Calcutta I went down by train to Madras. There a general strike had taken place of one day's duration to demand the release of **Comrade Antoni Pillai**, our comrade who was leading the Buckingham and Carnatic Mill Workers on strike. This is the most important section of the Madras working class. I was unable to see him in prison as he had been removed from the Madras Pen to Ragapatan.

I am now back in the unit preparing to go into transit. On Thursday I went to the East and West Society again. The Stalinists had arranged a debate on "Whether Imperialism was detrimental to Asia." The two speakers were pretty bad and came out with the patter about culture and having to learn foreign languages, etc. The biggest surprise of the evening was when the speaker for imperialism, a pukka white sahib, held up a copy of our Indian paper "**The Spark**" and commenced to read out part of it. He was attempting to "expose" the anti-imperialists, who he said, were never satisfied because in this paper they are now attacking Nehru, Patel, and even Stalin. I was able to answer him easily.

The World Youth Delegation has arrived in Singapore from Rangoon. It includes a delegate from Russia (Olga), Yugoslavia and France. Our Calcutta comrades exposed the Russian delegate when she was speaking in Calcutta. She refused to answer their questions and left the hall.

If they hold any public meetings in Singapore, I'll certainly be there to welcome them.

I'm a bit short of money at the moment, comrade, as I'm already £23 in debt with the army, so I'll wait until I get back and then I can let the Party have £25 of my gratuities.

With fraternal revolutionary greetings,

GEOFF.

P.S. Hope May Day in London is a huge success.

Anti-Labour Policy in Singapore

A "Strikers' Backing-Up Society" has been formed in Singapore by 41 different Trade Unions.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee of this society, held at the premises of the Singapore Federation of Trade Unions recently, it was resolved that financial help be given to the Singapore Traction Co. employees, who have been on strike for nearly three months, and that an appeal be made to all trade union branches to set up sub-committees to organise a "50 cent. (½d.) Donation Campaign" for the strikers.

This move constitutes a direct reply to the growing anti-labour actions and the callous disregard for the workers' wretched conditions displayed by the Government, the employers, and sections of the local press.

The Government has shown unmistakably where its true sympathies lie. Whenever there is a strike, the Government brings pressure to bear solely upon the workers.

Worse still, indirect pressure has been brought on the strikers by the Government by its countenancing of the use of Japanese war prisoners by the Municipality.

There are growing signs that the authorities and certain powerful sections of the employers are attempting to manoeuvre themselves into a position from where they can launch a frontal assault on the workers' right to strike—which right, in the last resort, is the only thing that saves them from unmitigated exploitation. The anti-labour element appear to be particularly keen on enforcing compulsory arbitration. But the workers are preparing to demonstrate, through greater unity, solidarity and self-reliance, that they will not brook any form of interference with their elementary rights.

Thanks from a German Family

GERMANY,
April.

Dear Friends,

I received your food parcel and the enclosed note. Your kindness has really touched us deeply. After so many years of austerity it was as if we had been transported to dreamland. We regret that we cannot press your hand and thank you for your sacrifices. We are well aware that the food you send us is rationed in England.

Our calories have been reduced to such an extent that we are wasting away. In the struggle for our daily bread people here don't hesitate to commit the greatest depravities. Robbery, murder, thieving, prostitution and venereal diseases are every-day occurrences. That is the level to which the German people have been reduced.

The average wage of a German worker is 35-40 marks weekly. Is it then so hard to understand that workers are unable to buy additional food on their wages, and that we waste away on our rations?

Black market price per pound of bread is 18 marks, sugar 38 marks, butter 150 marks, bacon and lard 150 marks, flour 20 marks, coffee 300 marks, potatoes 4 marks. While a tin of milk costs 60 marks ,and 3 ozs. of chocolate 90 marks.

A second-hand shirt costs 100-200 marks, an ounce of soap 20 marks, a pair of shoes 500-1,000 marks, a new suit 2,500-3,000 marks, and a second-hand one 1,500-2,000 marks.

In short, you can get everything, but not on a worker's wage.

From what I have told you you can see how we live, and what it means to us to receive a parcel from you. We will remain grateful to you all our lives.

Yours,
E.A. and Five Children.

Help Our German Comrades!

Send Food

To:-

H. CHASE
256 Harrow Rd.
London - W.2.

Orphan German Children Queue for Food

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.
Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. GRANT.
BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

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.

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" demagogy, 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 groun 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 reparation 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 thus 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?

(*Continued on page 4.*)

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 Mehendre,** the most active worker in, and General Secretary of, the Central Provinces and Berar 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 Governor'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 Mehendre 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 Labobur 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 founthead, 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 victory of the world revolution is necessary."

H. ATKINSON

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

(*Continued on Page 4.*)

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 turn out. 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 Hendon 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 handiwork 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 filers 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.

FOR A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

(*Continued from Page 1.*)

to grant concessions in India and Burma, which they proudly proclaim as socialist foreign policy. Churchill's policy would have meant two major wars for Britain in those countries.

Their solution for enfeebled British Imperialism is to cut her losses and look elsewhere for a base. Britain should make the best of a bad job in the Far and Middle East, **and concentrate on her African Empire.**

"When we (it is noteworthy that right throughout the pamphlet when talking of 'we' they never distinguish between the workers and the capitalists) leave India in June, 1948, we shall lose the use of the Indian Army, which provided a substantial reserve in the Far East. Nothing has so far been done to enlist other Empire troops to help us out. The Indian Army, whatever the motives for its formation, was a great educative institution. The same could be done for the West and East Africans as well. The pay and the conditions would be an attractive inducement to join up, and although they might not be able to replace British troops outside Africa, they would definitely ease the burden on our manpower."

Britain cannot hold India anyway — therefore . . . enlist West and East Africans to 'help us (imperialism!) out." This is sugar coated as follows:

"Develop the African Colonies—Concentrate, in co-operation with France, on the development of our African colonies so as to create the conditions for African freedom and ...to decrease European dependence on America."

The attitude of these "lefts" on the Colonial question is imbued with such petty reformist conception throughout. Unable to grasp any conception outside of a capitalist-imperialist policy, they are incapable of understanding that a geneuine **socialist** government's policy towards the colonial peoples, would be, as its first step, the freeing of the colonial countries from the yoke of British imperialist oppression. The progress towards a socialist system in these backward countries would be aided by reciprocal economic and political interchanges, as between free peoples of a Socialist Britain and a truly free colonial people, upon whose soil there will not remain a single British bayonet.

But instead of demanding the withdrawal of British troops from abroad, their only plea is for the release of an extra 300,000 from the forces by March, 1948, in order to reduce the shortage of labour. They have no principled opposition to the Conscription measures of the Labour Government apart from a mild criticism of the length of service involved. This, before the Labour Government reduced the period of conscript service from 18 to 12 months.

Their home policy contains no more socialism than does their foreign policy. No protest against the lavish compensation to the capitalists. No protest against the state capitalist nationalisations. No demand for the Confiscation of profits, and no call for workers' control of industry. Not one of these demands are advocated by these self-styled "Lefts", yet they form the first elements of a socialist policy.

If all the measures advocated by the writers are adopted they can no more prevent slump and war than the present programme and policy of the Labour Government. There is no fundamental difference between them. A bit more effort from the workers here, a pruning of British commitments there, an attempt to line up the nations of Western Europe behind Britain; all this is simply utopian as a solution to the problems facing the British and world working class today.

The workers in the Labour Party and Trade Unions must demand a complete break with the policies of the past. Partial measures of nationalisation with lavish compensation will help to make capitalism as a whole work more efficiently, but they cannot solve the problems of decrepit British capitalism.

The organisation of a Socialist Britain within a Socialist United States of Europe would lead to the genuine integration of European economy for the benefit of all. But this will be achieved only if capitalism is completely abolished and the workers take their fate firmly into their own hands.

Germany: 'Give Us Bread —Or Coffins'

By N. PENTLAND

Within a month of the Ruhr miners demonstrating for food, strikes on an even greater scale have taken place in Hamburg. During the past few weeks, the food rations, far from being honoured or increased, have been lowered.

In the Ruhr, scene of previous strikes, a news ban on the food situation has been imposed by the Allied Control Commission. News that has leaked out describes the situation **"as its worst and longest food crisis to date."** Public relations officers have been instructed to make no statements before the Control Commission has censored them.

On Friday, May 9th, 150,000 Hamburg workers struck work for several hours, to march in protest against the scale of food rations. Only workers on food production and distribution stayed at work. Headed by the Bloehm and Voss Shipyard workers, carrying banners which proclaimed: "GIVE US BREAD — OR COFFINS", all sections of the working class took part in the general strike—the first since pre-Hitler days. Even circus performers marched in protest with the workers.

The Chairman of the Hamburg Trades Council, addressing a huge demonstration, demanded that the Trade Unions should be given power to seize hoarded food stocks for distribution under their guidance.

A further demand was for the democratisation of the "Nazified" food offices, and administration in general.

Starvation Level

The bread ration, recently cut to 52½ ozs. from 87½ ozs. per week, has not been restored. The average number of calories per day is between 700 and 800. Even the official 1,500 calories is described by medical authorities as "just sufficient to maintain normal health." In Essen, only 741 calories per day is being provided. This is mainly made up of bread. Miners, who are supposed to receive special food privileges as incentives to reach the 300,000 tons of coal target, rarely receive any extras.

After a previous sit-down strike at Bloehm and Voss works, a member of the Workers' Council condemned the destruction of food in the U.S.A. while German women and children starved.

Workers Not Demoralised

The strikes have demonstrated that the German workers have not been demoralised by eleven years of Hitler's regime. They have still faith in their own powers of organisation and fighting ability. As the **"Economist"** of May 10th states:

"The miners are pressing also for much fuller participation in administration of the mines. The idea of workers' control still has many adherents."

British workers must support the tendency of the rank and file German trade unionists to demand nationalisation and their tendency towards workers' control of industry and trade union control of food rationing.

In the interests of the struggle for socialism, the British and world working class must assist their German brothers in their protests against the starvation imposed upon them by the criminal policies of the occupying powers. The re-awakening of the militant spirit of struggle of the German working class is a factor of world importance. Properly led it could lead to the victory of the socialist revolution not only in Germany, but all Europe.

The best assistance which the British workers can give is to demand the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany. Let the troops be withdrawn immediately and the German workers will know how to settle accounts with the capitalists who financed and brought the Nazis to power.

STALIN—STASSEN

(*Continued from Page 3.*)

power of the proletariat in one country, does not mean to guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The chief task of socialism—the organisation of socialist production—lies still ahead. Can this task still be accomplished? **Is it possible to attain the final victory of socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries? No it is not.** The efforts of one country are enough for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—this is what the history of our revolution tells us. **For the final victory of socialism, for the organisation of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several countries. Such in general are the characteristic features of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution."** (Emphasis ours).

It Is Not A Question Of Changed Circumstances

The above excerpts are sufficient to expose the hollow argument that we are living in a different period from that of Lenin, "circumstances have changed." The counterposing of Stalin's two positions in a few short months shows clearly how he broke with the "characteristic features of Leninist theory."

Nor is there any more Leninism in the method of "diplomatic" formulae to conceal the real aims of the revolutionary leadership. In this only the workers could be deceived, never the bourgeoisie. And in any case it is impermissible to proclaim one set of aims to conceal one's real aims. It is a tragedy that there are still so many fine militants in all countries who still believe that the Communist Parties, i.e., international Stalinism, has the socialist revolution for an objective. The reformist conception that British capitalism can evolve peacefully into socialism under the leadership of the Social-Democrats must, however, cause some heart-searching among those with any knowledge of the traditions of the communist movement. **In its implication it can mean no less than that there is no longer any need for a communist party.** This is, in fact, in line with Stalin's dissolution of the Communist International and, following it, the dissolution of the American C.P. for which Browder was made the scapegoat.

Bolshevism Always Says What Is

Nowhere in the arsenal of Leninism can opportunist deception be found. The opposite is true. For example, The **"Declaration of the Rights of the Toilers and the Exploited Peoples"**— the fundamental state programme introduced in the name of the soviet power into the Constituent Assembly—proclaimed the task of the new structure to be **"the establishment of a socialist organisation of society and the victory of socialism in all countries. . . . The soviet power will proceed resoutely along this road until the complete victory of the international workers' insurrection against the yoke of capital."** And in those days the soviet state had just come into being. It was terribly weak and bore a very different relationship to world imperialism than does the Soviet Union of Stalin which seeks to leave the regimes of the capitalist countries intact in return for pacts.

The Leninist conception that the revolution could survive only as part of the world revolution is being vindicated. For whilst the statified property and the planned economy made possible by it have not been destroyed either by inner convulsions or by outside intervention, all else which the October Revolution of 1917 ushered in has been destroyed by the Stalinist regime.

"We are only one of the revolutionary detachments of the working class", Lenin told a session of the Moscow Soviet in April 1918, "advanced to the front not because we are better than others, but precisely because we were one of the most backward countries in the world . . . we will arrive at complete victory only together with all the workers of other countries, the workers of the whole world." Indeed, without the aid of the toilers of other lands, the Russian revolution would most likely have been destroyed by imperialist intervention in its early months and years. It was the revolts of the French sailors in the Black Sea, the German revolution which overthrew the Hohenzollen dynasty, the "Hands Off Russia" campaign of the British workers, and similar actions of the workers which prevented the international capitalist reaction, led by Churchill, from strangling the young Workers' Republic.

Stalinism Perpetuates The Betrayals Of Social-Democracy

The betrayal of the German revolution after the first world war by the leadership of the reformist social-democracy the German Attlees and Bevins of that time——was a tragedy for the international working class. Today it is the Stalinised "communist" leadership of Germany, France and all Europe which is responsible for a tragic repetition of the betrayal of the struggle for socialism. It is they who are the foremost opponents of Soviet regimes and seek only class harmony and class collaboration. In return they ask only the reward of a turn toward Moscow in the foreign policies of the respective capitalist ruling classes. From the discourse between Stalin and Stassen it would seem that the Kremlin even has hopes of "neutralising" the American Republic representatives of big business! Certainly they are willing for any deal, no matter at what cost to the working class.

Revolution : Romanticism Or Realism ?

Pollitt and the Stalinist leaders here, seek to counter our criticisms with cheap sneers about revolutionary "romanticism". But it is not we who are the dreamers. The world revolution is not an utopian ideal but a material necessity. The proletarian revolution is directed both against private property in the means of production and against the splitting-up of world economy on a national basis. The creation of "national" socialist regimes, such as Stalin envisages when he talks with British Labour leaders, is unattainable. Internationalism is not an abstract principle. It is the expression of an economic need. As capitalism is national, so socialism is international. Socialism, proceeding from the world-wide division of labour, has as its task and its mission the carrying through of international exchange of goods and services to its highest development. It is just this which Trotskyism stands for.

To deceive the toilers into believing that capitalism and socialism can live peacefully side by side is a criminal betrayal of the working class and the struggle for socialism. The lines of divergence between Stalinism and revolutionary communism — Trotskyism—are clearly exposed by the Stalin-Stassen talks.

'Daily Worker' Defends Inequalities in Russia

(*Continued from Page 1.*)

Worker" and J. R. Campbell, would have been justified in their assertion. But the facts are different. And facts are stubborn things.

Changes Under Stalin

Let us begin with the government officials. According to the decision of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of the 17th January, 1938, the President of the Council of the Union as well as the President of the Council of Nations, as well as their Vice-Presidents, receive an annual income of 300,000 roubles. The President of the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R., as the other members of the Union, with their deputies, will receive 150,000 roubles per year. The deputies to the Supreme Soviets will receive 1,000 roubles per month—i.e., 12,000 roubles per year, besides 150 roubles for each day in session.

Now we must not forget that in the same year the average income according to the official statistics of the Russian Government, including every worker and employee, i.e., from the woman who scrubs the floor to the head of the Government, was in 1938, 3,467 roubles. (Russian Statistical Year Book, 1939).

As regards the income of the managers of industry, heads of Kolkhoz, etc., Soviet statistics are much harder to obtain, for the simple reason that the real inequalities of Stalinist Russia are so glaring that the bureaucracy takes pains to conceal them under the old capitalist trick of "averages". If the wages are just rewards for services rendered why conceal them by refusing to publish the statistics?

One thing is clear, nevertheless. If, until the end of 1945 there were 384 people in Russia who gave to the Government a loan of at least 1 milion roubles, and there were thousands and thousands who gave loans of a hundred thousand roubles, this certainly showed an inequality that cannot be explained only by the more enthusiastic work of the few chosen ones. The existing Five Year Plan promises that at the end of it, the average income of every worker and employee in Russia will be 7.531 roubles. Such an average worker, in order to save a million roubles would have to work a hundred years without spending anything on food, clothing, etc.

When an investor of a loan of 1 million roubles receives 40,000 roubles per annum interest, i.e., many times more than the income of the "average" worker, is it "a true reward for service" to society? Certainly, it is not the fruits of the toil of the one who receives the interest; it is the fruits of the toil of others.

Equality Of Opportunity

J. R. Campbell does not satisfy himself in saying:

"The higher paid worker is making a greater contribution to the wealth of the community."

But he adds:

"There must, however, be equality of opportunity, so that everyone can improve their skill.

"As high education becomes more diffused, and as the number of skilled people grows, it may be possible, without destroying incentive, to lessen the gaps between the highest and the lowest incomes."

Perhaps in order to achieve this, **the Decree of 4th April, 1940, lays down that no taxes are to be imposed on inheritances, and no income tax is to be levied on incomes from saving bank deposits, state loan bonds, etc!!** Perhaps in order to give "equality of opportunity" to everyone, let him be the son of a manager of industry, or an eminent ballerina on the one hand, or a simple worker or housemaid on the other—perhaps for this, **the Decree of the 2nd October, 1940, imposed very high education fees in secondary schools and universities.** By the way, this Decree, even formally violates Article 121 of the 1936 "great Stalin Constitution" according to which:

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal, compulsory, elementary education; by education, including higher education, being free of charge; by the system of stipends for the overwhelming majority of the students in the universities and colleges."

Notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding Article 146 which demands that at least a two-thirds vote in the Supreme Soviet is required for any amendment to the Constitution, this article was violated by the Government without even formally consulting the Supreme Soviet.

The fees imposed by the Decree of 2nd October, 1940, are very high: in secondary schools 150 roubles per year; higher education institutes in Moscow, Leningrad and other capitals of the Union Republics—400 roubles; in other towns 300 roubles; and in the higher institutes of art, theatre, and music, 500 roubles. Only those students, who receive the mark "excellent" for two-thirds of the subjects and "good" for the rest of the subjects—i.e., an insignificant minority, will be free from fees. Stipends will be given only to students of higher colleges who are excellent in their studies.

The immediate result of the Decree imposing fees was that **about six hundred thousand, i.e., about every third student left college.**

So much for the "equality of opportunity" under Stalin which Campbell wants to pass off under the title of Socialism!

Towards Communism Or Capitalism ?

The editors of the **"Daily Worker"** want the workers to believe that Russia is in the transitional stage from socialism to communism. Under communism, Marx declared, the law of distribution will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." In this stage, the material wealth of society will be so high, and the moral and intellectual level such, that labour will cease to be a burden and will become a necessity to the individual, just as recreation, etc. Certainly, humanity cannot reach this stage immediately after overthrowing capitalism. The inheritances from capitalist society prevent the passage immediately to this stage. The law applying to the transitional stage would be that the same amount of labour which an individual will give to society in one form, he will receive from it in another form (i.e. articles, services, etc.). At this stage, a worker who works 8 hours will receive double the amount of a worker who works 4 hours. For skilled work, the difference would be according to the difficulty in acquiring the skill. However, because society will give possibilities of education, technical schooling, etc., free of charge, the difference between income of a skilled worker and an unskilled, between mental and manual, will be much smaller than the differences existing between those same workers under capitalism. Already in the time of Lenin, the differences were much smaller than under the Czar.

However, the differences in incomes existing in Russia today are growing in the opposite direction. Under Stalin's rule, the system of distribution of the national income, marks a tendency not to socialism or communism, but towards the worst differentiations under capitalism.

Many Communist and Socialist workers are obviously shocked and perplexed by the stories published in the capitalist press about the tremendous inequalities in Russia. Instinctively they realise that there must be something wrong with a society which calls itself socialist, and yet where the differences between the manages and workers **are greater than under capitalism** And this, it will be noticed, is not denied by Campbell and the others. It is to try and counteract this growing perplexity that the **"Daily Worker"** has published the series of articles. But communist workers will not be reassured by the **"Daily Worker."**

The Stalinist press is compelled to lie in order to justify the anti-socialist, anti-Marxist policies of Stalinism. Campbell pretends that the differentiation is strictly in accordance with the practice of Lenin. In reality Lenin and Marx had anticipated a rapid disappearance of differences, which would in any case be strictly limited with the coming to power of the working class, and would gradually disappear with the passing over to communism.

When the differences between specialists and workers were introduced, Lenin called these differences by their right name: **capitalist.** At that time the difference was 4 to 1. He openly called this a concession to capitalism imposed on Russia by her isolation and backwardness. He anticipated that as time passed the Bolsheviks would abolish this "capitalist inequality," more and more moving in the direction of equality. But the differences have now reached almost incredible proportions, and the **"Daily Worker"** wants us to believe that this is all according to the laws of socialism. Even the rawest worker would smell something wrong with this.

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Woolwich Arsenal : Workers Fight Sackings

About 1.500 Woolwich Arsenal workers met at an overflow meeting on 13th May to demand that the Government stop all sackings at this factory, and that plants should be used for making mining machinery and other basic equipment for nationalised industries.

The latest number to be notified of dismissal at Whitsun involves 60 skilled and 100 semi-skilled workers. It is expected that more will follow.

A resolution was unanimously carried which demands the immediate withdrawal of the impending reductions in labour strength.

Spokesmen hit the Labour Government for pandering to private enterprise.

Brother Bill Eillott, Convenor from Enfield Royal Ordnance Factory said that the two factories should link together in this struggle.

A resolution was put to the meeting which called for a ballot vote to be held within 2 days in support of a mass demonstration on Tuesday, 20th May, at 3 p.m. (during working hours) to march to Parliament. This was also carried unanimously. Other R.O.F.'s are asked to give support.

A special conference of factory representatives of all R.O.F.'s should be convened to prepare immediate action against redundancy. The Government must be forced to utilise the R.O.F.'s solely for peace-time products as part of a socialist economic plan.

All Trade Unionists should support these 9,000 Arsenal workers.

What's on

CROYDON BRANCH R.C.P.
COME AND HEAR THE POLICY OF THE PARTY AT OUR OPEN AIR MEETINGS !
Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m.
KATHARINE STREET
Outside Town Hall
CROYDON

DISCUSSION Group. Wednesday May 26th, at 7.30 p.m., at 263, Wanstead Park Road, Ilford. "Nationalisation." Speaker: Ted Grant. All Welcome.

4th International Manifesto

(*Continued from Page 3.*)

Will you allow those who drew you into five years of war "for the four freedoms" to deny the most elementary democratic right, that of self-determination, to the German masses? The fusion of the Attlee government's German policy with Truman's will definitely lead you on the road towards the Third World War which in one way or another, will certainly reduce your country to ruin. The road towards a stable peace, towards the elimination of the reactionary bureaucracy of the Labour ministers, towards the expropriation of the monopolists towards all those goals for whose realisation you so ardently hope, is the road of struggle against the continued occupation of Germany and against annexations and reparations!

French Workers !

Your capitalist bosses and their reformist and Stalinist collaborators tell you that without the Ruhr coal reconstruction of the economy of your country is impossible. In reality the obstacle to this reconstruction is the greediness of your Two Hundred Families, the sordid egoism of your capitalist masters, the rotten corruption of their government apparatus, the complete decadence of French capitalism. Those who hope to distract your attention towards the Ruhr coal only hope in that way to perpetuate their own bloody filthy rule, your own growing misery and the violent domination of the French and colonial masses. You who have under the Nazi occupation, felt the weight of imperialist oppression cannot tolerate the extension of the same slavery over the German workers !

Communist Workers of All Countries !

During the occupation of the Ruhr by Poincare's troops in 1923 the Communist Parties of all lands gave a magnificent example of working class solidarity and thus furnished striking proof of the **realism** of international united action of the working class in the face of the bloody quarrels of its imperialist masters. Today the Stalinist parties in every country carry out an ultra-chauvinist policy and oppose each other by defending the particular interests of "their" country side by side with their rulers.

The Fourth International, which fights with all its strength against the Stalinist bureaucracy's vile prostitution of the ideas of Communism, proudly lays claim to the revolutionary tradition of Lenin's Comintern. It calls upon you, in the spirit of that tradition, in the spirit of the militant fraternity that was forged in the concentration camps between your German comrades and yourselves, to join your efforts to those of the German workers in combatting the occupation of Germany, the annexation of its provinces and all the reparations plans.

German Workers !

This appeal of the Fourth International to the workers of the entire world is at the same time a message of hope to the German workers. It reminds you that in 30 countries there are organizations that reject with disgust the mud-slinging campaign against you, that hold higher than ever the banner of world proletarian solidarity, the banner of the revolutionary, communist, workers' international.

In the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg it calls upon you, the workers of Germany, to struggle against the occupation, plunder and dismemberment of your country. You have only one enemy: the German and world exploiters. Only one ally: the oppressed masses of the entire world !

The crimes committed by the occupying powers in Germany equal those committed by Hitler in Europe. They are unanswerable proof of the sordid barbarism towards which the outlived capitalist regime is dragging us. Today the struggle for elementary human dignity, for the most simple democratic rights can only succeed by the victory of the proletarian revolution. Only a Socialist Germany in a Socialist Europe can liquidate the remains of Fascism, clear away the ruins, heal the wounds, preserve and elevate human culture and technique to unprecedented levels and transform your present Calvary into a life at least worthy of Man. We, the Internationalist Communists of 30 countries, have the firm conviction that with the fraternal aid of the workers of the entire world you, the workers of the country where Scientific Socialism was born, will find the road towards the Socialist revolution. Hitler threw Europe and his own country into the abyss of destruction. The German working class will show humanity that it is capable of lifting its country and the whole continent to a new and wondrous level of peace and well-being !

Long Live the International Solidarity of the Working Class !

Long Live the German Revolution !

Long Live the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe and the World !

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. April 1947.
The Sections of the International :

Published by E. Grant, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2
Printed in Gt. Britain by C. A. Brock & Co. Ltd., (T.U.), W.10.