

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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STALINISTS ASSAULT FRENCH TROTSKYIST

ALBERT DEMAZIERE, Central Committee Member of the P.C.L., Victim of a Vicious Stalinist Assault.

Nice, 15 July, 1946. On Friday, July 12, our branch at Nice was to hold a meeting during which Albert Demaziere, Central Committee member of our party, was to have made a speech. But the bureaucrats of the Communist Party, having become apprehensive of the initiative taken by our young branch at Nice, and of the favourable reception which the announcement of our meeting had in workers circles, decided otherwise.

In the School of the S.S.

One hour before the meeting was due to start, the shock troops of the Stalinist bureaucrats occupied the street in which our meeting hall was situated. As soon as the doors were opened they hurried themselves into the hall, about 200 of them, occupied the platform, forced Comrade Demaziere down who was then

brutally beaten by a dozen hooligans. Trying to escape, Demaziere, with face and body covered in blood, went into the hall where he was to have spoken, in order to express his indignation. Then the Stalinists thugs threw themselves once more on him shouting with the object of spreading confusion "Down with the fascists", and forced him out into the street. Comrade Demaziere then had to see a doctor. Two members of the audience, one of them Roger Blin, a trade union militant well-known among the workers, were also beaten for protesting against these S.S. methods, which are now directly planted in the working class movement by Stalinism. The Police as Accomplice? Those gentlemen of the police who are always so preoccupied with the security of the leaders of the semi-fascist P.R.L., only arrived at the end in order to clear out the hall "in an orderly manner", after which the local C.P. bureaucrats, having rid themselves with violence of those who disagree with them, held an improvised meeting against the "Hitler-Trotskyists" with a solemn singing of the Marseillaise! Later on the police told Comrade Demaziere cynically that the matter would quickly be dealt with, and that a claim for injuries and damages had no great chance of success. In fact it appears that the police officials were covering it up, and everything points to the assumption that the sabotage of our meeting was organised with the tacit agreement of the "authorities."

The Revolution Will Not Forget Them

The increasing sympathy which our programme is receiving among the workers, the sympathy which is beginning to surround our speakers, spokesmen of revolutionary communism, all this is dismay to the Stalinists. That is why they are trying to reduce us to silence by the most shameful methods. But they will not succeed. Their slanders and criminal violence, although a hindrance to our development, will not prevent us from winning over the workers to our Bolshevik policy, of Lenin, Trotsky, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, as well as that of Marty 20 years ago. The majority of our militants have tasted the tortures of the Gestapo gangsters and the Vichyites. Comrade Demaziere himself was sentenced to penal servitude for life by Vichy's special police and felt the monstrous brutalities of the French fascists.

THE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE TO PARLIAMENTARY REFORMISM

From the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920

I. The New Epoch and the New Parliamentarism

The attitude of the Socialist Parties towards parliamentarism was originally, at the time of the First International, one of utilising bourgeois parliaments for purposes of agitation. Participation in parliamentary activity was looked upon from the point of view of developing class-consciousness, i.e., of awakening in the proletariat class hostility toward the ruling class. Changes in this attitude were brought about not through change of doctrine, but under the influence of political development. Owing to the uninterrupted advance of the forces of production and the widening sphere of capitalist exploitation, capitalism, and together with it the parliamentary state, acquired a lasting stability.

This gave rise to the adaptability of the parliamentary tactics of the Socialist parties to "organic" legislative activity in bourgeois parliaments, and the ever-growing significance of the struggle for reforms within the capitalist system, as well as the predominating influence of the so-called "immediate demand" and the conversion of the maximum programme into a figure of speech as an altogether remote "final goal". This served as a basis for the development of parliamentary opportunism, corruption, and open or hidden betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class.

The attitude of the Third International towards parliamentarism is determined not by a new doctrine, but by the changed goal of parliamentarism itself. During the previous epoch parliamentarism performed a certain progressive function as the weapon of developing capitalism, but under the present conditions of unbridled imperialism, parliamentarism has become a tool of falsehood, deceit, violence and enervating gossip. In face of imperialist devastation, plunder, violation, robbery and parliamentary reformism, the system of bourgeois parliamentarism, of its stability and of definite plan, have lost all practical significance for the working masses.

Parliament, like the whole bourgeois society, has lost its stability. The sudden transition from the organic to the critical epoch has laid the foundation for new proletarian tactics in the field of parliamentarism. The Russian Workers' Party (Bolsheviks) had already worked out the essence of revolutionary parliamentarism in the preceding period, owing to the fact that Russia, after 1905, lost its political and social equilibrium and entered upon the period of storm and stress.

To the extent that some Socialists with an inclination for Communism point out that the moment of revolution in their respective countries has not yet arrived, and so decline to break away from the parliamentary opportunists, they reason in fact consciously or unconsciously from the consideration that the present epoch is one of relative stability for imperialism, society, and they assume therefore that practical results may be achieved in the struggle for reform by a coalition with such men as Turati and Longuet. As soon as Communism takes the field it must start out by elucidating the character of the present epoch (the culmination of capitalism, imperialist self-negation and self-destruction, uninterrupted growth of civil war, etc.). Political relationships and political groupings may be different in different countries, but the essence of the matter is everywhere the same: we must start with the direct preparation of a proletarian uprising, politically and technically, for the destruction of the bourgeoisie and for the creation of the new proletarian state.

Parliament at present can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform, or for improving the lot of the working people, as it was at certain periods of the preceding epoch. The centre of gravity of political life at present has been completely and finally transferred beyond the limits of parliament. On the other hand, owing not only to its relationship to the working masses, but also to the complicated mutual relations within the various groups of the bourgeoisie itself, the bourgeoisie is forced to have some of its policies in one way or another passed through parliament, where the various cliques juggle for power, exhibit their strong sides and betray their weak ones, get themselves unmasked, etc., etc. Therefore, it is the immediate historical task of the working class to wrest this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling class, to break and destroy it, and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus. At the same time, however, the revolutionary general staff of the working class is vitally concerned in having its scouting parties in the parliamentary institutions of the bourgeoisie, in order to facilitate this task of destruction.

Thus the fundamental difference between the tactics of Communists entering parliament with revolutionary aims in view, and the tactics of the socialist parliamentarians, becomes perfectly clear. The latter act on the assumption of the relative stability and the

indefinite durability of the existing order; they consider it their task, to achieve reforms by all means, and are concerned to make the masses appreciate every such accomplishment as the merit of the Social-Democratic parliamentarianism (Turati, Longuet & Co.).

Instead of the old compromising parliamentarism, a new parliamentarism has come to life, as a weapon for the destruction of parliamentarism as a whole. But the aversion towards the traditional practices of the old parliamentarism drives some revolutionary elements into the camp of the opponents of parliamentarism on principle (I.W.W., the revolutionary Syndicalists, German Communist Labour Party).

Taking all this into consideration, the Second Congress adopts the following theses:

II. Communism, the Struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the Utilisation of the Bourgeois Parliament

1. Parliamentarism, as a State system, has become a "democratic" form of the rule of the bourgeoisie, which at a certain stage of its development needs the fiction of national representation, that outwardly appears as an organisation of the "national will" standing outside of classes, but in reality is an instrument of oppression and suppression in the hands of the ruling capitalists.

2. Parliamentarism is a definite form of State order. Therefore, it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which recognises neither classes, nor class struggle, nor any form of State authority.

3. Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian revolution during the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and that of the proletariat. At the moment when the accentuated class struggle turns into civil war the proletariat must inevitably form its State organisation as a fighting organisation, which cannot contain any representatives of the former ruling classes. All fictions of the "national will" are harmful to the proletariat at that time, and the parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it. The only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets.

4. The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important parts of the State machinery, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in overthrowing the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and with it all the parliamentary institutions, whether they be republican or constitutional-monarchical.

5. The same applies to the local government institutions of the bourgeoisie, which, theoretically, cannot be differentiated from State organisations. In reality, they are part of the same bourgeois State machinery, which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6. Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces it as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over parliament; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore, it is only possible to speak of utilising the bourgeois State organisations with the object of destroying them. The question can only and exclusively be discussed on this plane.

7. Every class struggle is a political struggle, because it is finally a struggle for power. Any strike, when it spreads throughout the whole country, is a menace to the bourgeois State, and thus acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its State, signifies to carry on political warfare. To create a class apparatus—for the bridling and suppression of the resisting bourgeoisie—whatever such an apparatus may be—means the conquest of political power.

8. Consequently, the question of political struggle does not end in the question of one's attitude towards the parliamentary system. It is a general condition of the class struggle of the proletariat, in so far as the struggle grows from a small and sectional one to a general struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order as a whole.

9. The fundamental method of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass action. Such mass action is prepared and carried out by the organised masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined centralised Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of the fight.

10. The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations, growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an

(Continued on page 4.)

Out with the ANTI-SEMITIC OFFICER CASTE!

A letter containing a most vicious and rabid anti-semitic attack against the Jewish people, has been circulated to the British troops in Palestine. The author of the letter is attributed to be the British Commander in Palestine, Lieutenant-General Sir Evelyn Barker. Whoever may be the author as such, it is clear that the contents have been circulated with the official approval of the British military authorities in Palestine.

According to press agencies responsible for the circulation of this letter to the press, General Barker, after making wild allegations that the Jewish people in Palestine, were responsible as a whole, for the present terrorist explosions there, arrogantly goes on to say in his letter:

"I am determined that they shall suffer punishment and be made aware of the contempt and loathing with which we regard their conduct."

Explaining his previous order, placing, all Jewish shops, cafes, places of entertainment and private houses out of bounds, this self-appointed "prosecutor-judge" goes on to add:

"I appreciate that these measures will inflict some hardship on the troops, but I am certain that they will understand their propriety and will realise they are punishing the Jews in a way the race dislikes as much as any—by striking at their pockets and showing our contempt for them."

The anti-semitism expressed in General Barker's letter, is not an instance of an isolated opinion. On the contrary it serves to underline the widespread anti-semitic views held by the top officer-junta in control of the capitalist armed forces.

Among themselves it is no secret that anti-semitism is rife among the army tops, and they seek to propagate this reactionary poison, among the British troops in Palestine and elsewhere. They attempt, by creating prejudice against the Jewish people as a race, to cover up the criminal responsibility of British capitalist diplomacy for the tragic position in Palestine.

It has been spoken of in the lobbies of Parliament for some time, that the army leaders in Palestine wanted complete freedom to begin a campaign of reprisals there. The Tories have been supporting this policy of the top military hierarchy behind the scenes, and demanding that they be allowed complete freedom to deal with the situation in Palestine by military means and law.

Undoubtedly there exists among the British troops in Palestine, a legitimate antagonism towards those elements responsible for the deaths of soldiers killed by acts of terror. This inevitable resentment felt by some of the troops against the Jewish people in Palestine is being fanned by these anti-semitic officers in order to create an impassable barrier of prejudice between the Jews and the British soldiers.

By creating the possibilities of just such reactions of indignation and resentment among the British troops, the terrorists play into the hands of British imperialism. These futile acts of terrorism must be condemned as false methods of

struggle. The problems of the Jewish people in Palestine, as everywhere, can only be solved on the basis of a revolutionary programme of struggle in common with the working class against world capitalism itself. Any other way can only create division between the working class on the one hand, and the Jewish people on the other.

The letter, however, raises a much more serious issue for the working class. Bitter past experience has shown that reactionary anti-semitism goes hand in hand with anti-working class and anti-labour ideology, at all times. Every fascist movement has propagated anti-semitism in its programme, in one form or another.

The working class have not put the Labour Government into power in order that such military reactionaries can continue undisputed and despotic control over workers conscripted into the armed forces.

While control of the armed forces remains in the hands of this anti-labour, profascist officer-junta, they constitute a menace to the interests of the working class.

In conditions of crisis, such as will inevitably develop in capitalist Britain, this reactionary officer-caste will not hesitate to play the same anti-working class role as their ideological brother officers did in Germany. The officer-caste in Germany were the military basis of the fascist terror gangs that imposed the Hitler regime on the German workers. They also were ridden with anti-semitic and anti-working class ideas.

The Labour Government cannot evade the responsibility for the tragic situation in Palestine. The anti-semitism rabidly propagated in this letter of General Barker, is allowed to pass, in fact is condoned by them. The statement of Herbert Morrison to the House of Commons on August 1st, reveals this.

Morrison said, "... He was confident the House would wish him to say they fully appreciated how heavy was the strain on both the Army and civilian officers, carrying out their duties." While Morrison dissociates the Government from the "tone" of the letter, he goes on to express his admiration for the magnificent way in which they discharged their duties. Not one word of condemnation of the anti-semitism propagated in the shameful letter of General Barker to the British troops!

This despicable and cowardly evasion on the part of the Labour Government must be condemned by the working class. But the issue goes deeper. The organised working class movement must demand, through trade union and labour bodies, that the Labour Government oust the reactionary military-caste from its control over the armed forces, and carry out a military policy of training worker-officers who will genuinely serve the interests of the working class.

Our organisation always has been fully in favour of the Egyptian people having the right of complete self-determination. We are for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all British troops, as we hope, every socialist member of Parliament is also. While combating every attempt to use the anti-Labour actions of the Egyptian Government to the advantage of British imperialism, it is the duty of all socialists to rouse the widest protest against the anti-Labour actions of the Egyptian Government.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and at the request of our arrested comrades, I earnestly appeal to you to do your best to bring the maximum pressure to bear on the Egyptian Government: (a) to secure the release of all the arrested Left wingers; and (b) to prevent the passage of the proposed anti-Labour legislation.

Yours fraternally, Jock Haston, General Secretary, R.C.P. For the Political Bureau.

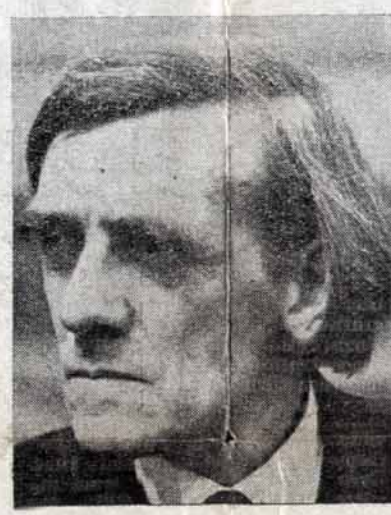
James Maxton

The death of Jimmy Maxton has robbed the I.L.P. of its most outstanding figure.

Maxton personified a great deal of the best tradition of the I.L.P. His imprisonment during the First Imperialist War, his parliamentary struggles in the twenties, his refusal to accept positions as a bribe offered by the reformist leaders, gave him an unusual standing among the workers. He could always be relied upon to protest at injustice to the oppressed and was never known to justify an act of oppression.

However, Maxton was no revolutionist. He was a humanitarian with no clear theory, believing in the possibilities of an above-class reason to which the ruling class would respond. His weakness was made plain in the fact that obituaries and condolences on his death came from all classes and papers. The "Daily Mail" declared "from brightest red to deepest blue, they all loved Jimmy". The "Daily Herald" called him "a rebel without an enemy", which could aptly describe him if it were not for the fact that a rebel without an enemy is no real rebel. His popularity was testified to by the unusual tribute paid him in the House of Commons which stood in silence to his memory.

A revolutionary can earn the



respect of the ruling classes but never their love.

In the early twenties, Maxton protested against the fraternisation of Labour M.P.s in the House of Commons and tried to bar fraternisation by party decision. But time mellowed Jimmy who became the best fraterniser in the House.

Maxton could only be loved by "deepest blue" because of his lack of theory. Owenite ideas softened any blow he directed at them. His wit was used not as an extra weapon with which to belabour the enemy, but cushioned his attacks and rubbed off the sharp corners. Without a grasp of Marxist theory any working class politician is inevitably led to play a role of conciliating the classes.

Nevertheless, Maxton earned

the gratitude of our party for the part he played in defence of our four comrades who were imprisoned under the Trade Disputes Act. Despite our sharp and often bitter criticism of him and his party, he readily took up the cudgels in our defence when our party was under attack. Thus indicating that he was one of the few reformist labour representatives who did not show weakness and ease personal ease.

Maxton's best days were spent when the I.L.P. was a rising and militant, if reformist party. He dies at a time when the party he represented is itself sick unto death.

In the past years it more and more became the shadow of Jimmy Maxton. His illness held up for a few months the desertion of the leading Scottish representatives of the Labour Party. Now they will go over to the Labour Party as rapidly as possible. This in turn will speed up the disintegration and end of the party to which Maxton devoted his life.

When the workers of Britain take the power and end the rule of the capitalists, Maxton will be remembered and honoured as one of the militant utopians who dedicated his life to the working class.

REACTION in EGYPT

Severe Measures for the Suppression of Subversive Theories New Articles Added to the Penal Code

"The Government has just forwarded to Parliament a draft of law adding a certain number of new provisions to the Penal Code, which are directed to fighting subversive propaganda.

The explanatory note which accompanies this draft of law emphasises that one of the consequences of the first world war was the propagation of communist and anarchist theories to such a degree that lawful institutions found themselves menaced. These theories, so attractive on the surface, are of a nature to stir up the passions.

It has been noticed, during these last years, that those who preach equality have fallen into a destructive extremism. So, in order to dam up this extremist current and with the purpose of preventing it from infiltrating among the population and particularly inside the working classes, the legislator finds it necessary to punish those who work for the overthrow of any one class of society to the profit of another. Article 174 of the Penal Code punishes anyone who incites others to the overturn of the established order of the Government. On the other hand, the constitution of 1923, in establishing the governmental regime and the social order, did not fail, while

recognising the liberty of the press and of opinion, to authorise a censorship with the object of protecting the order that it had established. (Art. 15).

Since the last world war, the situation has become worse. Active efforts are being made to transgress the law through the most varied means. In order to prevent this it has become necessary to modify the law by adding provisions which will embrace all the means facilitating the desired object.

The new Article 98 (a) punishes those who establish revolutionary societies with the aim of overturning one class and raising up another, or who seek to overturn the social and economic regime on which the country's existence is based or any one of the fundamental political institutions. The penalty will be a sentence of hard labour and a fine in proportion to the nature of the crime. This article also punishes any person who joins these societies or participates, knowingly and deliberately, in their activities.

Article 98 (b), which is a development of Article 174 of the Penal Code, punishes any person indulging in any kind of propaganda in favour of changing the fundamental principles of the Con-

stitution and the essential principles of the social order, or of encouraging one social class to dominate another, or of overturning the social and economic order of the State. The penalty provided is imprisonment up to five years and a fine of from 50 to 500 pounds.

Article 98 (c) forbids the formation in Egypt of societies or organisations having an international character without the previous authorisation of the Government. A penalty of three-months imprisonment and a fine not exceeding thirty pounds will be applied to any member of these societies or organisations.

Article 98 (d) punishes with imprisonment up to five years and a fine of from 50 to 500 pounds any one who receives, subsidises or indirectly money or subsidies of any kind from a person or organisation residing outside the Kingdom of Egypt, with the aim of spreading propaganda in favour of the objects enumerated in the three previous articles.

The same punishment is also applicable to any one who assists financially or materially, the perpetration of the crimes enumerated in the previous articles, even if he does not intend to take a direct part in them."

Protest Arrests

Letter sent by R.C.P. to Left M.P.s

Dear Comrade. We know that you are very busy and must be inundated with calls upon your time. However, we are sure that you will readily appreciate the importance of the question raised in this letter and give the matter your immediate consideration.

You will find enclosed a précis of a new law about to be introduced by the Egyptian Government, published in the Egyptian press, and sent to us by comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Egyptian Section of the Fourth International. These comrades are now in jail, without charge, as far as we know, even before this law has been passed.

Not only Trotskyists have been arrested—as you are aware, but Trade Union leaders, Socialists, Stalinists, and intellectuals and Liberals.

The health of these comrades will be rapidly undermined in the foul conditions of Egyptian prisons if they are not freed soon, and a consequent loss of great magnitude will be suffered by the workers of Egypt and the Socialist movement of the world. The only way in which the liberty of these imprisoned comrades restored, is if sufficient pressure is brought to bear on the Egyptian Government by the leaders of the working class in Britain and elsewhere.

We are informed that a campaign is being conducted to throw the responsibility for the present terrorist campaign of bomb throwing and assassinations of British

personnel, onto the shoulders of the arrested Left wing leaders, as part of the justification for introducing the reactionary legislation. In fact, as is well-known to everyone in Egypt, this campaign is being conducted by the Egyptian Fascists, the extreme middle class nationalists, and by the associates and hirelings of the feudal reaction. The terrorist campaign, moreover, is being carried out with a considerable amount of protection from the Egyptian Government.

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