

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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PALESTINE: BRITAIN'S POLICY "DIVIDE AND RULE"

BRING THE TROOPS HOME!

Open the Gates of All Countries to the Jews

THE OUTBREAKS OF TERRORISM AND SABOTAGE IN PALESTINE ARE A MEASURE OF THE DESPAIR OF THE SURVIVING JEWISH DISPLACED PERSONS AFTER "LIBERATION." THE JEWS HAD HOPED FOR SOME ESCAPE IN THE PROMISES WHICH WERE MADE BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM, AND IN PARTICULAR BY THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE ELECTION, PROMISES WHICH THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF FULFILLING.

When the Labour leaders failed to carry out their promises and did not put into operation immediately the recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission to admit 100,000 refugees, the Zionists in Palestine began their struggle.

The senseless acts of terrorism, in particular the blowing up of the King David Hotel, the military GHQ of the army, have played into the hands of British Imperialism. The acts of terrorism have antagonised the rank and file soldiers and allowed free rein to the officer caste to commence a vicious and unbridled anti-Semitic campaign.

Martial law was proclaimed in Tel-Aviv. A curfew was imposed, with only two hours in 24 allowed in order to get food, with "shoot at sight" orders for any violations. The "News Chronicle" correspondent in Palestine reports that beatings of Jews have taken place, and in some collectives, destruction and looting of furniture and other property. Thus British Imperialism uses the same methods against the Jews as they have used against the Arabs and other colonial peoples in the past.

The Labour leaders, who must take responsibility for this situation, wish to picture the situation as though it were one, where solely tried and disinterested British Imperialism benevolently and im-

partially administers the region, and holds the balance between Jews and Arabs. This is a fiction. Britain holds Palestine because of its strategic importance for the Middle East and the British Empire. Thus Britain gave verbal support to the Zionist utopia in order to allow only sufficient Jews into Palestine to serve the traditional policy of imperialism: Divide and rule. The British need a force in that area on whom they can lean in their struggle to keep the Arab masses subdued. For them the Jews are a convenient tool to be played against Arabs as the need arises. The British deliberately imported the Jews into Palestine for this reason alone: as a brake on the struggles of the Arab masses for independence.

This policy has received a new emphasis with the suggestions of the division of Palestine into three zones, one part as a Jewish "state", one Arabic "state" and the balance controlled by Britain. But the most important functions of government would still be unified and controlled by British Imperialism at the centre: finance, police, trade, etc. The division of the country into such regions would not solve but would exacerbate the problems with which the country is faced. By such a division British Imperialism would gain a tight hold on the country.

A Jumping Off Ground

The real reasons for the present position in Palestine and the underlying motives of British imperialism, were guardedly revealed by

Churchill in the debate in Parliament on 1st August:

"However, His Majesty's Government by their precipitate abandonment of their treaty rights in Egypt, and, in particular, the Suez Canal zone, are now forced to look for a strong place of arms, for a jumping-off ground in Palestine in order to protect the Canal from outside Egypt. By this unwisdom they have vitiated disinterestedness and we can now be accused of having a national strategic motive for retaining our hold on Palestine. I must regard this as a very grave disaster and an immense weakening of our position. What the Government have done in Egypt—though no doubt from very good motives—has greatly weakened our moral position in Palestine by stripping us of our disinterestedness in that country. I pointed out in the debate on Egyptian policy a few weeks ago, that the moment we are dependent upon Palestine for a base from which to defend the Suez Canal, we should greatly hamper all possibility of obtaining American co-operation. Well, look at the position to which we have now been brought!"

Clearly British imperialism desires to use Palestine as her most important military base for the Middle East. Thus Palestine would become, even more than in the past, indispensable for the defence of British imperialist interests. Churchill, of course, points this out only because he believes that the "strong arm" (Continued on Back Page.)

INDIAN STRIKE WAVE

Workers Organising into Powerful Force

Mass strikes are sweeping throughout India, on a scale and to an extent unprecedented even in the militant traditions of the Indian masses. This mighty movement now developing is the prelude to a new stage of revolutionary struggle by the Indian working class and peasantry. Beginning on the industrial arena, this movement will inevitably take the road of political action. This time on an even higher level than the past abortive nationalist movements have been.

In the first three months of this year over 3,000,000 working days were lost in disputes, more than six times the figure for the same period the previous year.

The determined and militant mood now prevailing among the Indian workers was exemplified in the April strike of the Calcutta Fire Brigade. In this action 2,000 workers were involved. The strike was conducted under the most adverse conditions possible to the workers, who, in the beginning, were completely unorganised. As a result of their militant leadership they gained the support and confidence of large sections of the Calcutta working class. After the demands of the firemen had been accepted the strike was called off and a march through the streets of Calcutta proclaimed the successful conclusion of the strike.

In June, 60,000 of the lowest paid postal workers began their strike, demanding better wages and

conditions. The response of the working-class all over India was magnificent in its solidarity. One million workers in Calcutta, and half a million in Bombay demonstrated their sympathy and support for the postal strikers and staged a 24-hour General Strike. Similarly in Madras. Demonstrations of support for the strikers were also reported from Patna and Bihar Province. For the first time the strike movement in India is extending to clerical and office workers, including Government and municipal employees and even bank staffs.

The strongly organised Indian railway workers were prepared to conduct a General Strike on the railways in June. The Government, fearful of the wide support for this action of the railway workers, and in the face of their organised militancy, beat a retreat and were compelled to grant certain concessions to the railway men. These concessions were only a temporary measure and there is no doubt that the railway workers will take up

the struggle in support of their demands again very shortly.

The widespread illusions which accompanied the early period of the Cabinet Mission's declarations on their policy for India, has given place among the Indian workers and peasants to disillusion, anger and increased moods of frustration. This in turn, is now developing into a mood of militant direct action. In the coming struggles the masses of India, exploited, starved and doubly oppressed, can solve their problems only if they take the road of revolutionary action against, not only British Imperialism but also against the Indian capitalist class. The militant Indian working class can and must play the decisive role in the new and revolutionary phase beginning in India. The workers must be organised and armed with a revolutionary programme and a revolutionary party. The Indian Bolshevik-Leninist (Trotskyist) Party and its revolutionary programme of struggle fulfils these needs of the Indian working class.

Shipping Figures Reveal Change

THE LATEST STATISTICS REVEAL A REMARKABLE CHANGE IN RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MERCHANT SHIPPING OF BRITAIN AND AMERICA SINCE THE END OF THE WAR.

Britain entered the second world war with 17,380,000 tons, and emerged with 12,814,000 tons. The latest figure, up to the end of June 1946, is 13,710,000 tons. America's merchant fleet, which was less than Britain's before the war, stood at 56,000,000 tons at the end of the war, in spite of losses of 9,000,000 tons, a figure achieved by mass production technique.

However the United States Maritime Commission reveals that America's post-war merchant marine would total only 10,500,000 tons, one-fifth its wartime peak and smaller than pre-war. Thus Britain again has the lead in merchant shipping.

Libertys Unable To Compete

The American periodical "Newsweek" of June 3, comments:

"However indispensable such a merchant fleet might have been in war-time, for peace-time operations it had the earmarks of a white elephant. . . . The inefficiency of slow cumbersome Liberty ships left the 2,700 war-built 'Eggs' loadings' unable to compete with the other American and foreign types".

The high cost of shipbuilding in the United States plus relatively higher wages (American seamen get almost three times as much as British seamen) are given as further reasons. Paradoxical though it may appear, British capitalism, in spite of a generally outmoded industrial technique, is able to compete with America, at least in certain industries, on the basis of a higher quality product. At the present, for instance, 53% of world shipbuilding is done in Britain. This may give more substance to the relative boom in Britain in the immediate period, although it cannot stop the decline and collapse of British Imperialism in the long run. Nor does it alter the basic picture of American economic and military preponderance over the other capitalist powers in the coming epoch.

A remark in the "Newsweek" article, on the disposal of the unwanted American merchant ships, is characteristic of the cynicism that permeates capitalist society today:

"The unsold 3,500 tons are to be added to the reserve fleets—just to be prepared for the third world war."

The main excuse that American imperialism offered for not sending adequate quantities of available food to the starving peoples of Asia and Europe, was among other things, lack of shipping! For the purpose of exterminating peoples, all obstacles can be overcome, no matter at what cost. But to save lives the means cannot be found.

Aid Comrade GATCHEV

A few weeks ago, we announced the arrest of Dr. Gatchev, of Plodief, well-known Bulgarian Trotskyist militant, President of the Bulgarian "League for Defence of Human Rights," together with other militants.

Ever since, we received no further news and our protests remained without response.

We have now received news saying that Dr. Gatchev had been removed from prison and was transferred to a camp where he is subjected to an extremely severe regime. The news received is very alarming. His life is in danger.

Once again we appeal to all militants to mobilise all workers' organisations, to send protests to the Bulgarian legation, in order to put a stop to the repression of the G.P.U., which is spreading over the working class and the revolutionary vanguard of Bulgaria, and for the purpose of saving the life of Dr. Gatchev and the other working class militants who are threatened with death.

PEACE CARVE-UP

The Paris Peace Conference, to carve up Europe, meets in an atmosphere of apprehension, of fear, disillusionment and open cynicism.

Rulers and ruled, oppressors and oppressed, victors and vanquished, none see in its sessions a harbinger of a happy and peaceful future for Europe and the world.

In the "defeated nations" the workers and peasants look to the Paris sessions, not with an eagerness born of liberation from Nazi terror, but with fear and hatred which is the child of hunger and national oppression.

What a betrayal! "Communist" Russia and "Socialist" Britain could transform the whole future of Europe within a few short days. The United Socialist States of Europe, which would break down national economic and political barriers and unite the people of Europe, would end the capitalist causes of national antagonisms and thus wipe out national hatreds, is within our grasp. This is the aim that Socialist and Communist workers fought for and dreamed of for generations.

But Stalin has long deserted communism, and Attlee has never been a socialist. Stalin personifies the Russian bureaucracy, who fear a communist Europe on the basis of high technique and culture which would end the privileges of the bureaucracy and bring it crashing down.

Attlee, is a tool of British imperialism. His principal concern is not to free the European people, but to protect the imperialist interests of the British ruling class.

From the American imperialists the workers do not expect more than an imperialist power can give.

The principal aim of Britain and America is to retrieve what was lost or conceded at Potsdam and Moscow. It is undoubted the representatives of these countries made panic capitulations to Stalin at these Conferences. Believing that all Europe—especially Germany—would soon be aflame with revolution, they prepared to concede Stalin the maximum, provided only that he act as hangerman to the revolution.

Neither Britain nor America ago at present, politically or psychologically in a position to launch war against Russia. It is in the economic field that they hope to undermine the hold of Russia over the countries of Eastern Europe. Once cheap American goods can penetrate these countries, the intervention had even domination of the economic life of the people becomes possible, a new strategic realignment can be brought about. It is on these clauses in the treaties, which open the Eastern parts of Europe to Anglo-American trade, that the fiercest battles will be fought.

Whatever the outcome of the conference, the Bandits at Paris will not lead Europe to a stable peace in which the workers and peasants can live a life of prosperity.

Socialists and communist workers will fight against the peace of revenge; will fight against the carve-up, and against national oppression and the plundering that goes on under the name of reparations.

U.S. "Graveyard" - Ships for World War III - But Not for Food



BEVIN'S POLICY OF "NON INTERFERENCE"

The role of the Labour leaders as agents of British Imperialism was further confirmed in Parliament by the revealing statements of Ernest Bevin on July 17 in reply to questions on the strike of the 50,000 Persian workers of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

BY R. RALPH

The reactionary Persian Government recently passed a law prohibiting strikes "until certain procedures have been observed." (Mr. Bevin). Negotiations were taking place between the Company, the Government and the Labour leaders, but he workers began a general strike on July 14. On the same day martial law was declared and clashes occurred in Abadan which resulted in at least 17 being killed and 150 wounded.

Mr. Bevin did not reveal the causes of the strike, merely saying that "considerable political difficulty" and "a number of industrial factors have contributed to the present situation," and mentioning the workers demand for pay for the day of rest, Friday, as "the ostensible cause of the strike."

When asked whether he would take steps to get this anti-strike law repealed, Mr. Bevin replied: "I have not interfered with the Persian Government at all, and it is not my intention to do so. I think it is better for all other governments to allow them to exercise their own powers."

Mr. Bevin indulges in such cynical platitudes as long as he is sure that the Persian Government is able to suppress the Persian workers with its own resources. The workers and peasants of Greece and Indonesia have experienced such "non-intervention", not as hypocritical Parliamentary phrase-mongering but in the form of bullets, shells and bombs. And the British Labour movement has seen Bevin in action justifying this intervention.

But Mr. Bevin had the effrontery to add—still in reference to the Persian anti-strike laws—"when labour laws have been carried by the Government at the request of the workers in that country, I ought not to interfere." (!!!)

The blindest reactionary of the most stunted intellect would never have affirmed—neither in ignorance nor delirium—that the workers would request their own government to pass anti-labour laws!

In Greece the Labour Government refuses to even recognise the Confederation of Labour (the Greek T.U.C.) which has been

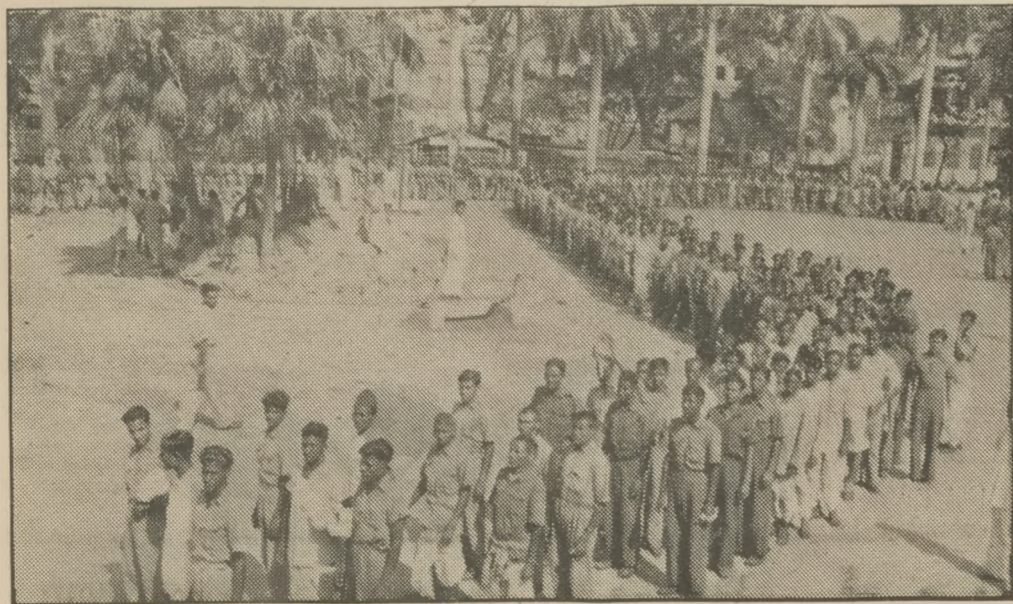
declared illegal by the Greek Government. This was contained in the written reply of Mr. Noel-Baker on July 25. He also stated—in terms similar to those of Mr. Bevin:

"It is not for His Majesty's Government either to accept or reject the validity of the Greek Confederation of Labour, which is an internal matter for the Greek people to work out for themselves."

In Cyprus the 18 members of the Pan-Cyprian Trade Union Committee are still imprisoned. In reply to a question on July 3, asking for their release, Mr. George Hall (Colonial Secretary) declined to take action, saying:

"There is considerable difficulty in interfering with sentences which are passed in the Colonies in view of the fact that the prerogative is that of the Governor."

These activities of Bevin are typical of the Labour Government and not as the Stalinists' claim peculiar to his reactionary personality.



CALCUTTA FIRE BRIGADE WORKERS MARCH IN ORDERED RANKS

Letters

To the Editor,

From Disillusioned Soldier

Dear Comrade,

The general public in civvy street will probably have heard of the rise in pay for British Soldiers.

This in itself however, may cause a wrong impression on the people of the working class. I personally, am now getting an extra shilling per day, seven shillings a week.

All, very nice, but if the Government are going to raise wages of soldiers on the one hand, and take it off us again on the other hand, then we are, in actual fact no better off.

Let me explain. At the same time that we get our rise in pay, the Army Authorities suddenly decide that instead of giving the soldiers four Railway travel warrants per year they are to get, only three. At the present camp, that I am at, I shall be about two pounds worse off through that.

Then almost simultaneously the N.A.A.F.L. (The place, incidentally where most of the soldiers' pay goes) decides to raise their prices up to civilian rates.

Then on top of all this, the Garrison Theatres, decide to raise

the price of seats from, a shilling, and sixpence respectively, to two shillings, one and three-pence, and ninepence.

After all this load of raises in price, I have just recently heard a rumour, that all Y.M.C.A. canteens are closing down; now we shall have to frequent high priced cafes for a meal.

I have tried to give a brief survey of the situation as it appears to a soldier. You can see, that with all the higher prices, closing down of Y.M.C.A. canteens, and a railway warrant less, etc., this raise in pay, is not really going to be a raise in wages, at all. In fact I think, if anything, we shall be worse off. Why doesn't the Government really and truly give us a raise, by which we shall truly be better off?

It is up to the people in civvy street to closely examine these so called "Benefits", because there is invariably a "catch in it."

The working class in civvy street should demand that the Labour Government stop this wangling with wages and prices, and give the soldiers something concrete.

Disillusioned Soldier.

TRADE UNION ACT IN IRELAND

BY J. SMITH

After a long and militant struggle, the organised workers in Eire have won a victory in their five year campaign against the reactionary "Trade Union Act" imposed upon them by the De Valera regime in September, 1941.

Section Three of this hated Act, which violates the elementary democratic right of the workers to freely organise and join any trade union he wishes, was challenged in the Supreme Court as illegal and unconstitutional by two unions, the Irish Women Workers' Union and the Irish N.U.R. The Supreme Court has been forced to repeal that section from the Trade Union Act.

The Act is divided into three main parts. The first deals with definitions of terms and meanings embodied in the Act itself. This part remains operative. The second part is of more consequence as it restricts the independent functions of trade unions. This part dictates that no trade union can carry on negotiations for the fixing of wages or other conditions of employment unless it holds a negotiating "license". Those unions that are thus "authorised" are compelled to deposit with the High Court, a sum of money varying from £2,000 for unions with a membership of 2,000 or under, to £10,000 for unions with a membership of 20,000 or over. This part also remains law.

Repealed Section

The repealed section, part three, provided for the setting up of an "impartial" Tribunal, which was composed of persons, allegedly independent of the employers and trade unions. This Tribunal set up had the power of deciding which trade unions were to be "licensed" and also, where such unions should be allowed to organise and take into membership, workers engaged in various categories of employment.

The aim of this measure was to eliminate small unions in favour of the large unions, as a concession to the interests of the bureaucratic leaderships of the large unions whose support the Irish capitalists needed in their policy of beating down the wages and working conditions of the Irish working class.

Another object of this third section was to force those unions, such as the Irish N.U.R., who are affiliated to the British trade union movement, to either break their affiliation or, "get out of business."

Corporative Model

In this manner the Irish capitalist class attempted to create national "house-unions" modelled on the reactionary Catholic "corporative unions" as in Portugal. It was not accidental that, before this legislation came before the Dail, a group of experts had been sent from Eire to Portugal to study the structure of the social set-up there. By the creation of large national unions on these lines, DeValera sought to integrate closer into the capitalist state, union bureaucrats and leading Catholic trade union elements who were prepared to "co-operate" with the capitalist class.

Wage Increase Forbidden

It is this part of the Act that has now been repealed, and it is a

definite but partial victory. Just as reactionary and anti-working class are the remaining effective sections of the Trade Union Act. As for instance, it is still forbidden for the workers to strike for wage demands in certain categories. It is true that there is a provision forbidding employers to pay any wage increase to certain categories of workers! (naturally, the employers, law abiding men strictly observe this!). If the workers strike to enforce their wage demands they can be arrested and imprisoned, or fined for picketing.

T.U. Leaders' Self Interest

Instead of conducting a struggle against these reactionary measures, the Irish trade union bureaucrats have concentrated their opposition to only that section which directly affects their control over the rank and file union membership. An interneecine struggle is conducted between the union leaders and in this struggle they have not hesitated to seek the support of the reactionary capitalist Tribunal. This was the main reason why the N.U.R. challenged the legality of the Tribunal when the Tribunal openly favoured and supported the native Irish Transport Union bureaucrats as against the N.U.R.

These trade union bureaucrats are selling out the organised workers by not conducting a genuine struggle against the whole of the Trade Union Act and demanding its repeal en bloc. They are soft-peddalling on this issue in order that one set or another of the bureaucrats can gain the favour and support of the reactionary Tribunal. Such a situation plays directly into the hands of the Irish capitalists whose policy it is thus to split the organised workers and to further their own interests as against the interests of the working class.

This form of "gangster" politics which the Irish union bureaucrats wage against each other must be exposed and combated by the militant action of the trade union workers. The struggle for a new leadership in the unions that will conduct a genuine policy in the interests of the rank and file is one of the immediate tasks facing the organised workers if the trade union movement is to fulfil its purpose of defending and increasing the standard of living of the Irish workers.

The class duty of the organised workers in Britain is to support the struggle of brother unionists in Eire in their fight against these bureaucrats who aid DeValera's reactionary policy of breaking away from the union movement in Britain; who refuse to conduct a genuine campaign for the abolition of the anti-working class Trade Union Act.

Support the demand of the organised working class in Eire for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the anti-working class Trade Union Act.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Whitton James' Strike

BY ANNE WALKER

Hendon, July 27.

The strike at Witton James factory in North West London is now in its 5th week and the strikers are as solid as when they came out on June 17.

A mass meeting of delegates from the Trade Union Branches and Shop Stewards Committees was called on July 17 by the Hendon Trades Council in support of this strike. Following a report from the Convenor Bro. Aplin, and a discussion of the issues involved, the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution pledging full support for the strike until the management concede the principles at issue. These are: the reinstatement of the dismissed worker and the recognition by the management of the right of the shop stewards to negotiate with the management on the question of redundancy.

Since then, following a meeting of shop stewards and factory representatives with delegates from the Hendon Trades Council, a new Committee has been set up consisting of members of the Strike Com-

mittee together with delegates from other factories and the Trades Council. This Committee will organise the greatest possible support for the strike, moral and financial and undertake a campaign in support of the strike throughout the whole of the London Area.

Undoubtedly, the struggle which the Witton James workers have been waging against his subsidiary of the powerful monopolistic General Electric Company constitutes a remarkable episode in the history of struggle of the engineering workers. The issues on which they are fighting is a matter of vital concern for the whole of the organised working class movement. If the views of the management were to prevail, that the right of dismissal is a managerial prerogative on which they would brook no interference on the part of the organised workers, then the entire foundation of the trade union movement would be seriously undermined.

That is why it is a matter of deep concern that the official leaderships of the three unions involved in the dispute, viz., the A.E.U., E.T.U., and the T.G.W.U. have not yet thought fit

to give official recognition to the strike. Not a word of sympathy or support has been forthcoming from any of the Executives to encourage the men in the protracted struggle. The London District Committee of the A.E.U., having supported the strike in its initial stages reversed its position and called upon the men to return to work. Since then, pressure from the branches and the factories have forced the District Committee to abandon its strike-breaking activity. This pressure on the part of the rank and file has to be intensified in order to compel the Union Executives to give official recognition to the strike, grant strike-pay and bring the whole weight of the union organisation to bear to beat the anti-trade-union schemes of the management.

It is time the Union leaderships were made to understand that they were put into office not for anything else but to support the membership in this struggle against the employers. They must either do their job or be replaced by militants who will.

What the Witton-James men have been denied in the way of

official support, has been amply made up for by the expressions of solidarity and assistance which they have received from individual branches and workshops. Financial contributions from these sources have passed the £1,000 mark. Much of the money has come from areas outside London. Recently, when members of the Strike Committee visited Scotland, they were surprised by the generous response which they received from the factories they approached in Glasgow including Parkhead Forge and the Yaeitic. But despite the support which has already been given, the time has come for all trade-unionists irrespective of whatever branch of industry they are engaged in, to intensify and widen the campaign of solidarity on behalf of the Witton-James workers. "An injury to one is an injury to all." That must be our motto.

Southall Trades Council Protests Rail-Fare Rise

The following resolution was unanimously carried by the Southall Trades Council:

"The Southall Trades Council strongly protests against the proposal to increase fares on the L.P.T.B.

Thousands of workers travel daily in Buses, Trolley Buses and the Underground. The recent small increase in wages won by the workers would be nullified if the proposed increased fares were to take effect.

We demand that under no circumstances should the workers be penalised to safeguard the interest of the Shareholders. We further ask the Government to institute an Inquiry with the purpose of reducing the high interest rate paid to the Shareholders out of the pockets of the workers who use the means of travel on the L.P.T.B. System."



ONLY JUST!

Here is the complete list of subscriptions for July. We just surpassed our £120 monthly target by a few pounds.

This is good, but offers no room for slacking off. To keep it up during August we will have to go all out, for there will be many comrades taking a holiday which will cut down on their collecting activities. Already in July, there are some branches absent from the list presumably because of holidays. Don't let it happen during August. Local Treasurers, individual subscribers, please see that the money is sent in for the Fighting Fund before you go away for your break.

Those of you who are able to take a holiday, please remember that we get no holidays from our creditors! Celebrate by sending us an extra donation to the Fighting Fund.

Send all monies to:
Harold Atkinson,
25K, Harrow Road,
Paddington, W.2.

	£	s.	d.
Birmingham	8	5	0
Edinburgh	3	0	0
Liverpool	10	0	0
Newark	13	0	0
Newcastle	1	4	9
Nottingham	3	17	5
Sheffield	7	10	0
P.H. Sheffield	1	10	0
Southall	2	18	4
Stoney Middleton	8	0	0
SEAC and India Forces	10	0	0
North-West London	5	3	5
West London	5	8	5
Midlands D.C.	1	0	0
Thames Valley	9	0	0
Charlie White	2	0	0
East London	1	4	0
Joe	1	12	6
Freddie	3	0	0
"Bon Ami"	25	0	0
C.L.	5	0	0
Miscellaneous	18	13	0
Croydon	8	7	0
Eastbourne	4	16	0
North London	10	1	0
Total for July	£125	15	11



"Arise Ye Stahvlings From Your Slumbahs..."

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

Worse than the Pharoes

Reading through the British prosecutor's eloquent denunciation of the Nazi miscreants arraigned at Nuremberg, one pauses involuntarily at the name of Sauckel. The very mention of the vast organisation of slave labour of which he is accused, turns one's thoughts immediately to the plight of the half million German war prisoners held here as slave labour by the very Government for whom Sir Hartley Shawcross speaks.

The Economist attempts at once to justify and moderate this state of affairs, with little success in either direction. Thus in the July 26 issue we read:

"There is, of course, some truth in the assertion that the prisoners are at present indispensable to the British economy. But by all the canons of self-protection as well as those of morality, this dependence should be eliminated as quickly as possible. By the end of this year demobilisation will be virtually complete, yet Mr. Williams hopes to draft more prisoners into agriculture until they account for almost a third of the farm labour force. But how long does he propose to keep them there, working for a nominal wage of 1s. a week, at considerable gain to the Treasury, if not to the farmers? If it is intended to exact forced German labour as reparations, then at least the labour should be paid—even Hitler did that much—and should be generally recruited from the whole German people instead of being confined to that section which has come fortuitously into British hands."

Is this the policy of the Labour Government? In the absence of a concrete rebuttal in the shape of

immediate repatriation, limited only by available transport facilities, it is impossible to escape from the thought that Sir Hartley doth protest too much."



Jenny Lee on Lenin

"The key-note of Labour policy, as everyone knows, is a solemn assurance to the wealthy and the well-to-do that full compensation will be paid for every scrap of property that a Labour Government might decide to nationalise.

"I could never quite figure that out. From what source would a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer raise money to pay compensation for property nationalised, for vastly improved social services and all that in addition to gargantuan debt charges for past, present and future years?"

"The literal answer proffered by official Labour is that all this is to be done by increased death duties, income tax and super-tax. Oh Yeah! And what in the meantime will a Tory controlled press, industry and banking system be doing?"

"There is not much doubt about the answer to that. Most certainly not holding special religious services to pray for the success of Labour.

"Why can't we be a bit more honest? Who does Labour think it is fooling? Certainly not its Tory opponents. These gentlemen

have not the slightest intention of allowing themselves to be taxed out of existence by a Labour Government carrying through financial feeding the dog of its own tail."

These words were written by Jennie Lee in the New Leader of March 14, 1940, before she left the I.L.P. and became a Labour Party M.P. Time, and a seat in Parliament as a representative of a Government Party, have changed Miss Lee's ideas on this question. In the latest issue of Tribune she tries to seek in Lenin support for these ideas which she now rejects. She writes:

"How far is it the Maxton quality in British public life, that gave substance to Lenin's dictum that this is the one country where Socialism might be achieved without an intermediary phase of bloody civil war?"

This is the exact opposite of Lenin's position! Marx, way back in 1871, raised the possibility of a revolution taking place in England without the workers first destroying the "ready made state machine". On this Lenin wrote in his book State and Revolution:

"Today, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, Marx's conception is no longer valid. . . . Today, both in England and America (American Jennie Lees please note), the 'essential' thing for every 'real peoples revolution' is the smashing, the destruction of the ready-made state machinery (brought in those countries between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)."

We suggest to Jennie Lee that she make sure of her references to the teachings of the founders of scientific socialism before lightly invoking their authority to support her reformist conceptions, the very conceptions they spent a lifetime in fighting.

MINERS MUST TAKE CONTROL

BY N. PENTLAND

The Coalowners, as a reward for their wrecking of the industry, are to be paid £164,660,000 compensation with £64,559,559 in royalties. A total sum of £229,219,559 will be paid for nationalising the pits. In fact, the original money invested in the mines has been paid back over and over again in enormous profits in the last century through the blood and sweat of the miners.

The Coalowners claimed an average profit of £12,000,000 a year, which means that the original money invested must, at the very least, have been paid back every generation.

Because of the ruin to which the coalowners have brought the industry, the Government will have to invest £150,000,000 for modernisation and technical improvements.

In a statement to the House of Commons on Wednesday, July 25, Shinwell, Minister of Fuel and Power, made it clear that coal stocks were 5 million tons below "safety margin", which means domestic coal users will face another lean winter of coal supplies.

A week previously the Coal Act was finally passed and became law, with only a few rumblings from the Tories.

The Economist of July 20, comments on this:—

"By general agreement, which is not confined to Labour ranks, coal is the most suitable candidate for nationalisation."

Such is the quite pleased attitude of the more farsighted sections of the employing class to the "socialist" methods of the Labour Party. Why is this so, workers will ask? It is because the employers and coal capitalists realise that, as the Economist continues, to point out, they are looking forward to the technical reorganisation of the mines financed by the State and ending of "deteriorated labour relations". They are looking to the Government to keep the miners quiet by sons and threats, because, as the Economist realises, the miners will push the Government for better conditions:



"On the labour issue the miners' first reaction seems to increase rather than reduce their claims."

What every miner quite correctly demands, is that the nationalised mines must be democratised from below in order to create far better wages and conditions than now obtaining.

While the Labour leaders shed crocodile tears over the events in imperialist dominated Palestine, 146 miners were killed and 543 injured during the second quarter of the year. But what does the great miners' champion, one-time Left critic Shinwell, do about these "atrocities"?

He only threatens, exhorts and coaxes the miners to work harder than ever and pays scant attention to the even inadequate demands of the Miners' Charter. On the other hand he legalises thousands of pounds in compensation to the coal-parasites who have robbed and exploited both miners and consumers for over a hundred years.

Shinwell's latest measure of importing Irish labour will not solve the problem. The social effects will lower production. It is necessary for the miners, as it is for all workers, to demand that the only methods which will increase production in the interests of workers and consumers alike, is by placing the mines directly under control of the workers themselves and not left in the hands of the agents of capitalism, in the present Coal Board. Only by complete expropriation of the coal owners without compensation can the out-of-date mines be modernised; only by workers' management and control can the mines be run in the interests of the working class.

LENIN LIVES ON IN TROTSKYISM—Trotsky Memorial Meeting

CONWAY HALL, Monday, August 26th

At 7 p.m.

Speakers: E. Grant, G. Healy, G. Hansen

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,
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STALINISTS ASSAULT FRENCH TROTSKYIST

THE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE TO PARLIAMENTARY REFORMISM

From the Second Congress of the
Communist International, 1920

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. 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 terrorism. This inevitable resentment felt by some of the troops against the Jewish people in Palestine is being fanned by 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 and highly valued 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 detestable 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 workers-officers who will genuinely serve the interests of the working class.

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 henchmen of the feudal reaction. The terrorist campaign, moreover, is being carried out with a considerable amount of protection from the Egyptian Government.

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 this may be prevented and 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 henchmen of the feudal reaction. The terrorist campaign, moreover, is being carried out with a considerable amount of protection from the Egyptian Government.

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 combatting every attempt to use the anti-labour actions of the Egyptian Government to its advantage of British imperialism, it is the duty of all socialists to raise 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 to (a) secure the release of all arrested Left wingers; and (b) to prevent the passage of the proposed anti-labour legislation.

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

ALBERT DEMAZIERE, Central Committee Member of the P.C.I., 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 hurled 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 Bin, a grade 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.C.I., 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 dismayed by the Stalinists. That is why they are trying to reduce us to silence by the most shameful methods. 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 Vichyists. Comrade Demaziere himself was sentenced to penal servitude for life by Vichy's special police and felt the monstrous brutalities of the French fascists.

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 revolutionary. 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 by the unusual tribute paid him in the House of Commons which stood in silence to his memory.

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 take meanness and take personal offence.

Maxton's best days were spent when the I.L.P. was a rising and militant, if reformist party. He died 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.

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 melted Jimmy who became the best fraterniser in the House.

Maxton could only be loved by "deepest blue" because of his lack of theory. Openite 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

A revolutionary can earn the

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 people working classes, the legislature 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 in 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 (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, directly 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."

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, parliament has become a tool of falsehood, deceit, violence and ever-lasting gossip. In face of imperialist devastation, plunder, violation, robbery and ruin, parliamentary reforms, devoid of system, of consistency 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 opportunist, they reason in fact consciously or unconsciously from the consideration that the present epoch is one of relative stability for imperialist society, and they assume moreover that practical results may be achieved in the struggle for reform by a coalition with such men as Turati and Louget. 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 evil 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 bourgeois order 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 battle for power, exhibit their strong sides and betray their weak ones, 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 it 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 with 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 parliamentarism. (Turati, Louget & 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 organ 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 government during the transition period between 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)

ITALIAN SCENE . PALESTINE SOLUTION

BY CARLO BIVANCO

Three years after the fall of Mussolini and the Armistice, Italy presents a picture of ever-increasing misery. The conditions under which the vast mass of the people are living deteriorates from day to day. Hampered by the uncertainty of the future, fearful of the economic and political demands which will be imposed on the country by the Peace Treaties now in process of drafting in Paris, there is further stress and strain in an economy already weakened and devastated by a war fought throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula. Hunger is prevalent! Inefficiency and corruption in distribution adds to the hardships imposed by a hopelessly inadequate scale of rations. This is the background to the series of strikes which has paralyzed Italian industry and commerce during the past two months.

Starvation Rations

The basic bread ration is 200 grammes (about 7 ozs.) a day. One of the first acts of the De Gasperi Government was to reduce the percentage of flour in bread. The use of flour for sweets and cakes was prohibited and the ration of spaghetti and rice, both staple items in the Italian diet, was cut from 2 kilograms to 500 grammes (17 ozs.) a month. The sugar ration is 200 grammes and salt 300 grammes (10 1/2 ozs.) a month. Children under three years of age are allowed about half a pint of milk daily. The rest of the population are allowed officially, only 1 fluid ounce.

There is no regular ration of fats and oils. These are distributed in small quantities when available. There is no butter ration. Because of the chaotic system of distribution and outright racketeering, even rationed goods are not always obtainable in the stipulated amounts and often not at all. In parts of Italy milk can only be had on two or three days of the month. There are days when it is impossible to buy bread—except on the black market.

While the poor starve, the rich, the war profiteers and Fascist racketeers live in comparative luxury. The windows of the more exclusive shops are filled with the necessities of life and even "luxury items" such as butter or cheese. All this gives a superficial impression of prosperity, eagerly seized upon by the Tory press, but far from a true picture.

Dominating the country's economic life, is the Black Market. Goods scheduled for rationing find their way into the hands of the black marketeers. Here there are no shortages. Everything can be bought—for a price. But what working class family can buy on the Black Market when even in the open market butter is sold at 350 lire (400 lire to £) a pound, and meat at 150 lire a pound.

3 Million Unemployed

Estimates of unemployment vary between two and three millions. The larger figure is probably nearer the mark. Only the agreement between the Trade Unions and the Northern industrialists, which compelled the latter to retain their workers on part-pay, even where the factory was closed, prevented this figure from shooting up. Obviously, this state of affairs cannot last indefinitely. Italian capitalism, already struck a crippling blow by the lost war, cannot "afford" to pay wages to non-productive workers. Their reserves cannot stand it. The Trade Union leaders, over the heads of the rank-and-file, have now signed a new agreement with the industrialists giving the latter the right to sack their workers after giving three months notice of their intention to do so.

The fact that the Northern worker is receiving money wages does not materially improve his position. His part-pay is not sufficient to enable him to buy on the Black Market. He has to content himself with the inadequate rations—when he can get them.

One would expect the peasant to be slightly better off than the urban worker, for he can, to some extent, live off the land. Such would undoubtedly be the case if normal conditions prevailed in the national economy. But the chaotic conditions of roads and transport makes it extremely difficult for their products to reach the towns. A great proportion of agricultural goods is diverted into the Black Market. Barter is at a premium. No one has any faith in the huge quantity of paper lire in circulation.

Further, the peasant is completely dependent on urban industry for certain of the necessities of life. The extra money he makes by selling his produce to the Black Marketeers is absorbed by the inflationary prices he has to pay

for the goods he buys from the towns. Lack of fertilizers, the thousands of acres rendered useless by still-existing mine-fields and the usurious extortions of the landlords and money-lenders keep the peasant in effective poverty.

Only a complete change in the land system—the abolition of the large latifondi (large landowners), and the re-distribution of the land among the peasantry; only the introduction of scientific methods of agriculture, possible only through collective farming, can overcome the problems confronting the peasantry.

The De Gasperi Government has drawn up an elaborate scheme for industrial revival, but is confronted with formidable obstacles in its path. Italy, always lacking in raw materials, is today confronted with a desperate shortage because she is practically cut off from all her pre-war sources of supply. This is especially true of the fuel situation. Before the war Italy was almost wholly dependent on the Ruhr for her supplies of coal. Now only a trickle arrives from this source. From the United States only 120,000 tons per month enters the country. It is estimated that a minimum of 800,000 tons per month is required to keep Italian industry running. From this the precarious state of the country's productive resources can be judged.

The index of the cost of living stands at 2,000 (100 in 1943). As against this, the wages of industrial workers have risen from 100 in 1943 to 1,000. Salaries of clerical workers and State employees have only risen to 500. Currently, the hoard of manufactured goods, released during the war years, has temporarily halted the rise in the cost of living. When these stocks are exhausted, it will once again climb upwards with seven-league boots. To combat this inflationary tendency, the Partito Operaio Comunista, Italian section of the Fourth International, is pushing to the forefront of its programme of economic demands the slogan "A Rising Scale of Wages to meet the Rising Cost of Living."

To prevent the growth of unemployment and to absorb the present workless in productive labour, the Italian Trotskyists are demanding the nationalisation of industry, under workers' control. They call for the setting up of Distribution Committees of Housewives and Trade Unionists to ensure fair distribution of commodities and as the only effective method of fighting the Black Market. Above all, they stress that there can be no lasting solution to Italy's economic and social ills while capitalism lasts. The way out lies through a Socialist Italy within the United Socialist States of Europe.

* There are today 285 billion lire in circulation compared with 22.5 billion in 1938. Of this total nearly one-quarter—65 billions—is currency issued by the occupation regime, and the unresolved dispute over reparations still to be paid by Italy has so far prevented the Government from even attempting to work out any financial policy.

(Continued from Front Page.) policy could be pursued in Egypt. But very reluctantly, as Morrison blurted out, the Labour Government is being compelled to try and compare with the Egyptians and must find a new position in the Middle East: is in Palestine.

Socialist Settlements Terrorised

One of the Labour M.P.s, Mr. Wilkes (Newcastle-on-Tyne), revealed the curious policy being pursued by the military authorities in Palestine, which cannot be construed in any other way than deliberate provocation:

"If the intention is to capture these people (terrorists) why, when the Jewish Agency was closed down, were the offices and headquarters of the Revisionist Party (Jewish Fascists—E.G.) who control the Irgun (terrorists) left open? Why is the Revisionist Press, certainly up to 24 hours ago, allowed to go on with its aggressive, militant, racial propaganda? When in June and July these outrages were committed, certainly in the large majority of cases by the Irgun, why were the Socialist settlements searched? Was it expected to find the Irgun in settlements organised and controlled by the Irgun? Why is the only paper in Palestine now closed down so far as my information goes, a paper called 'Haaretz', which is a Liberal paper and which, indeed, has often attacked the Jewish Agency for being too militant?..."

Measures like this could only help to inflame the position and further embitter the Jewish masses in Palestine against the army authorities.

And the army authorities use the terrorist attacks to inflame and embitter the troops against the Jews. In the struggle against the Arabs in 1936-39, when the latter were demanding their independence, the army authorities posed as the protector of the Jews and incited the troops against the Arabs. In reality, the troops are used to do the dirty work of British imperialism in Palestine and the Middle East. This is not in the interests of the worker-soldiers, or of the native peoples under British domination.

The capitalist press is shedding crocodile tears about the strain on the British troops. But what are the troops there for? To keep "law and order" i.e. to guard British strategic-economic interests.

The Immigration Problem

The cause of the struggle has been over the question of immigration of 100,000 victims of the Nazis, still living in camps, the concentration camps where they had been thrust by the Nazis. But the whole futility of Zionism is shown by the tragic impasse in which the Jews in Palestine find themselves at the present time. Even if 100,000 Jews were admitted, this could not solve the problem. But it would inevitably arouse the violent antagonism of the Arabs in Palestine and the whole of the Middle East. Anti-Semitism would merely be transferred from Europe to the Arab countries. And only a small percentage could gain even temporary respite thereby.

The Imperialists close their own doors tightly but insist on deciding for the Arabs.

The immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, which is a country about the size of Wales and with about the same population, if considered in proportion to the population would mean an immigration of 8,000,000 into America or 3,000,000 into Britain. It is clear, that an immigration of this character should only take place if the Arab people agree and freely give their consent. And this they will never do while they feel that the Jews are being used by British imperialism to split Palestine, to partition it and to maintain a force which, in the long run, will be used against the Arabs in the event that they struggle against British imperialism for national freedom.

British socialists and especially the Jewish socialist youth, who are faced with the terrible dilemma of millions of Jews in Europe—still suffering the horrors of concentration camps—and who wish to see the Jewish refugees given a home and succour, cannot insist on the entry of the Jews into Palestine while the Arab people are themselves enslaved. Only if a free people is it possible to demand and insist on the right of asylum.

A Cowardly Evasion

For the major part of the Labour movement, and especially the Jewish "left" the demand for immigration into Palestine is, as a rule, a cowardly evasion of the real problem: opening up the gates of

Britain and allowing the refugees to freely enter.

Palestine is a long way off, and in any case, inhabited by a backward people, nobody is likely to kick up a fuss here. This is how these people reason. These people fear that to conduct a real campaign to open up the gates of Britain will arouse an anti-Semitic mood among the people. And they prefer to evade the issue. This is the real reason why they demand that the gates of Palestine be opened.

The sanctimonious horror with which the Allied rulers regarded the extermination of the Jews is revealed as completely hypocritical. Had Stalin represented the genuine interests of socialism, he would have signified the willingness of the Soviet Union to accept those refugees willing to seek shelter in Russia, especially as there is an acute labour shortage. But the doors of the Soviet Union remain tightly shut. So Britain and America, despite their enormous riches and resources are not prepared to give the democratic right of asylum to those who seek it. They suggest, instead, the palliative of Palestine. And at the same time have failed to conduct a systematic programme of rehabilitation, both material and psychological, of the displaced Jews which would help them to reintegrate themselves into their own countries of origin.

The working class must demand that the Labour Government claiming to represent socialism, give an example to the world. The demo-

cratic right of asylum must be granted in Britain and the Dominions. Equal rights for all in Europe, without distinction of race or creed. Open the gates!

Such a policy acts against the interests of both Arabs and Jews who are thus balanced against each other by British imperialism.

The Arabs oppose immigration because by this in many areas they have been driven from the land to make way for Jewish settlers, as has happened with colonisation in many countries in the past. Thus, the effect of the limited immigration which British imperialism has allowed, has been to side-track the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab masses, and turn it into anti-semitic channels.

The British workers must demand the withdrawal of the troops from Palestine. Palestine must gain its independence. The Jewish and Arab workers can co-operate, as the recent strike has shown. Palestine must be joined to the rest of the Arab countries to form a Federation of Arab States in which the Jews as a minority must be given full and equal rights. Withdraw the troops! No plan of partition! For an independent Palestine! Open the gates of all Palestine! To the oppressed Jews! For equal rights in all countries for all races, colours or creeds.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORMISM

(Continued from page 3.) uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war, the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, secure any and every legal position making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle.

11. One of such auxiliary supports is the floor of the bourgeois parliament. The argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution cannot be used against participation in a political campaign. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organic work, but in order to destroy the whole bourgeois governmental machinery and parliament itself from within (for instance, the work of Liebknecht in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the imperial Duma, in the "Democratic Conference," in the "Parliament" of Kerensky, and, lastly, in the "Constituent Assembly," and also in the "Municipal Dumas," and the activities of the Bulgarian Communists).

12. This work within Parliament—which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, denouncing enemies, the ideological unification of the masses, who still look up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, especially in backward countries, etc.—must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside Parliament.

Participation in the electoral campaign and the revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary tribune has a special importance for winning over those elements of the workers who, such as, perhaps, the agricultural workers, have stood far away from the revolutionary movement and political life.

13. If the Communists have a majority in local government institutions, they must: (a) Carry on a revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois central authority; (b) do all for the aid of the poor population (economical measures, establish or attempt to establish an armed workers militia); (c) point out on every occasion the barriers which the bourgeois State power erects against really vital changes; (d) develop on this basis the most active revolutionary propaganda without fearing a conflict with the State authorities; (e) under certain conditions substitute local workers councils for the existing municipal administration. The whole activity of the Communists in the municipal administration must therefore be part of the general work of destroying the capitalist system.

14. The electoral campaign must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilisation of the masses around the watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution. It must be conducted by the whole party membership.

COMRADES ON HOLIDAY! Don't Forget Your Usual Subscription To the Fighting Fund

It is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all manifestations of the masses (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the soldiers and sailors, etc.) going on at the moment. It is necessary to summon all the mass organisations of the proletariat to active work.

15. In complying with all these conditions, as well as with those indicated in a special instruction, parliamentary work must present a direct contrast to the "politics" practised by the Social-Democratic parties of all countries, who enter parliament to support that "democratic" institution or, at least, to "win it over." The Communist Party can only recommend the revolutionary use of the parliament as exemplified by Karl Liebknecht, Hoglund and the Bolsheviks.

16. "Anti-parliamentarism," on principle, in the sense of an absolute and categorical repudiation of participation in the elections and revolutionary parliamentary work, cannot therefore bear criticism, and is a naive childish doctrine, which is sounded sometimes on a healthy disgust at politicians, but does not understand the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. In addition, this doctrine is frequently connected with a quite erroneous representation of the role of the party, which in this case is considered not as a fighting, centralised but as a decentralised system of feebly connected revolutionary groups.

On the other hand, an acknowledgement of the value of parliamentary work in no wise leads to an absolute acknowledgement in all and any circumstances of the necessity of actual elections and actual participation in parliamentary sessions. This question depends upon a series of specific conditions. Under certain circumstances it may become necessary to leave parliament. The Bolsheviks did so when they left parliament in order to break it up, to weaken it, and to set up against it the Petrograd Soviet, which was then prepared to lead the uprising. They acted similarly in the Constituent Assembly on the day of its dissolution, converting the Third Congress of Soviets into the centre of political activity. In other circumstances a boycott of the elections may be necessary, and a direct violent storming of both the great bourgeois State machine and the parliamentary bourgeois clique; or a participation in the elections with a boycott of parliament itself, etc.

18. In this way, while recognising as a general rule the necessity of participating in elections to that central parliament, and to the institutions of local self-government, as well as in the work of such institutions, the Communist Party must decide the question concretely, according to the specific conditions of the given moment. Boycotting the elections or parliament, or leaving parliament, is permissible, chiefly when there is a possibility for an immediate transition to an armed fight for power.

19. At the same time the relative unimportance of this question must be constantly be borne in mind. If the centre of gravity lies in a struggle for power outside parliament, then naturally the question of a proletarian dictatorship and a mass fight for it is immeasurably greater than the secondary one of using parliament.

20. Therefore the Communist International declares categorically that it considers any division or

attempt at a division within the Communist Party united on this aim as a crime against the proletarian movement. The Congress calls upon all elements that are in favour of the mass struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, under the direction of a centralised Party of the revolutionary proletariat gaining influence over all the mass organisations of the working class, to strive for the complete unity of all Communist elements, notwithstanding any possible disagreement on the question of utilising bourgeois parliaments.

Non Unionists First Strike

On July 31st some 250 workers at the South Wales Switchgear, Treforest came out on strike for the principle of non-unionists first in cases of redundancy. Two trade unionists had been sacked as redundant while a number of non-unionists remained in the works.

This strike is only one of a number of such strikes during recent months in which the working class have reacted correctly to attacks upon their organisations. In the days ahead the working class will have to face attacks upon their standards of living all along the line. They can meet such attacks only by the most determined resistance. In preparation they must close their ranks now, eliminating all sources of weakness, not giving up a single point that they have gained. This, of course, means that they must struggle now for the right to drive out the scabs from the workshop, i.e. non-unionists. In fighting for such demands, they are fighting the advance battles of the coming struggle, and should be backed by the support of every class conscious militant in industry.

Trotsky Memorial Meeting
LIVERPOOL
Friday, 23rd Aug.
at 7.45 p.m.
Cooper's Hall
Speaker: Roy Tearse

Workers International News ^{6p}
Theoretical Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party
Articles on: PALESTINE, DEMOCRACY AND BONAPARTISM, MALAYA

PALESTINE

The Trotskyist Answer

PUBLIC MEETING

August 19th

Commencing at 7 p.m. prompt.

AT KING'S HALL COMMERCIAL ROAD

Speakers:

DAN TAMARY (Palestinian)

AJIT ROY (Indian)

Jock HASTON (Secretary R.C.P.)

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For Mass Arab Jewish Unity against Imperialism and Zionism!

Organised by the East London Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party 4th International

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2. Confiscation of all war profits; all company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers' committees to counter the financial and economic sabotage of Big Business.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers' goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shop-keepers.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants' committees; a state financial national house-building plan directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and full maintenance for the unemployed; turnover of Government and other war plants to the production of consumers' goods; a sliding scale of hours to absorb the unemployed without wage reductions.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full

- 18 years; and full political rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of all strike breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces, for the election of officers from the ranks.
8. Abolish conscription; for the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia organised under control of workers' committees; for the establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic co-operation, credit grants and other aid for the reconstruction of Soviet economy.
10. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
11. Against secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; against race hatred—anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; for the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and for a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the World.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for World Socialism.