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JUN 1939
ANGLO-SOVIET TALKS

By E. W. Campbell



FEDERAL LABOR CONFERS

By R. Dixon



IT ISN'T POSSIBLE!

By Betty Roland

JUNE

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COMMUNIST REVIEW

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THE NEWS REVIEWED

THE ANGLO-SOVIET TALKS

THE question, "Is it to be Peace or War?" still occupies first place in any discussion of international affairs.

The past month has seen certain developments in both the war and anti-war camps which bring nearer the day when this question must receive a practical answer.

In the camp of the aggressors the Rome-Berlin axis has been converted into a formal military-political alliance which further consolidates the forces of war.

In the camp of the non-aggressor nations negotiations have been opened up for a peace bloc, which if concluded on the basis proposed by the Soviet Union, will greatly strengthen the anti-war forces.

Last month, commenting upon the Anglo-Soviet talks, we stated in effect that whilst it was important to note the factors in the international situation which were forcing Britain to take a somewhat firmer stand against aggression, at the same time no trust should be placed in the good intentions of Chamberlain and Co.

Happenings since then have only served to strengthen our conclusions on both points.

As far back as August, 1935, Ercoli, at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist Interna-

tional, pointed out that war against the Soviet Union was not the sole aim of German fascism and Japanese militarism. "They are fighting for their own hegemony," he said. "Their attack upon the Soviet Union is only a component part of a general plan of expansion and conquest. These plans, which aim at a new repartition of the world, collide with the whole complex of existing interests and still further intensify the antagonisms between the imperialists, not only in Europe but throughout the world."

The expansionist aims of Germany and Japan collide particularly with the interests of Great Britain which as the greatest colonial power, would have most at stake in a war for the re-division of the globe.

British policy has been directed towards weakening her rivals by encouraging them to acts of aggression which did not immediately threaten her own possessions, urging them into wars in which they might exhaust their strength, e.g. Japan in China, at the same time striving to turn the point of their aggression against the Soviet Union.

Of late it has become more and more obvious that British policy in this regard is not meeting with

the success which was expected by its sponsors.

The great strength of the Soviet Union, demonstrated in a practical manner at Lake Hassan, has so far deterred Germany and Japan. Rather than risk breaking teeth upon such a tough nut these powers have shown a greater desire to expand in another direction; Germany towards the West in Europe and Japan towards the South in China.

These are the factors which have led to the so-called reversal in British policy—the undertaking to support Poland and Rumania against unprovoked aggression, and the move towards rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

At the same time this does not mean that attack upon the Soviet Union has ceased to be part of the general aims of the fascist nations, nor does it mean that British imperialism has ceased working for the realisation of this objective.

It has not yet been shown that Chamberlain and Co. have made a sincere break with the policy of Munich. In last month's notes we pointed out the loopholes in the Polish agreement which left the way open for another betrayal.

Since then the line of the "Times," which is recognised as the unofficial mouthpiece of the government, has been, "The German-Polish problem must be settled diplomatically," "Danzig is not worth a war," etc. Showing that "appeasement" is by no means as yet a policy of the past.

The procrastination shown by the British government in the Anglo-

Soviet peace talks gives us further reason to doubt Chamberlain's good intentions.

Attempts have been made in the press to blame the Soviet Union for the delay in these negotiations reaching finality.

Such accusations are baseless. On April 16, when a German invasion of the Polish Corridor appeared imminent, the Soviet government made certain proposals to the British government for a peace bloc. It was not until May 8 that the British government formulated its counter proposals. In the meantime Hitler, on May 5, concluded pacts of "non-aggression" with Latvia and Esthonia. While the British government talks, the fascist powers act.

Let us examine the Soviet proposals and the British counter proposals and then we will see who is really working for peace and who is sabotaging this cause.

The Soviet proposals of April 16 were in line with its consistent foreign policy which is based upon recognition of the fact that peace is indivisible, and that aggression, in any quarter of the globe, if allowed to go unchecked, must inevitably lead to universal conflict.

The Soviet Union maintains that the only way to create an effective barrier against aggression is for the non-aggressor states to conclude a pact of mutual and reciprocal assistance.

The content of the April 16 proposals was that Britain, France, Poland and Russia; or, at least, Britain, France and Russia should con-

clude such a mutual assistance pact and that these three states should guarantee the other states of Eastern and Central Europe threatened by aggression.

If the British government was sincerely interested in preserving peace the Soviet proposals should have met with prompt and sympathetic response.

But the response was anything but prompt and sympathetic.

The British reply was delayed for almost a month and then it only contained counter-proposals.

The nature of the British counter-proposals was hinted at by Chamberlain in reply to a question by Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons on May 10.

"Great Britain had recently accepted definite obligations respecting certain Eastern European States," he said.

"These obligations were undertaken in pursuance of Great Britain's declared policy of assisting these States to resist threats to their independence.

"They were undertaken without inviting the Soviet to participate directly because there were certain difficulties that such a suggestion would inevitably cause.

Great Britain had accordingly suggested that the Soviet Union should make a similar declaration on its own behalf, in the sense that, *in the event of Great Britain and France being involved in hostilities in discharge of their obligations the Soviet would express its readiness to help if desired.*"

In other words Chamberlain

wants to bind Russia down to assisting Britain and France if they become involved in war as a result of undertakings to Poland and Rumania, but he is not willing to accept reciprocal responsibility for aiding Russia if she herself is embroiled.

This beautiful arrangement would result in the Soviet Union being left to carry the baby in the event of war following an act of aggression in Europe.

As a barrier against aggression it is no more effective than Chamberlain's umbrella.

There is only one way in which the active defence of peace can be organised and that is along the lines proposed by the Soviet Union.

There is no ambiguity about the Soviet proposals for mutual aid pacts, no unclarity as to when and under what circumstances the signatories are obliged to act in furtherance of their obligations.

At a Convention in July, 1933, in which the Soviet Union and seven border states took part, the following clear definition of an aggressor was arrived at. It is to be presumed that it would form the basis of any mutual aid pact entered into by Russia.

The aggressor is to be considered as that State which is the first to commit any of the following actions:—

- 1) Declare war on another State;
- 2) Invade with its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, the territory of another state;

- 3) Attack by its land, naval, or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, the territory of another state or the vessels or aircraft of another state;
- 4) Institute a naval blockade of the ports of another state;
- 5) Provide support to armed bands formed on its territory which have invaded the territory of another state; or refuse, notwithstanding the request of the invaded state to take in its own territory all the measures in its power to deprive these armed bands of all assistance and protection;
- 6) No political, military, economic or other consideration shall serve as an excuse or justification for aggression.

The signing of a pact between Britain, France and Russia providing for mutual and reciprocal assistance in event of any one of them, or the smaller states guaranteed by them, falling victim to such aggression as outlined, has every possibility of bringing to an end the fascist policy of conquest.

However, it is clear that the Chamberlain government is still bent upon resisting the conclusion of such a pact.

The delay and procrastination shown by Chamberlain and Co in the Anglo-Soviet negotiations is in part a reflection of the class relationships existing in Britain. A reflection of the relative weakness of the people's movement there. This

weakness in turn is largely due to the absence of unity in the ranks of the labor movement. The resistance of the Rightwing Labor leaders to unity assists Chamberlain to sabotage peace.

The same weaknesses exist here in Australia. At the recent Federal Conference of the Australian Labor Party a policy was decided upon which plays right into the hands of Chamberlain and Co.

In condemning the proposals of the South Australian delegates that the A.L.P. should support the principles of collective security, Mr. Curtin said that "the country that would risk invasion was only deluding itself by imagining it could make security pacts with countries thousands of miles away" . . . "He saw no reason why the people of Australia should involve themselves in an arrangement to alter the system of government in Russia, Czechoslovakia, or Poland" . . . "The Labor Party does not desire to be embroiled in wars in other parts of the world. If it becomes unavoidable and we are dragged into war we will have to play our part. It is one thing to find we cannot escape participation in war, but it is another thing to give undertakings in advance to other countries in the shape of treaties, thereby not only involving immediate but unpredictable future risks."

No more stupid utterances than these can be imagined.

How does support for collective security involve Australia in any arrangements to alter the system of government in other countries?

Why is it only a delusion to think that Australia can minimise the risk of invasion by participating (as part of the British Empire) in a mutual aid pact with the Soviet Union?

What are the unpredictable future risks attached to such a policy?

There is a very real immediate risk that we know of—the risk of world war arising from the unchecked advance of the aggressor nations. But there is a way to put

a stop to this — the way of the united front of non-aggressor powers—the way of the Soviet Union.

This is the policy we must fight for. Unity is, more than ever, an urgent necessity. The present policy of the Rightwing Labor leaders must be overcome. The Australian Labor movement must be united in demanding that Britain enter into a pact of mutual and reciprocal assistance with the Soviet Union—a peace pact against aggression.

E. W. CAMPBELL.



Ex-Foreign Commissar Litvinov

CONCISE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM

E. Yaroslavsky

With this issue of the "Review," we begin popularisation of the new, authoritative history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For this purpose we have selected Yaroslavsky's excellent, long article on the subject, the first installment of which will be followed by two others in succeeding issues.

THE Party and the Communist International have received a fine work, full of fighting spirit—a truly Bolshevik history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). In it, a scholarly but at the same time popular history of Bolshevism is combined with an exposition of the fundamental teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevism)," written with the personal co-operation of Comrade Stalin and approved by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) is a strong weapon for the Communist Parties of all countries in the struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people, in the struggle against reaction and fascism and for the achievement of victory over world capitalism. The Soviet peoples study the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)" with great interest, from it they derive new strength for the battle for Communism. Millions of people in the capitalist countries will study this

book and look on it as a guide to revolutionary activity.

Interest in the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.) is so great that on the day of publication great crowds of people gathered before the book-shops and stalls in order to get the book as quickly as possible. It was an extraordinary spectacle, hitherto unknown in any other land. And from all quarters, from the most varied sections of the workers of the Soviet Union come letters and expressions of opinion on the "Short History of the C.P.S.U.(B.);" and testify to the interest, not only of the Communists but also of the masses outside the Party, the collective farmers and the Soviet intelligentsia in the history of the Party, and the appreciation with which the "Short History" has been received throughout the whole country.

That is not to be wondered at. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union plays such a decisive role in the life of the country and enjoys such authority among the millions of town and country workers, among all the workers, collective farmers, offi-

cial, students and intellectuals that interest in a work on the history of the Party, approved by the Central Committee, a work in which Comrade Stalin took a direct part, is completely understandable and justified.

The workers know that the Party of the Bolsheviks arose under the most severe conditions in pre-revolutionary Russia. Tsardom believed there to be no force in Russia that could shake its power. Yet this force was there. There were originally small circles or groups of Marxists which arose in the eighties of the last century, allied themselves with the workers' movement and carried socialist consciousness and enlightenment into this movement. And out of these illegal groups there arose the mighty political Party of the Bolsheviks which today leads the first and up till now the only Socialist country of workers and peasants.

The Bolshevik Party which was created by Lenin and Stalin on the granite foundation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory "... grew over fundamental principles waged and gained strength in a fight against the petty-bourgeois parties within the working-class movement ... the Socialist-Revolutionaries (and earlier still against their predecessors, the Narodniks), the Mensheviks, Anarchists and bourgeois nationalists of all shades ... and, within the Party itself, against the Menshevik opportunists trends ... the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, national-deviators

and other anti-Leninist groups. (History of the G.P.S.U.(B.))" Introduction.)

Until the great October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party was completely illegal. Only at moments, at the crests of revolutionary waves, was the Party able to win for a short time a legal Press, or its representatives to appear in the reactionary Parliament, the National Duma. Concerning the period from 1903 to 1917 Lenin wrote that the Party had "passed through fifteen years (1903-1917 of practical history which, in wealth of experience, has had no equal anywhere else in the world. For no other country during these fifteen years had anything even approximating to this revolutionary experience, this rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement—legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, open and underground, small circles and mass movements, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country was there concentrated during so short a period of time such a wealth of forms, shades and methods of struggle involving all classes of modern society, and, moreover, of a struggle which, owing to the backwardness of the country and the heavy yoke of Tsarism, was maturing with exceptional rapidity and assimilating most eagerly and successfully the corresponding "last word" of American and European political experience." ("Left Wing Communism," pp. 11 & 12, Lawrence and Wishart, 3d. edition.)

(Continued Next Issue.)

FEDERAL LABOR CONFERS

R. Dixon



THE Federal Labor Party conference which opened in Canberra on May 1, International Solidarity Day, was no gathering of the rank and file. Each State is entitled to six representatives and the delegates consisted of Federal and State politicians, State branch officials and a few trade union officials thrown in for good measure.

The presence of Forgan Smith, Hanlon, Ogilvie, Caldwell and others of like calibre shows that here is one citadel where the power of the Rightwing is still supreme. They were determined that no concession, whatsoever, should be made to the Leftwing. This was dem-

onstrated at the very commencement of the conference when the proposal for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Committee was being debated. The committee is to consist of two representatives from each of the following bodies: the Federal Executive of the Labor Party, the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party and the A.C.T.U. Although the functions of this body have not been precisely defined, it will no doubt help to bring about better co-ordination of trade union and Labor party activity on a Federal scale. As the Federal Labor Party lacked this definite organised contact with the trade

union movement, the setting up of the advisory committee is a progressive move. It was received very sceptically by the reactionaries, however. They feared it might provide an avenue for the penetration of Communist ideas into their innermost sanctum, and made a proviso that the A.C.T.U. representatives should have, at least, two years' membership in the Labor Party. Mr. Curtin took the view that the trade unions should be unrestricted in the selection of their representatives. There is no doubt as to the correctness of this view. Forgan Smith, displaying obvious hostility to the A.C.T.U., demanded the imposing of restrictions on the ground that Communists might be appointed to the committee and his view carried the day.

The most important matter before the conference was the question of the Labor Party split in New South Wales. The delegates were torn between two fears: the fear of perpetuating the domination of Lang in N.S.W. and the fear that in deciding against Lang, they might give power to the Leftwing.

Even the worst reactionaries from other states are unanimous on the need to dispose of Lang. They have long realised that there is no possibility of achieving either Labor unity, or a Labor Federal victory with Lang. As far back as 1931, following the expulsion of Theodore by the Lang Inner Group, the Federal Labor Party sought to destroy Lang's control and to this end set up organisation in N.S.W. independent of the Inner Group.

The results were disastrous. The trade unions and the rank and file of the Labor Party would have nothing to do with the new organisation which, if anything, was to the right of Lang. The Federal Executive, badly beaten, had to bow to Lang's leadership and what organisation existed in New South Wales was absorbed by the Inner Group. A liberal lopping-off of heads followed Mr. Lang's victory.

Revolt against the Lang dictatorship was inevitable, but to succeed, it had to come from the left, the direction in which the workers were swinging. The history of this struggle from the beginning of 1936, when Lang attempted to gain control of the Trades and Labor Council's radio station, 2KY, to the formation of the Heffron Labor Party, is well known. On the eve of the Federal conference the New Labor Party won the Hurstville and Waverley seats for Labor, despite Lang. Hurstville and Waverley demonstrated that the Heffron Party commanded the support of the majority of the workers and had won large sections of the middle class to the banner of Labor.

Following the by-elections in Hurstville and Waverley, that had so clearly revealed Mr. Lang's fall from grace with the electors, he suffered the most serious reverse in his caucus. By 15 votes to 11 the State members decided, against Lang's urging, to send two delegates to the Canberra conference to press for unity in New South Wales. Mr. Lang told the caucus that he regarded the vote as "a vote

against" himself, expressing no confidence in his leadership and he immediately set the Labor Party machine in motion to try and discipline the recalcitrants.

The delegates to the Federal Labor Party conference had a very favorable situation in which to handle Lang, who for so long had mishandled them. Even so, there was no end of vacillation. Five different plans for unity were submitted and debated before the Richards Plan providing for an all-in conference within two months, to be called by the Federal Executive of the Labor Party, was finally adopted.

The "Red" bogey was right to the forefront throughout the debate. The Lang delegates painted a fearsome picture of the Communists challenging the reformist leadership in all states. Forgan Smith, whose contempt for Lang knows no bounds, earnestly proposed that any steps taken towards unity in New South Wales should be taken in collaboration with the Inner Group, lest a precedent be established that might be disastrous to Rightwing executives in other states.

It is bad enough that the capitalist slavedrivers should resort to such misrepresentation as the "Red" bogey, from the reformists it is pathetic.

The decision of the Federal Conference to hold an all-in Conference in New South Wales was probably the best decision to be expected from such a gathering. It would seem, however, that all the obstacles to

unity have not yet been overcome. The decision of the Federal Executive to grant representation to all Labor Party branches will not only swamp union representation (and the unions are the basis of the Labor Party); it will result in a conference so unwieldy that if he cannot control it, Lang will, at least, be in the position to disrupt it. The Federal Executive decision runs counter to the instructions of the Federal conference.

The spirit of resistance to the Leftwing which runs right through the unity debate was very much present during the debate on Labor's defence and foreign policy. This discussion revealed the amazing bankruptcy of the Labor Party leadership on foreign policy.

The conference sought after a formula which would retain in essence the policy of the last Federal elections but remove from it the stigma of isolation. This is the result:

- "1. We stand for the maintenance of Australia as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- "2. We stand for a policy of complete national and economic security.
- "3. We will defend all our people in all states against aggression from any source."

Not even the delegates to the conference understand the Labor policy now.

Mr. Forgan Smith, who moved the resolution, said it means the Labor Party "believes in collective security within the British Empire."

Speaking in support of the resolution, Mr. G. Foley (W.A.) said, "Australia should adopt something like the Monroe Doctrine"—Australia for the Australians. Mr. Curtin, if the "S.M.H." reported him correctly, said:

"The party had to leave it to the commonsense of the Australian people as to what the party meant, not only with regard to the defence policy, but also with regard to financial policy."

If we take the explanation of Forgan Smith: "the Labor Party believes in collective security within the British Empire," it means only one thing: if any part of the British Empire becomes involved in war, Labor will participate. No consideration was given to the fact that the government which dominates and determines the foreign policy of the British Empire is the reactionary pro-fascist Chamberlain government of Britain. No word was spoken against the British ruling class who frustrate collective action for peace, betray small nations, enslave millions of colonial people and continue to pursue reactionary imperialist aims.

Mr. Curtin declared: "If war becomes unavoidable we will have to play our part."

There was no definition of just or unjust war, which in the last analysis must determine the attitude of the working class. The glorious struggle of the Chinese people, that means so much to Australia's defence, was not even mentioned, nor the stand of the Port Kembla waterside workers against

the export of pig iron to Japan.

With childlike simplicity Mr. Curtin said: "The primary responsibility of the Australian government was to say to other countries: 'we desire to live in peace with you.'" He had never heard of the burning appeals of Abyssinia, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain or Albania to live at peace with Germany, Italy and Japan. Labor policy is an open cheque to Chamberlain and Menzies to push on with their reactionary policies.

The working class are confronted with a situation similar to 1914 with the Labor leaders declaring for the Empire right or wrong. What has happened to the pledges against the sending of Australians to fight in an overseas war?

Mr. Caldwell (Victoria) in attacking the policy of collective security, said that its exponents "become the recruiting sergeants of tomorrow and the conscriptionists of the future." He omitted to mention that the Labor Party supported the Federal Government's recruiting campaign and that in Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania Labor politicians spoke from the same platform as the U.A.P. recruiting people to the militia.

He also conveniently ignored the fact that right in the Federal Labor conference itself were compulsionists. Mr. Ogilvie and his hapless followers from Tasmania brought to the conference the flavor of pre-war labor, when those stalwarts of Labor, Hughes, Holman and others, were the chief advocates of com-

pulsory military training and were preparing the ground for their attempt to impose conscription on the people. The Tasmanian delegates, all well primed by Ogilvie, demanded that the Labor Party adhere to compulsory military training. It is known that Forgan Smith and Fallon of Queensland would welcome compulsion but for political reasons they publicly deny this.

The Tasmanian delegates, among other things, suggested that a policy of compulsory training would be an election winner. Sheer rubbish. Any advocacy of compulsory training by Labor leaders would split the party from top to bottom and damn Labor forever.

It must be said that the discussions of the Federal conference of the Labor Party on foreign policy and defence contributed nothing to the store of knowledge of the Australian working class. The policy it enunciated must not only be avoided but fought to the last ditch. It brings the Labor Party completely into line with the policy of Chamberlain and Menzies.

It is significant that several days after the Labor Party Conference had concluded Sir Henry Gullett outlined the foreign policy of the Federal Government. At the same time as the press published Gullett's speech it reported the terrible bombardment of Chungking—China's administrative capital. Some 10,000 lives were lost. The London "Times" wrote "Chungking has no value as a target, except that it offers exceptional opportunities for destroying civilian life." Sir Henry

Gullett, at the moment of Chungking's peril, was telling Japan that her "closest and most trusted and trusting friends, until very recent years, were the peoples and governments of the British Empire" . . . and that the "Commonwealth Government was looking forward to a nearer and more auspicious relationship with the great Japanese people than that which prevails today." Although Gullett criticised Hitler and Mussolini there was not a word of protest to express the horror of the Australian people at the bloodthirsty atrocities of Japanese militarism—only praise.

Mr. Curtin, the Labor Party leader, proved even less responsive. He actually complained that "some of the minister's references could have been less provocative. . . ." He praised the plan for the establishment of an Australian embassy in Tokio and as an afterthought said "it would be desirable to establish one in China."

We must bow our heads in shame to think that we have leaders of Labor who are so devoid of working-class principle and dignity that they have lost the inspiration to protest against the bloody horrors of fascism and war.

Beyond making it more certain that some Labor Party leaders have taken the path to betrayal of the working class the Federal Conference decisions on Foreign Policy and Defence have changed nothing.

The trade union movement of Australia is irrevocably pledged against fascism; it realises that the only hope of averting war is through

the collective efforts of peace-loving nations; it is implacable in its opposition to the Menzies Government. What must be realised is that in giving effect to this policy an unremitting struggle against the Right-wing in the Labor movement is more necessary than ever.

N.Z. NEWS LETTER

Will Savage Learn From Blum ?

AS I write, the Labor Government has just imposed its second series of import cuts, considerably more drastic than the last, of December 1937, and amounting in very many cases to complete prohibition of imported lines.

That such measures should be necessary is an indication of the seriousness of the financial and economic difficulties facing the Labor Government, six months after its great electoral victory. Reaction has scored its biggest win to date in its attack on the finances of New Zealand. "Financial Francos" is a phrase which is coming to mean more and more to the people of this country.

In February of last year New Zealand's sterling funds in London stood at £25.5 millions. By December of the same year they had dwindled to £6.8 millions. In February of this year, after the first series of import cuts and in spite of the export season, they had reached only £9,000,000, making further import restrictions inevitable.

Realising that it had little opportunity of defeating the Labor Government at the polls, Nationalist reaction last year set about organising

the transfer of capital from the country, a process which after Labor's victory in October advanced at a great speed, until the government acted in December to stop it. It was stated by Mr. J. A. Lee, M.P., at the Labor Party's recent annual Conference, that £14,000,000 was sent out of the country last year, and this statement was not denied by Mr. Walter Nash, Minister of Finance.

It is true that the Labor Government would have in any case faced a difficult economic situation with a drop last year in export values of over £8,000,000, but this crisis was deliberately accentuated and brought on by the enemies of the people, who would not scruple to wreck New Zealand if they could bring down the hated Labor Government.

Apart from the measures of import control and restrictions on transfer of money abroad, the government has announced its intention of floating an internal loan and has laid great emphasis on the development of secondary industry, as a means of reducing the need for imports. The Prime Minister, Mr. Savage, has paid official visits to

many New Zealand factories in the past few months, and has everywhere received a most enthusiastic reception from the workers.

One factor which is assisting the Labor Government is the split in the camp of the N.Z. capitalists. Manufacturers naturally welcome the restrictions on imports, giving them a sheltered market, and the industrial expansion programme; importers on the other hand bitterly oppose the government. There is no question that the importers, tied up with the banks and the big export interests, represent the more reactionary section, more closely connected with the National Party. The utter fiasco of the importers' petition to the Governor-General to have the import regulations declared invalid illustrates the value of this split to Labor in New Zealand.

Under the blows of its financial difficulties the tendencies of the Labor Government to retreat are unfortunately becoming more marked. The trade unions have been very plainly told that no further wage increases are to be expected, in spite of the rise in the cost of living that has taken place. Appeals for "more production" are replacing the old emphasis on "poverty in the midst of plenty" and "the raising of purchasing power." Mr. Nash, Minister of Finance, spoke strongly recently of the necessity for "stability," in addressing the Dairy Conference.

This situation has brought with it a sharp division of opinion within the Parliamentary Labor Party, reported in alarmist fashion

in the Australian and N.Z. press, as a "split." The facts are that a group of Labor M.P's. (actually the majority), headed by Mr. J. A. Lee, M.P. for Grey Lynn, Auckland, have been opposed for some time past to the financial policy of the government, as expressed through Mr. Nash. Though the internal struggle flared up over the question of the right of the Caucus to elect the Cabinet, the fundamental issues were those of policy, particularly in questions of finance. Mr. Lee stands for a policy of extension of government control over the banking system (notably the nationalisation of the Bank of New Zealand); maintenance of low interest rates; State credits to assist the development of secondary industry. Various decisions reached by majority vote of the Caucus (for example, the election of Cabinet and the nationalisation of the Bank of N.Z.) have been met by threats of resignation on the part of the Prime Minister.

A considerable part of the recent Labor Party Conference was concerned with "the Lee incident." A document, reputedly by Mr. Lee, attacking Mr. Nash's policy in rather bitter terms, had leaked out and was being circulated by the enemies of Labor as proof of the "split." The Conference concluded by condemning Mr. Lee's action (though not by a very large majority), and endorsing the policy of Mr. Nash as Minister of Finance, an outcome which was welcomed by the capitalist press with unashamed relief as a blow to the "extremists."

It is true that Mr. Lee's outlook and policy are too much influenced by that undue emphasis on monetary and credit questions that was fashionable in the Labor Party some years back. On questions affecting trade unionism, international affairs etc., his position and that of most of his followers seem to differ very little from that of the Cabinet. But Mr. Lee understands the dangers of retreat for a Party elected on great promises, and for that reason he has become a rallying point for a great number of those people in the Labor Party who are justly dissatisfied with present tendencies and want a more positive policy. If the leaders of the Labor Government should be so foolish as to interpret his "defeat" as a go-ahead signal for a policy of retreat, then the future of the Labor Party will be full of dangers.

Another danger signal is the way in which the Trotskyists (who lost no opportunity when the Labor Government was at the height of its progressive drive forward, to undermine it and insinuate that it was introducing the "corporate state") are being promoted to high positions in the councils of the Labor Party. Even some progressive leaders of the Federation, caught up by the current desire for "stability," appear to have made up their minds to tolerate them in leading positions in the Federation. There is no need to emphasise the dangers of this position to readers of the "Review."

It is not only on questions of financial policy that the weaknesses of the Labor Government are becom-

ing apparent. The fine utterances of Mr. Jordan at Geneva on the side of Spain and China, which roused such admiration through the democratic world, have not been paralleled in recent months by the government. At the time of Munich no protest was forthcoming, and a number of Cabinet Ministers even sang the praises of Neville Chamberlain. Among the fruits of Munich for New Zealand was the extraordinary ban on Kenneth Melvin's anti-fascist and anti-Chamberlain radio broadcasts, a measure for which Mr. Savage accepted full responsibility, and which roused 30,000 Auckland people to put their names to a petition urging the restoration of the "History Behind the Headlines" session.

One cannot help but be struck by certain similarities between the position in New Zealand and that which existed in France under the Blum Government. The same initial sweep of progressive legislation; the same enthusiasm of the people; the same attacks on the financial position of the government, with the object of forcing it into one retreat after another; the same sinister intervention of Chamberlain behind the scenes against the legally elected government. Will Savage follow Blum? It would be foolish to prophesy, since the answer lies in the main with the actions of the people and the working class in the next few months.

It would be wrong to conclude this survey on too pessimistic note, though it would be equally foolish to conceal the dangers of the situa-

tion. The measures of the Labor Government are still to some extent holding up the development of economic crisis in New Zealand (there is no marked increase in unemployment); the morale of the Labor movement is splendid; the New Zealand people still holds its head

high in a world where the lamps of freedom are being dimmed one by one. Future progress depends on closer unity of action of the people to strengthen the government and defeat the financial Francos.

—GORDON WATSON.

SONGS OF LIBERTY

A RECENT L.B.C. "additional book" is "Poems of Freedom," an anthology "conceived in an effort to represent the liberalism of poetry in its oldest and widest sense." The editor is John Mulgan, and he has done, on the whole, a good job, his selections ranging from John Ball's rhyme:

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

to Stephen Spender.

Some of the older selections have a curiously contemporary ring, e.g., Landor's (1775-1864) "A Foreign Ruler":

"He says, 'My reign is peace, so slays
A thousand in the dead of night.
'Are you all happy now?' he says,
and those he leaves behind cry
'Quite.'

He swears he will have no contention,
And sets all nations by the ears;
He shouts aloud, 'No intervention!
Invades, and drowns them all in
tears."

And, again, James Thomson's (1834-1882) "Europe's Rouge et Noir":

"There has been a slight run on the
black, we know;

But those who have thereby won,
Lost very much more not long ago,
And, their desperate martingales
clearly show,

Will lose all before they've done."

"The primary function of poetry," writes Auden in his introduction, "as of all the arts, is to make us more aware of ourselves and the world around us. I do not know if such increased awareness makes us more moral or more efficient: I hope not. I think it makes us more human, and I am quite certain it makes us more difficult to deceive, which is why, perhaps, all totalitarian theories of the State, from Plato's downwards, have deeply mistrusted the arts. They notice and say too much, and the neighbors start talking:

"There's many a beast, then in a
populous city
And many a civil monster."

The present anthology performs this primary function of poetry well.

—G.B.

"Poems of Freedom," edited by John Mulgan. Left Book Club Additional Book.

THE AUSTRALIAN WORKING CLASS

V.—The Battleground Of Broken Hill

This article was written at the request of the Editor of the "Communist Review" by a student of Australian affairs who last year contributed four articles to the "Review" on the history of the Australian working class. His work published in book form is accepted by the Press and Universities as authoritative.



The above picture (taken from a postcard) illustrates an incident of one of the industrial disputes described below.

IN Australia the storm centres of trade union resistance to exploitation by wealthy capitalist enterprise have been the Barrier and the northern coalfields of New South Wales. The Amalgamated Miners' Association (whose direct descendant is the W.I.U. of A.) as early as 1889 forced the B.H.P. to collect union dues from all its employees every pay day, and next year obtained the 46-hour week. In the north the Hunter River Miners' Protective Association, which became the Miners' Federation of today, won a strike 85 years ago, when elsewhere in Australia trade unionism was scarcely known; and time after time since then, the northern coalminers have been the first to come out and last to go back, when a labor cause was being fought. These miners' unions have no peer in the Australian trade union movement, for length and consistency of service as shock

troops of Labor, and for capacity to recover from defeat in industrial warfare. Indeed, of unions in the three industries which traditionally are the key industries of this country—the mining, pastoral and transport industries—they alone have never been routed. This article describes some of the outstanding incidents of the long class war which was waged at the Barrier from 1889 until 1909. This was a period of twenty years during most of which the Australian trade union movement at large was weak and uncertain, after governments and employers' associations, in common cause, had broken the great strikes of the early 'nineties.

The struggle at the Barrier began almost at the moment of birth of the B.H.P. in 1886, when the A.M.A., originally a trade union of goldminers but now covering many coal and silver-lead miners, had already a history of a couple of years at Broken Hill. The Broken Hill Proprietary Company was primarily a silver-lead mining concern for 30 years before, with the war of 1914-'18, it became synonymous with Australian heavy industry, building itself up into a mammoth owner of iron ore deposits, coal mines, ships and steelworks. And the profits which the rich lodes of the Barrier yielded its shareholders, in the early years when the A.M.A. again and again tried a fall with B.H.P., were quite comparable with those of recent years; dividends, in fact, were far higher, because during many years B.H.P. capital was less than £400,000

(compared with £10,000,000 later), and so great were the earnings that 100-200 per cent. per annum payments were commonplace. This was the giant that the A.M.A. fought in 1889, 1890, 1892, and 1908-9.

W. G. Spence was the A.M.A. leader at the time of the earlier strikes. He ended up as a Nationalist M.H.R., but in his earlier phase, as President of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union (which became the A.W.U.) and at the same time general secretary of the A.M.A., he had more than any other man to do with the establishment of strong all-Australian industrial unions with militant policies. And if after the turn of the century the shearers' union was led by Tammany bosses to take a form very different from its earlier revolutionary character, the A.M.A. at least went marching on.

The first strike at the Barrier, an affair of a week in November 1899, resulted in the B.H.P.'s conceding, not preference to unionists but an undertaking to employ none *but* unionists; the Company agreed to collect each payday, in the presence of the A.M.A. representative, A.M.A. or other union dues from all its surface and underground workers. No such concession had ever before been made by a great capitalist concern, though in that year of labor victories (when £30,000 from the Australian unions helped to win the "docker's tanner" for the wharf laborers of London) Spence's Shearers' Union had almost won the union shed from the

pastoralists. And ten months later, when A.M.A.—B.H.P. friction resulted in a fortnight's lock-out of B.H.P. miners, the men won again. The terms of settlement this time provided for a reduction of the working week from 48 to 46 hours, without reduction of pay. It was July 1892 before the B.H.P. directorate, encouraged by the smashing of the seamen, coalminers, wharf laborers and shearers in New South Wales and Victoria in 1890, and the smashing of the Queensland shearers in 1891, were able to strike back effectively.

B.H.P.'s tactics, now that circumstances leaned against this one of the few Australian unions which retained its strength after the defeats of 1890-91, were characteristic. It was not necessary, in a town where the 7,000 prospective victims were concentrated, to have the government muster soldiers, militiamen and volunteers with Nordenfeldt and Gatling guns, as the pastoralists had done in '91 with the Queensland government of the "Radical" Premier, Sir Samuel Griffith. At Broken Hill, the drafting in of a carefully selected police magistrate, and Sydney police armed with loaded rifles, bayonets fixed, might be all that would be required. So it was done.

The Company's own story of the occurrence (told in the Jubilee Number of the *B.H.P. Review*, June, 1935) is a delightful version worth recounting before the facts are marshalled. "A further menace was rearing its ugly head," the B.H.P. records 43 years after the

event. "... The various unions having grown in power, both industrial and political, were anxious for a trial of strength. Amongst the most militant was the Amalgamated Miners' Association, then insisting on its claim for preference to unionists. The Barrier branch of the A.M.A. differed from the mine owners, and tests of strength were made in the ten days' strike (November, 1889) and the four weeks' strike (September-October, 1890)... But the supreme test lay in the great strike of 1892. With the drop in silver prices and the need of more economical working, the Broken Hill companies decided to be bound no longer by an agreement made with the men in 1890, especially a certain clause 4, which restricted the stoping of ore by contract. The Companies were impelled by the disproportionate cost as between man and man, in raising the ore, the lack of incentive to effective work essential to the life of an industry, the drop in silver, the general reduction in values of ore, and the import duties on mining requisites. To forestall the mine owners, 6,000 men met (July 3, 1892) and decided on an immediate strike, which lasted until November 8. It was marked by serious disorders, reaching a climax on August 25, when the Companies decided on reopening the mines. The New South Wales government at length intervened. Seven strike leaders were arrested and tried for having 'conspired to prevent subjects of the Queen from following their lawful occupations.' Six were

convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from two months to two years. Peace reigned on the Barrier for the ensuing decade."

This is mostly a fairy tale. What happened was that the B.H.P. Co. deliberately broke its solemn agreement, at a time when its shareholders who had bought shares six years before had already received more than a dozen times the amount of their investment in dividends and bonuses, flooded Broken Hill with strikebreakers, and for a time turned the place into a non-union town. In Melbourne on June 30, 1892, the Associated Mining Companies informed the A.M.A. secretary at the Barrier, Richard Sleath (afterwards Labor M.L.A.), that all agreements were terminated as from July 30 and that contract stoping (instead of wage work during a 46-hour week) would be introduced, the rates to be fixed by the mine managers. After this deliberate breach of agreement, the miners came out; the A.M.A., in the words of another company version (B.H.P. Co. Report No. 15, November 30, 1892, directors' report, page 9), "in the most arbitrary and unjustifiable manner . . . immediately called all the men out on strike." (The directors chose to forget that less than two years before they had agreed to submit all disputes to arbitration, and to maintain wages and a 46-hour week). A B.H.P. shareholders' meeting was held in Melbourne at the end of July. Richard Sleath bought a share and attended, to be howled

down by the assembled plutocrats—who, however, had retained the famous barrister, J. L. Purves, to "deal with him." On August 16 a B.H.P. directors' meeting decided to reopen the mines on August 25; "other arrangements" would be made if the unionists refused to submit to the owners' arbitrary conditions. On August 25, when the town was thick with mounted and foot police, and the 7,000 had been without wages for nearly two months, only 50 men, including shift bosses, reported for work. Next day Whittingdale Johnson, the P.M. specially imported for the occasion, sentenced two men to three months' gaol for (peaceful) picketing. In the next few days parties of police came from Sydney, and parties of scabs, police-escorted, from Melbourne. On September 15, police with fixed bayonets surrounded the building in which the union defence committee was meeting, and arrested the whole five leaders; they were charged with sedition and conspiracy. Forty thousand unionists marched in protest through the streets of Sydney, but on October 7 the unionists were brought to trial, at a favorable venue at Deniliquin. All were convicted, Sleath and Ferguson being sentenced to two years. (But it is gratifying to record that they were released on July 6, 1893, to celebrate the marriage of good Prince George, afterwards George V, to Lady May Cambridge, the present Queen Mother. On that happy day, too, B.H.P. reduced the wages of the remaining day-wageworkers

at Broken Hill).

The A.M.A. stuck it out until November 5, Guy Fawkes's day and the second anniversary of the Newcastle miners' return to work, the last to give in, after the breaking of the great strike of 1890. Then some of them were allowed back to work alongside scab labor. But not for long. The B.H.P. was determined to remove the union root and branch. A Government Labor Exchange was established at Broken Hill, and in three months it deported 600 unionists, giving them coach fares or railway passes to clear them out of the Barrier area. At Christmas, 3,000 A.M.A. men were still locked out. By 1894 the A.M.A. membership at the Barrier was down to 300.

But the union rose again from these ashes, and when the time came for the next battle the thousands of silver-lead miners who had drifted to the Western Australian goldfields after '92 came forward with generous assistance for their unionist successors at Broken Hill, again locked out by a B.H.P. Co. intent on paring wages to fatten dividends. Western Australian unionists contributed nearly £6,000 to the 1908-9 Broken Hill lock-out fund.

In October 1908 John Darling, chairman of B.H.P., announced that on the expiry in December of a two years' wages agreement entered into by the A.M.A. and the companies and in operation as from January 1, 1907, as an agreement registered with the New South Wales Arbitration Court, wages

would be reduced. "To encourage the others," a company union, the Non-Political Union, had been set up. (B.H.P. and B.H.P. South were the only two companies to use this provocative tactic). Promptly the A.M.A., advised on the spot by Tom Mann, the ablest leader Australian Labor ever had, called out its men, and on October 20 this notice appeared on the windows of the closed office of the Non-Political Union:—

This office is closed. R.I.P.

The executive officers of the N.P.U., followed by a thousand of their members, were received into the A.M.A. ranks. Fifty police were sent up from Sydney on November 1. The Mayor and chairman of the Chamber of Commerce at Broken Hill protested. G. D. Delpratt, B.H.P. general manager, denied that he had asked for extra police, and the local police superintendent said their presence was unnecessary in his law-abiding district; but the police remained, while Griffith, Labor M.L.A. for Broken Hill, was suspended after he had protested in the House in Sydney. On November 5 (that grim anniversary again) the entire Labor Party walked out of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in protest against this governmental provocation, and next day the Melbourne Trades Hall Council condemned the government's "wanton exhibition of brutal capitalistic power, calculated to provoke and not preserve the public peace." The mining managers and the unions' representatives met at Broken Hill

on November 11, and all the companies save B.H.P. and B.H.P. South agreed to certain wage rates and the 44-hour week. B.H.P. locked out its men after the New Year, and all that the A.M.A. could do by way of immediate retaliation was to persuade Mr. Delpratt's coachman to join the union! The union tried to picket the B.H.P. mine and hold a procession. Waiting mounted and foot police, much reinforced by several contingents from Sydney, broke up the procession and arrested 28 men, including Tom Mann.

The B.H.P. still, as in 1892, preferred this kind of strategy to arbitration, and when Mr. Justice Higgins, of the new Commonwealth Arbitration Court, offered conciliation, the Company refused, on the ground that the A.M.A. had refused to withdraw their pickets. So, in Melbourne on January 14, Higgins granted an order nisi calling on the Company to show cause why an injunction should not be granted to restrain it from doing something in the nature of a lock-out. More than 4,000 B.H.P. employees benefited, or seemed likely to benefit, by Higgins's award declared on February 12; it provided for a 48-hour week, but upheld the miners' claims in respect of wages, overtime, holidays, etc. But B.H.P. closed down in 1909, and did not reopen until 1911, and in September 1909 Mr. Justice Pring, of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, reminded the miners of the impudence of their claims, by sentencing William May

and Walter Stokes to three and two years' imprisonment respectively for riot on January 11 (when 120 police had made a provocative parade in the Broken Hill streets before any miners' demonstration). The same judge sentenced H. E. Holland, afterwards leader of the New Zealand Labor Party, to two years for sedition.

So the Company, the Court and the government had the last word that time. But the struggle went on. Trade unions in England, New Zealand and every part of Australia had raised tens of thousands of pounds in defence of the striking and locked-out workers in 1890, '91 and '92, and they raised nearly £46,000 to fight the B.H.P. in 1909. They would rally in the same way again in 1912, when every union in Brisbane called out its men in line with the tramwaymen, and in 1917, 1929-30 during the lock-out on the northern coalfields, . . . and in 1939 when the Port Kembla watersiders, with the assistance of the steelworkers of Australian Iron and Steel (B.H.P. concern) and the entire trade union movement, successfully defied a pro-fascist Commonwealth government. It is a long time since Henry Lawson wrote his Australian verses for the *Red Flag*—in 1891, when the machine guns were turned on the bushworkers of Queensland and capitalist courts used a repealed English statute of 1825 to send union leaders to gaol for years—but his verses retain their point.

So we must fly a rebel flag
As others did before us,
And we must sing a rebel song,
And join in rebel chorus.

We'll make the tyrants feel the sting
Of those that they would throttle.
They needn't say the fault is ours
If blood should stain the wattle.



This picture (also taken from a postcard) illustrates another phase of picketing in the Broken Hill industrial dispute in 1909 (described above). This was one of the class struggles in which the famous Labor leader, Tom Mann, who was responsible for the Socialist education (though not always for the subsequent careers) of so many who, like Jack Curtin, subsequently became prominent in the Labor movement, played so great a role. We have in our possession a further postcard picture illustrating another aspect of the same dispute in Broken Hill, namely, the "Tom Mann Train" of open trucks crowded with men and women, as well as another picture postcard showing (also in the same dispute) an assault on Broken Hill mine officials. We will perhaps publish these two pictures in a later issue of the "Review." Historical documents today, they must have made living propaganda in 1909.

FOOD FOR THE FOWLS

"HERE you are, mate; this is your hut. What's your name, anyway?"

"Arthur."

"Good. Mine's Bob. Although it don't matter much, seeing I'm leaving in an hour."

The new hand followed the old one into the little weatherboard hut and looked with interest at what was to be his home for the next few weeks—few months—few years—one could never tell.

"Not too bad, eh?" suggested Bob.

Not too good, either. A fireplace and flooring-boards, but no lining-boards and no ceiling. There had been a frost in the night, and beads of water hung from the tin roof.

Arthur had turned on the threshold, and was looking now across a grassed paddock to where the roof of a big house showed above a belt of trees. "That's a big joint, all right," he remarked thoughtfully.

Bob had seated himself on the edge of the bunk to change his work boots for the ones he was going away in. "Yes, it's big. They're lousy with money."

"What are they like to work for?"

"What are they all like to work for! You'll put up a record if you stop six months."

"Who are they? Where do they get their dough?"

"What? Don't you know? They're the Jacksons, of Bullitt and Jackson, manufacturing grocers."

Arthur nodded comprehendingly and began to roll a cigarette.

"Ever take on one of these jobs before?" asked Bob.

"Handyman? No. I'm a panel-beater, but there's been nothing doing for a couple of years now. I've done two weeks' pick and shovel in the last three months, that's all."

"You'll find it tough slugging here at first. You're everybody's lackey when they're up from town. Still, as long as a bloke's single he can please himself. I never took too much lip from them."

The new hand did no reply, and Bob gave him a shrewd glance.

"You are single, aren't you?"

Arthur nodded casually. Then, changing his mind, he gave an exasperated gesture. "No, damn it! I'm married. But you needn't—"

"Don't worry about me, son! I'll be off the place for keeps soon. And, anyway—"

"That's all right. I'm not worried. I had to tell them I was single to get the job. The wife's out working. She had to."

Arthur's eyes were fixed vindictively on the red roof beyond the trees.

"What about your home?" pursued Bob.

"Sold up. And spent feeding us the last few months."

"Any kids?"

"No—not now."

"You mean—"

"Yes. We had one. A boy. He

died. Two years old. Lack of nourishment. The doctor wrote bronchitis on the certificate, but he said if the kid had been properly fed—where the hell were we to get milk and eggs from? I wasn't working."

Bob nodded and stood up. "You'll be pouring good milk down the dilly here. Two cows milking all the year round, and when the family's in town there's only three of a staff to use it. Come on; I'll show you round. We'll go up to the chooks and feed-shed first."

Together the two men left the hut and followed a path across the paddock to a group of solidly-constructed outbuildings.

"They keep good stock here," explained Bob. "If you want to know anything ask old Andy the gardener. He knows the ropes. They're fussy about the chooks. Rhode Island Reds and Black Orpingtons. They put them up every year at the Melbourne Show."

Arthur's mind was on something else. "Do they come up often?"

"Who? The family? About three times a year. Christmas, Easter and September school holidays. Here we are. This is the feed-shed."

Bob flung open the door of a hut about the same size as the one to which he had introduced the new man as living quarters. This one, however, was lined throughout. "All the feed's kept in here. That's chaff over there, and bran and pollard. And that lot's oats. They keep a couple of riding hacks. Andy'll tell you what to give them. Depends on what the grass is like. Know any-

thing about chooks?"

"A bit. I used to keep a few for a hobby. Not prize stock, though."

"There isn't much difference in feeding. Mash in the morning and corn at night. Andy'll put you up to any points. His missus generally has some stuff boiled up for them in the morning. You just bring it up here and stir in the pollard. And look—see this box?—these tins?"

"Yes."

Bob had thrown back the lid of a packing-case, revealing rows of closely-packed tins.

"This is some stuff they brought up from the warehouse in town. Some patent baby-food that got out of date. You mix half a tin in with the chooks' feed every morning."

The new man had picked up one of the tins and was reading the label.

FOR CHILDREN BETWEEN THE AGES OF TWO AND TEN. A HIGHLY-CONCENTRATED FOOD, SPECIALLY PREPARED BY BULLITT AND JACKSON OF MELBOURNE. DO NOT USE AFTER DATE PRINTED ON LID.

"No wonder they're good chooks, eh?" grinned Bob.

Arthur's face had turned white. "So this is what you meant when you said it had got out of date?"

"That's it. It don't keep for ever. All right for chooks, though!"

Deliberately, the new man tilted the tin so that the lid was uppermost. JULY, 1931.

"And that's the month my kid died! . . ."

—"GORDON"

THE SOVIET PEOPLE

J. D. Blake



III.—New Life For Young Generation

NO country in the world has anything which can compare with the wonderful vista of progress and happiness which has now opened out before the eyes of the young generation of Soviet citizens.

The abolition of unemployment in itself introduces a fundamental change in the outlook of the Soviet youth; but the conception of unemployment is only a distant memory in the minds of the Soviet youth.

With these young people the question is no longer the problem of trying to secure some kind of employment; they are now able to give careful thought to planning what

vocation in life they will follow. What is most important is that they have the opportunity to pursue their life ambition and the educational facilities to equip themselves to take their chosen path in life.

In what country can the youth boast of such perspectives? In capitalist countries it is difficult enough to secure any kind of employment to provide bread and butter, let alone the practical realisation of youthful dreams and aspirations.

In the Soviet Union the great mass of young people secure the finest education obtainable, and as a general rule they continue their

education at least up to the age of eighteen years.

The enormous educational facilities which the Soviet regime has provided for children and youth are evident in the fact that, while in tsarist Russia in 1914 about seven million students were in all schools, in 1937 the number of students in primary and secondary schools alone was approaching the thirty million mark.

In the third five-year plan, which will be completed in 1942, it is planned that the number of students in all Soviet schools will reach forty millions. From these huge figures it can be readily understood that the Soviet government is providing the practical facilities for realising one of the fundamental aims of the third five-year plan which is:

"A substantial advance in realising the historic task of raising the cultural level of the working class of the U.S.S.R. to that of engineers and technicians."

Nowhere else in the world do the masses of the people enjoy such facilities for education as those enjoyed by tens of millions of the young generation in the Soviet Union.

In Australia the small group of young people who are able to secure some form of higher education have no guarantee at all that they will be able to secure employment in the sphere of life for which they have been educated.

To give an extreme example. I know one young man who recently graduated from the Melbourne University with a Master of Arts de-

gree who now earns three shillings and sixpence per day distributing handbills.

Such wastage of education and stifling of the creative powers of the youth are entirely unknown in the Soviet Union where the youth are not only provided with an excellent education but after completing their education they have ample scope to fulfil all their youthful hopes and ambitions in the sphere of life for which they have been educated.

When the young Soviet student graduates and receives his degree from a higher technical college or university he has no need to think of going out to hunt employment. Such graduates always receive on graduation day, together with their degrees, a bundle of letters from various enterprises offering positions at high salaries in the kind of occupation for which the graduate has been prepared by his education.

I personally knew one young student who graduated as an electrical engineer who in the week before he got his degree received no less than twelve offers of lucrative employment at his profession from a dozen different enterprises.

Another interesting example of the scope which opens out before the Soviet youth was revealed to me by the experience of a young woman whom I met in Moscow during my recent stay in the Soviet Union. As a young girl she had contracted tuberculosis during the difficult years following the war of intervention; she had been treated and finally cured in one of the

splendid sanatoriums in the Caucasus.

Before she left the sanatorium the medical superintendent suggested to her that in considering what occupation she would take up preference should be given to an open-air occupation in order to strengthen her lungs and prevent any recurrence of the disease.

After further discussions this young girl decided to take up scientific fruit-growing and promptly entered an institute of agricultural science where she studied for four years, during which time she was maintained by a comfortable monthly stipend provided by the Soviet State.

At the time I met this girl in Moscow she had just received her diploma and a railway ticket to the Urals where a position on a scientific experimental station for fruit growing awaited her. This experimental station is working on the problem of adapting various fruits to the climatic conditions of the Ural mountains as part of the planned extension of fruit-growing areas to all parts of the U.S.S.R.

In this way the girl had been given the education and the opportunity to take part in most interesting and creative work in an open air occupation in climatic conditions best suited to prevent any recurrence of her old lung trouble.

In what other country can the youth boast of such facilities and such opportunities as this?

Economically the Soviet youth have infinitely greater prospects than the young people in other

countries; but in the sphere of democracy and culture as well they lead the whole world.

Soviet youth attain their full citizenship rights at the age of eighteen years, which means that they have the right to elect or be elected to the highest governing bodies in the land.

During the first election to the supreme Soviet parliament I witnessed how enthusiastically, and with what a great sense of responsibility, the young Soviet first voters went along to record their votes. Thousands of them were waiting at the polling booths long before six o'clock in the morning when voting commenced.

Two young Soviet citizens of nineteen years of age were elected as deputies to the supreme Soviet parliament, while a number of other elected deputies were just over that age, as, for example, the young worker from the Moscow underground railway, Tatiana Fedorovna, who was twenty-two years of age at the time of her election.

In the fields of science, art and culture, the Soviet youth are well to the fore; take, for example, the twenty-eight year-old scientist, P. P. Shirshov, who is a professor in botany and hydro-biology, and has just been elected as a member of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R.

Shirshov has become famous as a result of his scientific work in the Arctic; he was one of the four Papaninites who spent nine months on a drifting ice-floe at the North Pole a year ago. Together with

the other three he secured more scientific data in polar conditions than all previous expeditions put together.

Another example of a youthful scientist is the twenty-nine year-old professor of higher mathematics, S. L. Sobolev, who at the age of twenty-four was the youngest corresponding member of the Academy of Science. Although still under thirty he has already produced twenty-nine scientific works on higher mathematics; he was elected a deputy to the supreme Soviet, and he is now a full member of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R.

The young composer Shostakovitch, although still under thirty has produced five symphonies and a number of other important musical compositions. Gillels, an accomplished young Soviet pianist, won the international contest at Brussels a year ago when he was only twenty-two years of age.

All over that great land the great facilities provided for the youth by the Soviet State are leading to a blossoming of young genius in all fields of science, art and culture.

For mass sports facilities one must also go to the Soviet Union as the country which occupies first place in the world in this regard.

There are twelve million athletes in various Soviet sports organisations and six million of these possess the sports badge which is presented after a high standard test in running, jumping, swimming, ski-ing, shooting, cycling and grenade throwing.

This is an indication of the all-round accomplishments of the young Soviet athletes.

The correspondent of a British daily newspaper recently admitted that in many forms of athletics the Soviet youth have already equalled and surpassed world class, and that if Russian swimmers and weightlifters entered international contests they would win half the world championships. One-third of the huge number of Soviet athletes are women.

The best Soviet soccer teams are of international class, and tennis, which is played all over the U.S.S.R., is now at a very high standard. The care and attention given to the development of sport by the Soviet government is revealed by the fact that sporting academies have been established in all large centres which turn out yearly fifteen thousand instructors to give training in all sports.

A large number of practical, beautiful and clean stadiums and gymnasiums have been established; the new Stalin Stadium being built in Moscow will be larger than the Berlin Olympic Stadium because it will have seating for 108,000 and standing accommodation for a similar number; the arena is big enough to enable forty thousand athletes to give mass displays.

Soviet youth not only receive everything from the Soviet State, they also make tremendous contributions to the great work of building a new socialist society. No less than seven million Soviet workers

are under the age of twenty-three years, and the great mass of these young workers have attained a high level of skill.

An example of such skill is to be seen in Dusya Vinogradova, a young textile weaver at the Ivanova mills who initiated the Stakhanov movement in that industry and holds the world record for productivity on the loom. She has been decorated with the Order of Lenin, and was elected to the Supreme Soviet.

An epic of construction was carried out by the Soviet youth in the founding of the city of Komsomolsk on the banks of the Amur river in Far Eastern Siberia. During this construction work thousands of young Soviet citizens went to the Far East, and more than sixty thousand young girls applied to be sent to the East in one year.

The work was difficult, and wreckers and Japanese spies had to be contended with; yet in a few short years these young people cre-

ated, where formerly there was only virgin forest, a new city with shipyards, foundries, canning factories, sports grounds, theatres and cinemas.

This new city now has a population of more than one hundred thousand and is justly named after the Young Communist League, for it was built entirely by youth.

The famous Stalingrad tractor plant was built by seven thousand Soviet youth. Ten thousand young Communists built the Moscow underground railway which is famed as the finest of its kind in the world both in engineering and beauty.

Socialism has created a new generation of young people who have an enormous prospect before them, and who are actively building a new and happy life for themselves.

The youth of Australia can open out similar glorious prospects for themselves by taking the path to socialism which the Soviet people have pioneered.

(Concluded.)



MILESTONES IN HISTORY

The Shearers Organise

THE development of unionism in the scattered shearing industry is one of the most colorful chapters in Australian history, and a source of considerable wonder among students of sociology. How was it that the leadership in a trades union movement could be taken by casual, intermittent, contract bush workers?

Henry Lawson has immortalised these men who bridged the isolation of distances in Australia's wide spaces by a new type of mateship. Tom Collins has revealed the underlying philosophy running through their thoughts and conduct, and in our generation Brian Penton has depicted their struggles against the rapacious squatters.

It was the grasping proclivities of the Australian "squattocracy" which developed the mateship of the shearers and other bush workers into industrial solidarity. These men whom it was considered would never effectively organise, became Australia's most militant trades unionists.

Organisation began as an attempt to introduce some uniformity and improvement in conditions imposed by the squatters in the agreements which the shearers were called upon to sign before obtaining a "pen" at a station—and to prevent the whittling down of the conditions agreed upon.

As an individual, the shearer was at his temporary employer's mercy.

Accommodation provided was often inferior to that used by the station dogs. Insanitary and otherwise objectionable conditions were the rule rather than the exception.

The "last straw" came at the opening of the 1886 shearing season, when many pastoralists combined to establish a uniform reduction in the travelling rate. A number of miners in Victoria, who were in the habit of shearing sheep during the season, it is said, first took the initiative in forming a union strong enough to make its presence felt, the date being regarded as June 13, 1886. Organisers were sent out, and within a year no less than 9,000 were enrolled.

Strike action was adopted to enforce a standard agreement throughout the industry, and unionism advanced with astonishing rapidity as the shearers realised what could be gained by collective action.

In 1887, 500 sheds "shore union" under vastly improved conditions, and in that year the Australian Shearers' Union boasted a membership of 16,000 members. In 1889, no less than 240 sheds in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia worked under union agreement. Shearing rates stood at £1 per hundred.

Unionism was built and consolidated, and improvements in conditions gained by consistent militant industrial activity—such is the lesson of the early history of the shearers' organisation. During the first three years of its existence, it is on record, the Australian Shearers' Union had 3,180 strikes. How the A.S.U., later the A.W.U., developed into a classic example of a class collaborationist union is another story—and another extraordinary one.



From "Low Again," The Cresset Press, London, 1938.

IT ISN'T POSSIBLE!

Betty Roland

(Radio sketch on subject of strike at Dunlop Perdriau's)

Voices required:

THREE GIRL STRIKERS.

TIME-STUDY MAN.

VOICE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Open up with all voices speaking in unison. Then each of the three girls take up a line, creating, as much as possible, an atmosphere of strain and unbearable speed. Then the harsh voice of the "time-study" man breaks in, driving them on to still further efforts. The Voice of Public Opinion is unpleasant and uncultured, revealing ignorance and dogmatism. Keep the rhythm fast and the voices urgent.

ALL: Faster! Faster! FASTER! FASTER!

Girls: Go on, girls, keep up the pace. No slacking here. No time to look around. No time to straighten tired limbs. No time to lift your eyes from the machines. No time to wipe away the sweat that trickles out from underneath your hair. No time for anything but WORK!

Time) Speed up! Speed up! Look lively there. This isn't any rest home. Study) What yer coming at? You got a headache? You work faster, girl, Man) you won't have time to think of things like that. You want a drink? Gawd strike me pink, wot next? This isn't Bondi Beach. You aren't feeling well? Well, wot's that got to do with me? This isn't any private hospital!

Girls: Too right it's not! We're not forgetting that. IT'S DUNLOP PERDRIAU'S!

1st G. (speaking bitterly): Dunlop Perdriau's, the place where motor tyres come from. Nice round, rubber tyres that take you smoothly where you want to go. That take you on vacations, to the theatre, back and forwards to the office, go round and round and take delivery waggons to your door. Oh yes, life gets made quite a lot more pleasant by the motor tyres from Dunlop Perdriau's.

2nd G.: And raincoats, bathing caps and rubber balls, golf balls, tennis balls and pretty colored floats to ride the surf with. Matting for your floors, the hoses in your garden. You pick lots of pretty flowers with the help of Dunlop Perdriau's.

3rd G.: And rubber mats and rubber cushions in your furniture, and mattresses. Lots of people sit much softer on account of Dunlop Per-driau's.

Girls: *AND RUBBER SOLES FOR YOUR SHOES.*

1st G.: That's right. Your shoes. We want to talk to you about your shoes.

2nd G.: That's what we're here for.

3rd G.: We're the ones who helped to make your shoes.

Girls: *We want to talk to you about your shoes.*

Voice: Well, wot about me shoes? Wot's wrong with them?

1st G.: There's nothing wrong with them. They're good. We'd hear all about that if they weren't.

Voice: Then, wotcher coming at?

Girls: We want to talk to you about your shoes!

Voice: Ah—garn! I been readin' all about yer. Out on strike, aren't yer?

Draggin' all the others into it. Why can't yer leave 'em alone?

That's the worst of all you strikers. Always makin' other people suffer for the things that don't concern 'em. You make me sick!

Girls: Say, listen here!

2nd G.: What's the matter with you?

3rd G.: Haven't you had to work for your living?

Voice: Too right I have!

1st G.: But *work!* What kind of work? Have you ever had to work like we do?

2nd G.: Have you ever worked in a great, big, modern factory?

3rd G.: Do you know what it means to sit at a machine, day in, day out, and work so hard, so fast, you haven't got the time to speak a word to anyone?

1st G.: To raise your eyes from the machine?

2nd G.: To look at anything . . .

3rd G.: To think of anything . . .

Girls: But *work, WORK, WORK!*

1st G.: Work as you never worked before.

2nd G.: Work till your senses swim.

3rd G.: Work till you're dazed and dizzy and your head goes round like a machine!

Voice: Aw, wot yer givin' us? You can't kid me that things are as bad as that. It wouldn't be allowed.

1st G.: Don't make me laugh! Look, I'm a seamer. I sew up the backs of shoes. Three thousand pairs a day. Get that? Three thousand pairs!

Voice: Three thousand! Why, it isn't possible.

1st G.: Oh, isn't it? I guess I ought to know. I've been at it for seven years. Three thousand pairs a day for seven years. How many

pairs is that? There's only two of us. Two girls to sew up six thousand pairs of shoes a day.

Girls: And that's what we call *WORK!*

Voice: I dunno how you stick at it.

2nd G.: And I'm a braider. Worst job of the lot, they say it is. It's tricky, takes a lot of doing, so I'm not so fast. The most that I can do is seven to eight hundred pairs. How would you like to sew the braid round seven or eight hundred pairs of shoes a day?

3rd G.: We've given everything we've got, we've worked flat out, but still they're asking more. It isn't *possible* to speed up any more.

Girls: It isn't *possible!* It simply *isn't possible!*

1st G.: I can't do any more. Three thousand pairs a day. They're asking me to do over a hundred pairs more and take less pay. I can't do any more. I simply can't.

Girls: *It isn't possible!*

Voice: But what's the matter with them? Ain't they human? How can they expect more work than that?

2nd G.: They tell us that it can be done. It has been done. They say they've checked up on our movements and we're wasting time.

Voice: Gor blimey!

3rd G.: There's a man who stands behind us all the time. He's known as the "time study man." He's got a watch, a split-second watch. He times you as you work. How long do you take to grab a shoe, how long do you take to fit it into place, how long do you take to zip it under the machine.

1st G.: How long can you work before your pace gets less. How much time do you lose at the end of a shift when you're tired and your hands, and your eyes, and your feet won't move as fast as they did when you were fresh.

2nd G.: Gee, he's a shrewdy, he is. Sometimes says to have a rest, to take five minutes off. I thought that I was hearing things, first time. Then I woke up. It wasn't that his tender heart was touched, he only wanted to find out how many pairs I did when I began again.

3rd G.: There isn't anything about the game he doesn't know. He told me once that I had lost 2½ hours working time in wasted movements.

Voice: Cripes, he must be balmy!

1st G.: Not him! He knows his job. He's there to see they get the last ounce out of us—and they've got it.

2nd G.: I'll say they have! I can't work any faster. Seven hundred and sixty pairs a day, I do. They're asking 924 small pairs or 859 of large.

Girls: It isn't possible. We're telling them it isn't possible!

3rd G.: Three thousand pairs a day—and that's the lot. Three thousand one hundred and ten they want—for lower pay.
 Girls: It isn't possible. Why can't they understand it isn't possible?
 1st G.: We aren't asking anything but just to be allowed to go on as we were. I'll do three thousand pairs for them. I can't do any more.
 2nd G.: We've given everything we've got.
 3rd G.: They aren't satisfied with that, they're asking more.
 Girls: IT ISN'T POSSIBLE! IT SIMPLY ISN'T POSSIBLE!

SPAIN, 1939

*Guns no longer roar.
 They have become a sullen muttering.
 Men weep with rage. Some tremble.
 The Companies march, the sweat-drops carry an acid-hate,
 Tears, and sweat, burn holes in the muddied snow.*

*Defeat, some say.
 NO! A turn in a long-drawn battle,
 Our fight has raged a many hundred years.
 Let our battle-colors stream in the wind!
 Valmy, Paris, Petrograd, Dublin, Madrid.
 These holy names mean strife, not gain, nor loss.*

*We'll rest awhile, break bread, kiss,
 Take children on our knee,
 Teaching them new, wise things,
 To shun the evil of men.
 Greed, Lust, Lies, and all the foulness of the rich.*

*The faint smoke-rings of Time rise spiral-wise,
 And tired men will once again glimpse Freedom's beauty.
 Will snap their chains.
 Adding a new, brave trouble to their troubled lives.*

*And they will learn policies,
 War, Stratagems, Attacks, flags blazing in their van.
 The Tyrants' stomachs will be filled with the water of Fear,
 Drink, and eat well, thou lechers!
 We'll march to your burial,
 Thou foul, full-bellied corpses!*

—P. DREW.

PAGES FROM THE PAST

By J. N. Rawling



A series of documents illustrating Australia's Social and Economic History, with special reference to the working-class movement and the struggle for democracy. Edited with introductions by J. N. R.

Period II.— Free Colony and Self-Government, 1823–1856 (Continued)

3—POLITICAL FERMENT (Continued)

THE STRIKE OF 1829

Below follows the continuation of the announcement contained in the one-sheet issue of W. C. Wentworth's paper *The Australian* of December 2, 1829:

The disturbing any settled rate of Wages never fails to produce perplexity and discontent between master and servant, or employer and workman. Thus the mischievous innovations lately made on the value of the local currency, upon which all wages in the Colony were modelled and established, have given to the operative system—a wrench, which the sagacious Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce passed on Monday last, have not as yet healed up. No sooner did the operative find the dollar, which constituted part of his Saturday night's wages for the week, depreciated from the ordinary, but nominal 5/- currency to 4/2 sterling, but that he could obtain no more goods or provisions now for 4/2 sterling than he did before for 5/10 currency, owing to the prices of commodities keeping no sort of pace in general with

the nominal alteration in the value of money—than he became discontented—demanded to be paid his wages in the proportion of 5/- sterling, for every 4/4 or 4/2 sterling, which he was accustomed to be paid before—thus actually demanding an advance of 15/- or 17 per cent.—and when refused this advance, struck work, and left his employer suddenly, without a hand to carry on the necessary work! Thus has the publisher of *The Australian* been situated within the past week and the present. Was he then to comply with the demands of his workmen, and by raising their already high rate of wages virtually 17½ per cent., set a precedent to other operatives, and so injure all other employers? Or, was he to assert a public right, resist the demand, appeal to the police authorities, as he has done (but with very little effect, as will be ex-

plained when needful), cease from publishing, as customary, and so serve the interests of all Employers throughout the Colony, though *not* his own? Who will hesitate to determine which of these two, a writer enlisted upon the side of public equity should choose? with any regard to honor and principle in view,—the latter was the only course. Therefore does the Editor of *The Australian* entertain the fullest confidence that the present sheet of Advertisements will not alone meet with excuse from, but that the example thus set will meet the approbation of every disinterested person in the Colony.

He pledges himself to make amends, however, for the present omission, for which no charge to Subscribers will be insisted on, by publishing *The Australian* as usual on Friday next.

THE COMPOSITORS' STRIKE OF 1840

The "Gazette" and the Chain Gang

To our Subscribers.—We had designed to have given a supplement with this day's issue, but have been prevented from so doing by the absence of two of our compositors, who have probably abstained from working in order to celebrate the 52nd anniversary of the foundation of the Colony. The pranks of these misguided men will eventuate in their own confusion, and so they will find. Apprentices will be taken in sufficient numbers to swamp the combinatorians who seek to establish an iron despotism over their em-

ployers. The conduct pursued by the men in the *Herald Office*, an account of which we copy from that journal, sufficiently indicates the animus of these irresponsible legislators. In stealing the MS copy they have committed an act of felony; in distributing the matter composed they have committed a grave misdemeanor. We hope our contemporary will be able to detect the offenders, and if he does, that he will prosecute them as the law directs. Much praise is due to the Government for the promptitude with

which it has acceded to the request to call in the printers now in assigned service to enable the contractors for Government printing to fulfil their contracts, without detriment to their private business. We

trust the Chartist leader of the Sydney compositors, and one or two more whom we could name may yet enjoy the blessings of a chain gang.

—Sydney Gazette, 28/1/1840.

THE HERALD "DISSIDED"!

The following is the statement from the *Herald* to which the *Gazette* referred. The Compositors of 1840 evidently believed in direct action: "dissing" the type already set and taking away the "copy" so that it could not be set again.

Compositors.—A statement having been published by the Society of Compositors wherein they have attempted to justify a combination against the masters, we deem it necessary to state, that we have suffered much inconvenience and very serious loss from the scarcity of compositors. There is a standing order in this establishment to engage at the current rate of wages, every steady journeyman that applies for work. This paucity of workmen induced us to send to England, where there are hundreds of steady deserving men out of employ, rather than take apprentices: the Society, however, appear to have counteracted our good intentions. These repeated annoyances, combined with the losses sustained by refusing work, and circumscribing our business, for the want of the mechanical means to perform it, have at length compelled us to take a number of apprentices, and also to teach a number of young men. We have also found it necessary to lay these circumstances before the Government, and suggested the propriety of assigning compositors for the performance of the public printing.

For the information of the Operative Society in England, we subjoin a statement of the amounts paid to some of the compositors in our office during the last few weeks; and also add their names, that Printers may know a few of the short-sighted men who by unjust combinations against the masters have caused the ruin of the mechanical branch of the printing business:—

[We had compiled from the wages bills the amounts paid to the following eight compositors, since the 3rd. August last, but during the night of Friday, or early Saturday morning, the paragraph was distributed, and the wages bills STOLEN from our Office. Fortunately one memorandum escaped the notice of the thief, from which we are able to give the averages. Henry Nicholson, received in 23 weeks, the sum of £79/19/2; or £3/17/- per week; John M. Kelly, Edwin Wileman, John Chubbok, John Shepherd, John Harrison, T. W. Tucker, and — Gray received during the time they were in our employ, in the same proportion. The total average of the above eight compositors' wages from the 3rd. August 1839 to the 18th. January, 1840, was £3/8/- per week !!!]

We offered these men permanent employ at their present wages, which they rejected, unless we submitted to their dictation respecting the number of apprentices to be

taken by the masters. Under these circumstances we publish their names; and as the combination extends throughout the trade, we recommend every master printer to follow our example. At the same time we call upon the better disposed members of the business to

second the masters in their endeavours to improve the trade generally, and by uniting heartily with them, increase the demand for their labour, by increasing the facilities for its performance.

—Sydney Herald.

A WARNING

Employers were more open in their vindictiveness a hundred years ago than they are today, as witness the following:

PIONEERS OF UNIONISM

All honor to the memory of Jack Paterson and also of Jasper Ebenezer and George Scott of the following piece of vindictiveness and to their fellow-unionists of the Compositors' Society, those pioneers of unionism who were prepared to face so many odds in the struggle for better conditions!

Caution to Compositors.—A person named Jack Paterson, a compositor, and one of the oldest hands in the colony, was brought up in the Police Court the other day charged by his employers with having absented himself from his hired service. He said in his defence that he had sore eyes, but did not require medical advice as he had a mixture of his own at home. Captain Innes quietly replied—"no doubt"; and without further to do, sentenced him to 14 days hard labour in the house of correction.

—Sydney Gazette, Jan. 30, 1840.

COMPOSITORS

We have much pleasure in stating that two worthless fellows belonging to this office have been sentenced each to two months' imprisonment, with hard labor, for absenting themselves from their work without leave. We think it right to publish their names, in order that the trade at home may know

what degree of confidence is to be placed in statements coming from the Compositors' Society of New South Wales; Jasper Ebenezer is one, and George Scott, the other. One of these individuals has earned, and might still be earning rather more than £3 per week; but these are the men who are to frame laws for the government of their masters. We are fully aware that there are connected with the Compositors' Society, upright, honest, sober, and respectable men, who would as individuals spurn the acquaintance and association of such worthless rascals; we regret that they do not see the inconsistency of combining with disreputable men in a public manner, whose society they would, as we have said, spurn in their private capacity.

We believe we are correct in stating that there are eight Compositors, out of employ, who left the *Herald* Office the week before last, in pursuance of the rules of

the Compositors' Society; and if we remember rightly there are two other compositors besides Messrs. Scott and Ebenezer undergoing similar sentences with them for similar offences. We have much pleasure also in informing Master Printers, that by this time next year, an addition will be made to the number of Compositors by the arrival of some 15 or 20 respectable young men from Scotland, who have been specially written to by a gentleman who was formerly a bookseller and publisher himself of some eminence, and is now a settler in New South Wales. This gentleman, aware of the destitute condition of many hundred operative printers in his own country, has in pity to them, made himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of the printing business of this Colony, and written to them to lose no time in coming hither. Let not the well-behaved and respectable men connected with

the various printing offices in Sydney, imagine that we are their enemies; far from it, we wish to be their friends, and to support their lawful interests as far as we can. We are perfectly aware of our mutual dependence upon each other; we acknowledge there are mutual obligations subsisting; we are anxious to fulfil our own, and as far as the law will enable us, we are determined to compel the refractory to discharge theirs.

We believe we may fearlessly assert, that there is not an instance on record within the last seven years, of a sober, attentive, respectable compositor being out of constant employment. We have been at some pains to acquire information on this subject, and we believe upon investigation our assertion will be found to be strictly correct.

—Sydney Gazette (Editorial),

4/2/1840.

BOLSHEVIKS OF A CENTURY AGO

A century ago, Robert Owen filled a position in the estimation of his bourgeois contemporaries similar to that occupied by Lenin and Trotsky in 1918. The editor of the reactionary "Sydney Gazette," in his issue of February 4, 1840, made a vicious attack on Owen—"the infamous Owen—the quasi Philanthropist—the amiable Socialist." He spoke of the "licentious principles of this arch-fiend." He attacked Queen Victoria for having received Owen at court. "All who entertain Owen's opinions are monsters," he declared, and "the law of the land ought to banish from civilised society every wretch who dares to espouse such principles." In reply to the Editor's attack the following dignified letter was sent to the "Gazette" and published in that paper.

DEFENCE OF ROBERT OWEN

In the Sydney Gazette of February 4, 1840, appeared the following letter.

To the Editor of the *Sydney Gazette*.

Sir,—In your number of Tuesday last, you have thought proper to style Robert Owen, the "monster Owen, the founder of the licentious social system." Be it

known to you that Owen, the philanthropist, has some years since been received by all the crowned heads in Europe, and sovereigns in America, to whom he has presented a copy of his system for the conduct of society; and what was the

answer do you think, from all these sovereigns? Why, that his system was a very good one, but they could not see how it could be carried out. Now, Sir, a part of Robert Owen's system is, the training of infants. I presume that our Infant Schools will do much good, but I should be glad to see Robert Owen's own plan adopted instead of the present one.

Why you should call him "monster," I am at a loss to conjecture, unless it be that you never knew him, and were too great a bigot to hold conference with one called an infidel. His greatest enemies never dared to say so much of him as you have done; they one and all have acknowledged him to be a philanthropist and an enthusiast.

I, Sir, have personally known him for three years in London, and was a member of his Social System. I took great pleasure in calling him father,* for he was more than father to many of us.

You may form in your own mind, the feelings (if you are not void of that sense) of the writer, who having passed three years in constant attendance on Robert Owen, to see him branded with the title

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

[Gold was discovered in 1851—to the chagrin of the squatters who saw their laborers desert them. But Dr. Lang welcomed the gold discoveries. They would bring more population and strengthen Australian democracy against the local and overseas autocracy. Consider the broad humanity and fervent patriotism of his Address to the Diggers, thousands of whom flocked to hear him as he spoke to them from under a tree—the biggest hall being too small to hold them.]

To the Scotch and North of Ireland Presbyterians, and to the Protestants generally, at the Gold Mines of Australia.

Fellow Countrymen and Christian Friends,—The allwise and beneficent Creator has been pleased, in

"monster," and his Social System "licentious."

Until you know more of Robert Owen, abstain from epithets, which reflect no credit on you, nor disgrace to him. His disciples have too much charity to blame you for your writing so of him, being certain you act only from an opinion gathered from what others have said of him. That man who attempts any innovation is sure to meet with opposition from those whose interest it is to let the world go on as it does. This slander is but in keeping with the heaps which have been lavished on him; but Robert Owen and his Social System are above them all, which is well known to all those who know him and his system; and those who thus slander him, know neither him nor his system, but are content with the adage "give a man a bad name, and society will shun him."

Robert Owen's system is full of charity and I would recommend you to have a little more of that virtue before you call harsh names.

I am, Sir,

Jan. 30.

An Owenite.

His good providence, to disclose to the inhabitants, and through them to the whole civilised world, the ex-

istence of an extensive auriferous region or gold-field, in this portion of our western interior; and, as might naturally be expected, daily-increasing multitudes of persons of all classes have been attracted to the spot. Now, as God does nothing in vain, but has uniformly high and holy ends in all His works and ways, we are bound to conclude that the gold which has thus been mixed up in such large quantities with the soil of our land, has been so placed that it might be searched for, and turned to account for the purposes of man. We cannot, therefore, allow ourselves to suppose that there can be anything inherently evil in the mere search for gold, or essentially demoralising in the processes which that search implies. On the contrary, we can only regard it as a matter to be decided by every intelligent man for himself, whether he shall remain in the occupation he has hitherto pursued, or betake himself to this new branch of industry which the good providence of God has opened up in our land. There is no credit to be assumed by the man who, in the exercise of common prudence, remains in the pursuit or occupation to which he has been accustomed, because he believes it to be to his interest to do so: there is no blame to be attached to the man who, for precisely the same reason, abandons his former employment and betakes himself to the mines.

That in other countries and ages the search for gold has served to call forth into frightful exhibition the worst passions of our nature, and

led to the perpetration of crimes and cruelties, from the bare recital of which humanity recoils, cannot be denied; [but, Dr. Lang points out, the circumstances in Australia are different, and, therefore] we are warranted to cherish the hope that the search for gold in Australia will continue to be pursued as quietly and peacefully as any other description of honest industry, and that no such scenes will be enacted here as have entailed an immortality of infamy upon the Spaniards of Mexico and Peru, or been exhibited in a modified form even in California.

Certain parties have all along, indeed, been raising a hue and cry about the necessity for increased protection for person and property in these regions; anticipating all manner of outrage, of violence and crime among the laborers at the mines. Such persons seem to regard their fellow-men, if at all of a humbler class in society than themselves, as "natural brute beasts," who understand no argument but that of force, and who are only to be treated like sheep and cattle. Perhaps, however, they are merely desirous that the Local Government may have some excuse for creating additional and unnecessary offices for themselves or their friends at the public expense. I confess, however, I have much greater confidence in the influence of a few Christian men for the preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of order in a mixed community, than in any number of bayonets or batons. . . .

Your adopted country also expects

you to do your duty to her in the peculiar circumstances in which you are placed. Be assured that Australia will soon date her existence, as a great nation—second, I trust, to none, in all that is calculated to exalt and enoble our common humanity—from the discovery of gold in this territory. The political significance of this wonderful discovery cannot be misunderstood; neither can its bearing on our destinies be mistaken. Within one short week from the day on which certain conspirators against the liberties of this land had left the Legislative Council, after perpetrating an act of the grossest injustice towards its people, "He who sits in the heavens and laughs" at the impotent combinations of unprincipled men, had dis-

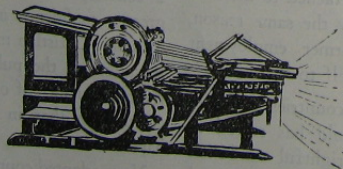
closed the existence of an extensive auriferous region in our midst, as the divinely appointed means of ensuring, not merely political liberty, but national existence and a brilliant and glorious future for Australia.** The star of our freedom then arose in the east, and multitudes will ere long come forth from our fatherland to worship the present deity. In such circumstances, our duty to our country is simply to act in all things as become the founders of a great nation, to show that we are not unworthy of the liberty we claim—that we are not unfit for the independence that awaits us. . . .

—John Dunmore Lang, D.D.,
Moderator of the Synod of N.S.W.
Sofala, Turon River,
October 5, 1851.

[* The Editor had a particularly vicious comment on this statement by "Owenite." He said: "The writer, with many others, may have done so with perfect truth for aught we know: the scoundrel Roe qualified himself to be called father by many, for he was to a degree somewhat social in his habits."]

[**Dr. Lang's Note: "The Legislative Council of the period had passed an Electoral Act by which a large proportion of the colonists were virtually disfranchised. It was prorogued with a view to its dissolution on the 3rd of May, 1851: the gold discovery was announced in Sydney on the 6th.—Our hane and antidote were thus both before us within the course of one short week."]

(Continued next issue)



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We have opened a "Letter to the Editor" section in the "Communist Review" and invite our readers to give us their views on any subject of current interest.—Editor.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

FROM Sydney, S. Josephs (Peter-sham Branch of the C.P.) writes in opposition to F. W. Paterson's case for unification:—

Comrade Paterson in putting forward his case for unification has forgotten who controls the State machine, the tendency it has to continually centralise with the growth of monopolies, and that every step towards that centralisation is inevitably a step towards fascist control.

The bourgeoisie want unification to expedite fascism. According to F.W.P., the people could use unification to extend democracy. I would certainly agree with him *if* we had control of the State machine. But, if he thinks he can manoeuvre that control off them other than by smashing the whole system and putting Soviet power in its place he has another think coming. The Paris Communards learnt that.

There can be no doubt that State governments are a source of weakness and a hindrance to the combines spreading their greedy paws over this Continent. Those combines would need to be smashed so that unification would not work in

their interests and when the people are smashing combines they are storming the citadels of capitalism. The strengthening of the State parliaments with progressive elements must inevitably loosen the grip of the monopolies. Real Labor governments in Federal and State spheres would amend the Arbitration anomalies and introduce the 40-hour week. The fight for those objectives is quite possible of attainment and appears more than probable in the near future. The strengthening of the State parliaments under the same progressive control will in turn revitalise the municipal councils, thus enticing more people to participate in the governing of the country. That is extending democracy in the true sense of the word.

Unification would not be necessary to apply the six points raised by Comrade Paterson in the latter part of his article, for they could be applied to both State and Federal parliaments. Make no mistake, we will not be sidetracked into making unification a vital issue, with the dangerous reactionary home, foreign and defence policy of the bourgeoisie confronting us.

DISCUSSING constitutional reform, L. T. Barnes takes up the question whether State parliaments are a safeguard:—

Constitutional reform can be approached by the Party only from the viewpoint as to whether such reform would help safeguard the democratic rights of the worker or whether it would enable the capitalist class to more successfully prosecute their attacks upon the working class.

In discussing Mr. Scullin's proposals we must consider the failure of the Labor Party to grasp properly the class nature of the State, and therefore consider the possibility of Mr. Scullin being used as an unconscious tool of reactionary sections of the capitalist class.

The formulation of constitutions in Australia is linked with its political history. The States, still, are governed under the Australian Colonies Constitution Act of 1850. This Act gave the respective colonies power to amend themselves. This has been done several times, but never yet, except in Queensland, have the States succeeded in breaking down the dominance of the reactionary Upper Houses.

In 1850 the squatters ruled Australia. They drafted the constitutions. They drafted them in the interests of the squatters. They were the most reactionary section of the Australian people. They maintained their rule in Victoria and other colonies by establishing a Legislative Council which was elected by a narrow electorate with a more narrow

property qualification for membership.

Although the qualifications and the vote have been liberalised, the narrowness of these Councils remains. They are pillars of reaction in every State. Can we expect such bodies to be any democratic safeguard to us?

The Federal Constitution was drafted in the days when the Labor Party was marching forward; when democracy was advancing on all sides. The drafters were clever politicians. They made concessions. There were no property qualifications or franchise restrictions. One man, one vote prevailed. Even women were included. Their action forced many States to liberalise their own franchises along similar lines.

While agreeing that the Federal Constitution is basically framed to protect the interests of the capitalists, it is at least a written constitution. It cannot be violated except by the capitalists openly throwing off the mask of democracy and resorting to open force.

On the other hand, the States are able, by the Act of 1850 to constitutionally alter their own forms of government on the basis of a simple majority.

For instance, before the Federal government could abolish, say, woman franchise, it would be forced to hold a referendum. But in Victoria, this could be done quite legally if a reactionary party so desiring had a simple majority in the Lower House. (It always has such majority in the Upper House.)

The history of State Parliaments shows that in general they have been the most reactionary bodies. It further shows that the influence of the Upper House has been, in the main, responsible.

Labor has never had a majority in any elected State Upper House, but in 1910-16 it did have a majority in the Federal Senate.

It should not be forgotten that to date the main opposition to unification has come from very reactionary sections of the capitalists. It was, for instance, the most reactionary section of the Western Australian capitalists that fostered the Secession agitation.

It is doubtful if there is any real drive for unification. There is a tendency for a concentration of powers—there are legislative infringements. There is no doubt that big Melbourne interests are behind such moves. But such nibbling it totally

different to a move to abolish such handy reactionary weapons altogether.

Victoria has never had a Labor government in a majority. It never will while its franchise remains as it is. And it will not be able to alter it without a wide mass movement. So it is a post of reaction that the reaction can always depend upon. In Premiers' Conferences it can always be used to oppose any forward move. After all, even its present Country Party government wrecked the 40-hour week.

The Party should concentrate its efforts on the democratisation of State parliaments, abolition of Upper Houses, general democratising of the franchise (municipal, etc.). With these gained, the Party should vigorously resist any unification proposals. This should be the main task and our alternative to Scullin's proposals.

DEFENCE POLICY

MELBOURNE contributes another letter on defence, this time from W. Drinkwater:—

In these days of fascist brigandage and the resultant fear and hysteria engendered in the peoples of the democracies, I consider your policy of "non-co-operation" with the government-in-power's defence efforts, with all its muddle, playing right into the hands of the reactionaries.

There are two facts that have to be faced:—

1. That the beating of the war

drum will keep the present government in power; and

2. The Curtin Opposition definitely does not want office, with its responsibilities, in these strenuous times.

In admitting this I do not seek to create a defeatist outlook or to imply that any opposition to the present government be dropped—it should be intensified if possible.

The actions of the fascist powers have created hatred and fear in the majority of the people in this country, and when the Communists talk

non-co-operation with any government in building a defence force after what has happened to the badly armed peoples of Spain and Albania, it is going to be isolated from a big section of the community.

By keeping aloof from the militia and preaching non-co-operation the Communists are, to my mind, leaving themselves open to wrong impressions.

I think the last military camps taught trainees more about the inefficiency of the present government than any other medium could have done. I do not consider that because a man joins the militia or makes armaments in times like these it leaves him any more open to be used as a tool by fascist reactionaries and, of course, the Communists do not imply this; but the use of the word non-co-operation in its defence policy would make most people think otherwise.

The government foreign policy is weak, capitulatory and pro-fascist most of us will admit, but I for one have more faith in the Australian

people than to think that being well armed and with a well trained militia they will be easy prey to any fascist domination, whatever the government in power; in fact the wider the strata of the community that are drawn into military activity the more difficult I would consider it for them to be used to the detriment of our democracy. Conscript, I think, defeats its own ends unless the conscript is defending some thing very dear to him, as a conscript is more or less a rebel.

I would like to see more point made of the waste of money in the defence activities of the present government, that more aeroplanes and capital ships be procured and that profiteering be eliminated, that value be had for every penny spent on defence and the use of the words "non-co-operation with" be dropped and "criticism of" be used in its place.

I must congratulate the board on the excellent publication the "Review" has developed into from the dry theoretical journal it once was.

QUEENSLAND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

FROM Townsville, A. Robinson writes to us:—

The most favorable feature of the North Queensland municipal elections campaign that resulted in the election of the Communist candidates F. Paterson and J. Henderson, has been the unity that has been brought about between the local Laborites and the Party. This is more manifest in places other than

Townsville. In the Johnstone Shire (Innisfail), 7 out of 8 Labor candidates were elected. The Communist Party held more meetings than the Labor Party, and the Labor candidates adopted our programme *holus bolus*, because they did not have one of their own. The people generally credit the victory to us.

In the case of Townsville we conveyed our programme to the Labor

Party and they came out finally with all of it except two items directed at the government taxation policy, which are included in our State programme, but also affect local authorities, namely, main roads and hospital taxation.

The same story runs through the whole north. F. Paterson received a congratulatory wire from the Labor candidate for chairman for Cloncurry Shire, 500 miles away from Townsville.

The elections were first discussed last June and July or more than 8 months before elections were due. The plan covered the field right up to polling day. On top of this, personal check was made as far as possible, when on organising visits. For instance, Mackay had a member with a particular flair for local politics, who has for years been poking about among prominent local organisations, mostly social or charit-

able, but while a really good member, found no scope for activity. He agreed to stand, and the campaign has lifted Mackay out of the rut.

Periodic reminders were sent out to the localities as the time for the various stages of the campaign developed, until by the end of the year all centres with any semblance of initiative had begun to develop a programme.

The candidate for Port Douglas Shire has also never been on the stump before, yet his opening meeting was one of the biggest ever held in Mossman. Certainly at least double the number who turn out to a visiting party speaker on other matters.

The local organisations, now they have programmes, are committed to push for them to be carried out. There are a hundred and one channels in the localities to raise and develop support around various items.

COMMUNESE

IN support of Kevin Connolly's demand for "Overhauling Our Language" made in our last issue, R. Searle writes us the following:—

The statements of Kevin Connolly in the May issue of the "Review" demand the attention of every Party member, whether his special activity be writing and speaking, or not. Every member is a propagandist in some form or another and, as such, is prone to fire off many of the blank cartridges which Kevin Connolly suggests should be cast out of our armoury.

To use, in this case with justice, a well-worn tag, what our language requires is a thorough purge. If we are to assist in the building of the Party, if we are to attract more non-Party sympathisers and improve our contact with the workers and farmers we must

not wear the same linguistic shirt, tie and suit every day in the year.

"Sentimental considerations" as Kevin Connolly calls the tendency to take a pride in the use of the English tongue, become, too, much more than merely a gesture to our individual desires, when we wish to strengthen our bond with the intellectuals, writers and teachers. To such people, for example, nothing is more sickeningly "bourgeois" than the daily vomiting forth of this very word "bourgeois" by ill-advised comrades. Surely the meaning and significance of the word is plain, and surely, too, more convincing arguments can be advanced against, say, the inordinate amount of time devoted to the perusal of "Pop-eye" than to attempt to discountenance the practice by tying the bourgeois ribbon round its neck and considering it thereby strangled.

We all know that, in friendly dis-

cussion with non-Party people, the majority of the latter when defeated on the too many points, seek refuge in the fortress of "the average man's view at the Communists" whence they snipe at us in accordance with the prevailing public idea about the Party generally. Now we have managed to dig the grave of the Tom Glover Epshchik—he of the barbed wire coiffure and the immensely bulging pocket—but our immoderate task is to give the public no cause to think a Communist is one who speaks that strange language "Communistese."

When a similar appeal was made in the English "Communist Review" in 1929, the "Manchester Guardian" poked "superior fun at the vocabulary of the Communist International"; it suggested that if Communists tried to express

their faith in simple English they might find that there was nothing worth expressing. As Ralph Fox points out in his "Think Before Writing," this charge is to be strongly denied—"even if complicated and unintelligible phrases generally do conceal poverty of the thought, the monopoly of such writing is by no means confined to the Communist Party." Although denying the charge, however, Fox acknowledges the challenge and says that it is a criticism of too many of our press writers.

Let us not merit this charge of a regimented and monotonous vocabulary. There are many notes on our linguistic keyboard which must be struck frequently and which should stir our listeners afresh each time we strike them. But it takes a patient man to listen to five-finger exercises without hurling something at the pianist.

RETORT COURTEOUS

A response to "Overhauling Our Language," published last issue.

NO one will disagree with Kevin Connolly's advice to "overhaul our language." That is commonsense practice, as in other spheres of Communist activity. All will endorse his desire for efficiency and simplicity on the part of Communist writers and speakers.

His critical article in the May "Communist Review," however, is far too sweeping, general, and one-sided.

To commence, as Comrade Connolly does, by suggesting that the minds and writings of most Communists are full "of habits and formulas which are likely to become more than ever detrimental to the working-class movement" is not only incorrect, but harmful. It would create the illusion that Com-

munist "habits and formulas" in the past have been "detrimental to the working class." The contrary has been the case.

Similarly, with his statement about "bad writing and speaking, which we have been in the habit of . . . inflicting on others. . . ."

The need to strive for a higher goal with our writing and speaking should be appreciated, but whatever their weaknesses and faults in the past, our writing and speaking have helped considerably to build the Party which we are all so proud of today. The many thousands of Communist sympathisers and friends have not considered our writers and speakers an infliction. To these, at least, our language has not been

"mysterious," but very close to their hearts.

Comrade Kevin appears to believe that our language is made up mainly of "stock phrases." In an attempt to prove this point he quoted from Comrade Dimitrov's 7th Congress speech, in which the latter related an extreme example to emphasise how Communists should not speak in certain circumstances. This incident related by Comrade Dimitrov referred more to the wrong political approach of the Communist speaker than to the language used. It was also an extreme case, and took place at least five years ago.

It is true that even today we can find Communists who, on occasions, still want to talk "higher politics" when the occasion demands a concrete discussion about the workers most immediate "bread and butter" problems. This, however, in N.S.W. at any rate, is the rare exception and not the rule, otherwise, how to explain the authority of Communists in the various industries and on relief work jobs.

Comrade Connolly claims that it is far more effective to tell of Chamberlain's criminal acts than to refer to the "criminal acts of Chamberlain." Surely our comrade does not suggest that Communist writers have not done this, in fact, who has done it more clearly and with greater foresight than the Communists? But the purpose of all articles is not to enumerate these "criminal acts" and when they have already been established, what is

wrong with summarising them with the term, "the criminal acts of Chamberlain?"

There are times when it is absolutely necessary to call a spade, a spade, the hypocritical, "diplomatic" tradition of the ruling classes and their reformist agents notwithstanding.

Another example of Comrade Connolly's exaggeration, is his conception of many terms as "hackneyed phrases." For instance, he considers such terms as "fascist hordes," "fascist hangmen," "the glorious party of Lenin and Stalin," in this light. These terms are quite correct and most vividly descriptive, providing they are not overdone and are used in an appropriate manner.

The people will never learn to understand that the party of Lenin and Stalin, in its real truth, a most glorious party unless they are sometimes told about it.

The editorial board of the "Workers' Weekly" has never considered itself above criticism, but it does object to generalisations and abstractions. It refuses to accept Comrade Connolly's criticism about "a recent 'Workers' Weekly' article" which "was obviously ill-prepared, and therefore padded out with paragraphs that were weak and superfluous."

The editorial policy is definitely and consciously opposed to such practice and it has no knowledge of such an article.

Comrade Connolly points to Comrades Lenin and Stalin as the shining lights for all Communist

writers, and comments: "What a difference between writing such as theirs and the general run of Communist writing both in Russia and outside."

Yes, the writings of comrades Lenin and Stalin certainly bear the hall mark of quality. Their high standard will help to improve us all, but it is a standard which ordinary beings of our generation will never reach.

Lenin was, and Stalin is, the greatest living person, geniuses both, the greatest scientists of the greatest science, the science of society. It needs to be remembered that these leaders of ours have moulded, or are helping to mould, the Communists of the world in the Leninist-Stalinist style, their imprint is to be seen on the various Communist Parties, and above all on the Russian Party, the Party of Bolsheviks. That is why I take issue with the criticism of the "general run of Communist writings both in Russia and outside." If it has not reached the standard of Lenin and Stalin it has been influenced by them to a marked degree.

Now, and briefly, regarding dialectics and language.

The laws of materialist dialectics are natural laws governing nature and society. It is inevitable that they will always break through and burst asunder conservative traditions that come into conflict with them.

Language is a means of expressing ideas, ideas arise from material things, material environment. With a change of material environment,

as for instance, from capitalist to socialist environment, so do the ideas of men and women change, and with the change of ideas, so it is natural that language will slowly change. New words will be added to the existing language, and new ways of describing things and events will become commonplace; in conformity with the progress of human ideas.

Comrade Connolly's objection to Russian writers, I imagine, arises from the fact that he sees Russian citizens as ordinary citizens living under capitalism. Whereas Soviet citizens are living in the most advanced society human history has ever known, their ideas are the most advanced and therefore, their use of language also. Russian writers fully express the sentiments of the advanced Russian people.

This also applies to the Communist press of the capitalist world in a similar way.

The Communist press wishes to express new conceptions, new values, and must therefore use new words, new methods of description. This conflicts with the old, traditional, conservative methods of expression with which we have all, more or less, been influenced.

When these new words, new descriptive methods are used in an exaggerated way they repulse, and in the case of Comrade Connolly, have led to a one-sided, sweeping condemnation.

Despite all the "infantile disorders," it must never be forgotten that the Communist press is a vanguard press; a press which aims to raise the politics of the mass to the level of the vanguard. This cannot be done without the appropriate use of a language which fully expresses our vanguard politics. Advanced politics cannot be adequately voiced by conservative language.

—S. PURDY.

Comment From Canberra

By "Scrutineer"

THE triennial Federal Conference of the Australian Labor Party held at Canberra on May 1-6, 1939, made some definite progress in the face of great difficulties.

Federal Conference is officially the supreme governing body of the political Labor movement of Australia. Six delegates, including two Federal Executive members, came from each State. The leaders of Conference frequently emphasised the official supremacy of their authority—rather irritatingly so at times, as many delegates seemed quite oblivious of the other supreme Labor body, the A.C.T.U., which reigns in the industrial sphere.

Nor was this attitude made more logical by the presence at the "New South Wales delegation" of six members of the Lang party, the party which at the Adelaide Federal Conference three years ago had received the Federal charter. There was not a single direct or indirect representative of the industrial Labor movement of New South Wales, which represents fully one-third of the organised workers of Australia, and which is the body held responsible for winning nearly half of the Labor seats that have to be won in Federal Parliament.

First surprise of Conference was the absence of the Federal president, Mr. C. G. Fallon. By-elections in Queensland were stated to be the reason.

Had not the Lang party Easter Conference dumped its general secretary, J. J. Graves, from the Federal Executive, he might have had claim to be chairman of Federal Conference, as he had been senior vice-president of the Federal Executive. As it was, the chairmanship devolved upon a newcomer from Western Australia, Mr. Trainer, the junior vice-president. It was his first Federal Conference, however, and by common consent the presidency of Conference was given to Norman Makin, M.H.R., of South Australia, immediate past Federal president and present secretary of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party.

The first session or two were disappointing. Scarcely a glimmer came from this Labor gathering that it was conscious what the Labor movement stood for, beyond the process of getting men elected to Parliament. Reports on finance showed how the rank and file had been discouraged by this attitude. It was revealed that appeals for funds to enable the Federal Parliamentary leaders to act with appropriate dignity and decision had been ignored by all States except Queensland, which had provided about £1,500, and Western Australia, which had provided £500. Victoria was considering the matter, but the Lang party, claiming to represent N.S.W., by far the great-

est industrial State, was hundreds of pounds in debt to the Federal officers. In the discussion it was revealed that in Tasmania, where a Labor Government has reigned for many years, the State A.L.P. does not even possess an office to work in. In that State it was made clear the Labor Government cashes in on the prestige of the name of Labor but makes little effort to work with the rank and file to which it owes so much.

A blow to progress was dealt in the early stages by the Queensland Labor Premier, Mr. Forgan Smith. Claiming that the industrial Labor movement was already represented adequately at Conference—a child could deduce that this was not so—he moved that in the joint advisory council set up to include two delegates from the Federal Executive, the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party and the A.C.T.U., the latter body should be permitted to appoint only "bona fides A.L.P. men of two years' standing."

The Lang sextet and other delegates enthusiastically supported this move, which was resolved upon.

Mr. Smith pompously admitted that he had no objection to the delegates so far appointed by the A.C.T.U., but there might come a time, he said, when that body might elect people, with a voice in Labor's affairs, who were not bona-fide Labor men in the eyes of Mr. Smith.

Boiled down, Mr. Smith's motion was aimed at universally respected militant A.C.T.U. officials such as T. Wright and others, whose influence in the Labor movement is grow-

ing (and which will continue to grow, despite the Forgan Smiths).

It is to the credit of the Federal Labor leader, Mr. Curtin, that he vigorously opposed Mr. Smith's move, stating that he was against trying to dictate to the trade union movement, and that he was not afraid of meeting spokesmen from other working-class and non-capitalist bodies; further, that such meetings might result in non-A.L.P. people being converted to the A.L.P. point of view.

Up to this point the reactionaries were having things their own way. The Lang delegates were taking part in important debates with the air of men who actually represented the N.S.W. Labor movement.

The events of next day changed the whole atmosphere. Early in the debate on the proposed moves for unity in N.S.W., the general secretary of the Heffron A.L.P., Mr. W. Evans, was given leave to address conference.

Mr. Evans' speech, concrete in its subject matter, magnificent in its delivery, was undoubtedly the highlight of Conference. When he had finished, delegates of all shades of thought, including many who seemed to have little conception of the Lang Party's sins, were awake to the new progressive leadership in New South Wales. Evans said that the simplest way to achieve unity would be for the Federal Conference to give straight-out recognition to the Heffron party as official N.S.W. A.L.P., but that, even better, an all-in conference should be called to reorganise the party.

Mr. R. A. King, secretary of the

N.S.W. Labor Council, impressed the whole conference by his passionate sincerity, and his demand that action be taken to ensure unity.

In the debate that followed, Mr. Beasley, M.H.R., and other Lang party spokesmen depressed the whole Conference with their purely negative and destructive approach.

As the tide turned against Langism, the new Lang Party delegate to Federal Executive, Mr. Sheehan, made a speech which a few Right-wingers chose to describe as "restrained and tolerant." He moved a long and elaborate amendment which, boiled down, meant that Federal Conference should recognise the Lang party as still the official party, and call on the Heffron A.L.P. to disband and send along its members to Lang headquarters.

This was an amendment to the original motion by Mr. Clarey (Victoria) on behalf of the Federal Executive. Mr. Clarey had favored the setting up of a Provisional Executive for N.S.W. under Federal control.

Mr. Forgan Smith, after deploring the "domestic infelicity" existing in N.S.W., moved another amendment in general terms providing for Federal control of a conference to be called at some time in the future.

The leader of the South Australian State Parliamentary Party, Mr. Richards, moved as a further amendment a more concrete plan, now known as the "Richards Unity Plan," which called for an all-in conference under Federal direction within two months.

The voting was dramatic. After the Lang amendment had been defeated by 30 to 6, Mr. Smith's amendment resulted in a vote of 18 to 18, the chairman, Mr. Makin, ruling that the amendment was lost. Mr. Richards's amendment was carried by an overwhelming majority, including the votes of several Lang delegates. As a motion, it was carried unanimously.

The other big issue of Conference was Defence and Foreign Policy.

The Federal platform of the A.L.P., as laid down in Adelaide in 1936, expresses "abhorrence of war and fascism" and then goes on to stress the need for friendly relations with other countries.

The South Australian delegation moved an amendment to urge the importance of Australia making such alliances for peace as she thought fit. The use of the term "collective security" stirred the Langsters to the peak of provocation, and frightened other confused or illiterate delegates. However, the South Australian amendment by itself was sound and reasonable, as an effort to bridge the gap between political and industrial Labor foreign policy.

Mr. Forgan Smith moved a further amendment to amplify the existing platform. His amendment (it was actually an addendum) was one of a general character, but made it clear that the A.L.P. repudiated the use of the term "isolation" and also recognised Australia's position as "an integral part of the British Commonwealth."

There was scarcely a glimmer of working-class atmosphere about Mr. Smith's addendum.

Here again it was the South Australian delegation that saved Conference from disgrace. Mr. Richards challenged a dangerous phrase in Mr. Smith's amendment, in which he had said: "We reject conscription of human life as advocated by our opponents, while on every side there is evidence of their determination to continue profits as usual," a peculiarly ambiguous phrase in an amendment which Mr. Smith himself described as "clear and unambiguous." Following representations by the South Australian leader, Richards, Mr. Smith agreed to amend this to the excellent pledge: "We reject conscription of human life, which is advocated by our opponents. On every side," etc. etc.

The debate showed little real difference of opinion between the aims of the South Australian and Queensland proposals. The whole Conference seemed seized with the importance of reaching a unanimous decision, to prevent the anti-Labor press talking about "disunity."

Chairman Makin suggested that Mr. Dawes, leader of the S.A. delegation, and Mr. Forgan Smith, with Mr. Curtin, might retire for a few minutes with a view to combining the two motions, or reaching a compromise. Dawes and Curtin agreed at once. Forgan Smith flatly refused, stating that the two motions were "incompatible." Dawes conferred for a moment with Curtin, then withdrew his motion.

On the vital issue of compulsory military training, the compulsion demanded by Tasmanian delegates (in face of protests by the Tasmanian trade union movement) was defeated by 30 votes to 6. A tribute must be paid to Mr. Curtin for his uncompromising opposition to compulsion despite great pressure.

NOTE.—On pp. 367—368 of this issue appears a letter on "Defence Policy." Some editorial comment on this letter seeming necessary, a brief statement was accordingly prepared. Due to an oversight, this has been omitted from the present issue. It will appear in July.



NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

A. Fetherstone and Gordon Grant

"British Imperialism and Australia, 1788-1833. An Economic History of Australasia, by Brian Fitzpatrick, M.A., Melbourne University. (Allen and Unwin, London.) Australian price, 21/-.

IN recent years the Australian labor movement has devoted considerably more attention than at any other time to detailed study of the history of our country. To a great extent this study has been done by revolutionary socialists. This is readily comprehensible if we keep in mind the immensely broad basis upon which Marxism rests, the importance it attaches to an accurate and precise historical analysis of all periods and its capacity for applying the lessons of the past in the actions of today.

Our knowledge of the first fifty years is still unsatisfactory. The facts are fairly well known but their interpretation inadequate. The conclusions drawn are usually too simple. Early Australia is depicted as a dumping-ground for convicts, the scene of various scandalous activities by governors and military officers and, finally, the place in which, by some "natural evolution," a well-defined national economy, accompanied by appropriate State and social forms, appeared. Another view, more idealist than this, is that British statesmanship established a society which was destined to grow great because of the initial impulse

of this imperial policy.

Mr. Fitzpatrick disposes readily of these opinions. He has made a close inspection of the large amount of available material and has created order out of apparent chaos. His first chapter, an extended introduction dealing with the reasons for the settlement of the continent, shows that the prime cause was the growth of "redundant poor" in England, resulting from many causes—the loss of the American colonies, the economic difficulties resulting from the protracted wars waged against revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and the disruption of out-worn economic forms by the industrial revolution which created a large impoverished industrial proletariat and reduced the agrarian small producers to destitution. The latter were frequently dispossessed by the extensive enclosures which increased considerably during these years when large-scale agrarian production employing wage labor became most profitable, especially in the sphere of wool-growing.

The new industrial era of capitalism developing anarchically, constantly accelerating, required new forms of State organisation if the bourgeoisie were to remain the dominant class. The old Poor Law system coupled with the ferocity of the feudal code (it contained two hundred capital offences at one period) and the corruption evident in all

political life, aggravated the effects of the new economic developments. The political jobbery characteristic of the Corn Laws at the junction of the two centuries revealed that the bourgeoisie was not yet fully aware of the magnitude and nature of the social problems resulting from the new economy. It took them another 25 years to appreciate the need, from their own class standpoint of new, more liberal and democratic, forms.

The increase in poverty, starvation and misery in the midst of sprouting factories and the dizzy increase in the wealth of the capitalists, resulted in a great increase in crimes against property. Neither savage police terror nor the brutal sentences provided in the penal code could check the rising total of offences. In one year alone there were 44,000 convictions for theft. The treatment of convicts in prisons and hulks and of paupers in work houses and parish institutions, is well known. After 1815 the demobilisation of 250,000 soldiers added further problems.

Convicts were sent to Australia in 1788 at the beginning of the worst phase of these social disorders. The British rulers had one idea only in mind—to get rid of that portion of the populace which they could not employ and which occasioned a constant nuisance and menace. Australia was, in their view, a God-sent "receptacle" for "redundant poor."

They gave explicit instructions to the early governors that a peasant economy, established on the basis of small self-supporting plots, was to

be the foundation of the new society. They assumed by this that the only changes which would occur would be quantitative—the result of population increase (partly by further additions from England to the "receptacle" and partly by natural increase, the latter being restricted by the harsh treatment and semi-starvation of the convicts). Any possibility of free development and economic expansion upwards and downwards as well as sideways was not considered in the early years.

Thus the class which was soon to reap the benefits resulting from England's position as the "work-shop of Europe," which first took boldly the free road of intensified capitalist industrialism, attempted to confine its unwanted victims in a peasant economy long out of date.

The early years of the colony were wretched; living on rations arriving intermittently from England, with productive methods totally unsuited to the new soil, persecuted by the officers of the New South Wales Corps (the Rum Ring), the colonists barely existed. For long periods during the Napoleonic wars contact with England was weak and very few convicts were sent out. This lack of recruits hindered the development of Imperial "policy" and assisted the corrupt practices of the officers.

After twenty years of colonisation the absurdity of the maintenance of a peasant economy in a world society already capitalist, became manifest.

The introduction of gradually increasing numbers of free settlers, the gradual expiration of convicts' sen-

rences with consequent freeing of labor for exploitation as wage-labor, combined with the growing antagonism to the domination of the Rum Corps, finally forced the colony along the road of "free" (i.e., capitalist) development.

Captain John McArthur saw first the possibility of wool production, not simply for domestic industry but for export. He, together with other officers and privileged persons, gradually acquired large grants of land exploited by wage labor. The change in economic form collided with the official peasant policy and contributed largely to the frequent conflicts with government authority which occurred in the early years.

McArthur's successful experiments in wool-breeding enabled big wool-producers to send hundreds of thousands of pounds weight of wool to England annually, by the year 1820.

It was not until the early 'twenties that the British bourgeoisie realised that it was necessary to adapt their policy to this inexorable expansion.

Canning, Huskisson and Peel in those years began to adjust the new England to the new Europe, resulting from the revolutionary wave. The imperial policy was devoted to the interests of industrial expansion. The feudal code was made more liberal and "humane."

It was accepted as inevitable that such colonies as Australia must undergo the same capitalist evolution as was occurring in the rest of the world. The chief consideration became to convert this development into further profit.

Mr. Fitzpatrick handles this aspect of his work very well indeed. He lays bare clearly the springs of economic and political evolution.

Throughout his book he shows a clear understanding of the inevitability of the success of capitalist methods over all preceding forms. This conflict between the official policy of the Australian "receptacle" and the elemental necessity for free expansion and capitalist production, resulting, of course, in complete victory for the latter, is excellently displayed.

Careful reading of the detailed sections of the book will repay any student. The scope of the investigation and the marshalling of relevant facts make the book an invaluable addition to the equipment of any Australian socialist.

Mr. Fitzpatrick is not a dry-as-dust historian. His writing abounds with a characteristic angular humor. It contains ample evidence of the author's passionate love of freedom and democracy. The secretary of the Council for Civil Liberties, he has worked hard against political reaction in this country. His personal record is one of struggle for the hard-won liberties which this present volume, and later ones, describe. He represents the best of the Australian spirit. What person is better fitted to write our history?

—A.F.

THE urgent necessity to form a world peace union of nations within the League of Nations to save the world from fascism, destruction

and war is the main reason why "Vigilantes" (K. Zilliacus) wrote *Between Two Wars*, one of the latest special Penguins.

The growing popularity of the "Penguin specials" is justified again in the publication of this book. In Australia it has been quickly sold out in many places and orders renewed.

Although topical when it was written, it has quickly been "dated" by fast moving international events and will probably be added to the list of those special Penguins which have gone into revised editions.

An introduction by Sir Norman Angell is "answered" by the author with the support of quotations from Marx, which shows a great development in an Intelligence officer in the Military Mission to Siberia (1918-19) and British member of the League of Nations secretariat (1921-1938).

The book of 212 pages divided into two sections—The Past and The Present—is sprinkled with extracts from speeches and official statements. It takes a new generation behind the scenes to show the shady record of reaction of Lloyd George, his associates and successors, in war-time and after, especially after the beginning of the Russian Revolution in 1917.

"Mr. Churchill," he says, "emerged the strong man of intervention, conducting a policy of his own on behalf of the War Office. For this reason he spent some hundred million pounds of the taxpayers' money and killed a great many people in Russia. Moreover, he displayed a

lack of political scruple remarkable even in the chequered annals of intervention."

Mr. Zilliacus gives examples making clear that class policy of the Lloyd George government came before anything else in Russia, and how, when defeat by the Bolsheviks of the Whites and the interventionists became apparent, it was prepared to make open war on the Soviet government, but was stopped by businesslike action of the Labor Movement. Thus, socialist—instead of fascist—Russia was possible.

After the evidence given in the book it will be a little difficult for many to understand the author's suggestion that Churchill and Lloyd George (if he were 20 years younger) would be the best leaders for a British popular front government today.

Nevertheless, the author gives in some detail an outline of a policy for such a government, which he says would mean defeat for Hitler and Mussolini. He wrote when the war was proceeding in Spain and he considered defeat of fascism there crucial for the future freedom of the world. He said: "There is really no room for dispute about the fact that 'non-intervention' has ever been anything but a policy by which Mr. Chamberlain is assisting Signor Mussolini to impose fascism on Spain by force of arms through depriving the Spanish government not only of arms to defend itself, but also, by conniving at piracy directed against British shipping, of food for the civilian population."

Towards Russia, he said, the government pursued a "double-dealing" policy calculated to deceive the public and promote war against the Soviet Union. That did not imply that the Ministers responsible for intervention were consciously dishonest. "Self-deception inspired by sheer blind class bias appears to have been a big factor."

The present National government, he said, had the same conception of fair play towards the common people of Britain as they had displayed in regard to the Chinese, Abyssinians, Czechs and the Spanish people. They would coerce when they could and cheat when coercion was too risky.

The only thing that would count in their relations with the working class would be the prospect of resistance.

Coming from a disillusioned member of the official class of Britain, the book is significant and worthy of the attention it has been given.

"*Between Two Wars?*" With introduction by Norman Angell—*"Vigilantes"* (Penguin Books Ltd., London).

THE Left Book Club choice, *Empire or Democracy?*, is most important at a time when freedom and democratic development of the British colonies and especially India may be expected to have a tremendous influence on the future freedom of the people of Australia as well as the rest of the democratic world.

Beginning with a discussion of German colonial claims, Leonard Barnes gives a clear examination of

all the British colonies, their history, their wealth and their political development and significance to the people and to the rulers of the British Empire.

In 26 well-indexed chapters is a mass of valuable information illustrated with maps, charts, and a Low cartoon.

"What Can We Do?" gives practical methods of helping to free the colonies and advancing the cause of our own freedom, and in conclusion the author says: "Fear of a hypothetical fascist invasion cannot be met by saying that the colonies had better continue under their present masters, and by leaving the independence issue until the fascist danger shall have blown over . . . the rate of progress towards independence should be speeded up to the highest practicable pitch."

"The crucial significance of India in the present crisis is due partly to the fact that India is the one important colonial country in the world where the independence problem can be tackled without either delay or confusion and cross-issues as, thanks to fascist intervention, are at work in North Africa and the Dutch East Indies."

In a select bibliography, a forthcoming book, *India Today*, by R. P. Dutt, is mentioned—welcome news to readers of the subject.

"*Empire or Democracy?*" (A study of the Colonial Question)—Leonard Barnes (V. Gollancz Ltd., London). Left Book Club, 3/9. Australian price 11/-.

—G.G.

PRICE OF MILK IN N.S.W.

By "Economists"

This is the second of a series of articles written specially for the "Communist Review" by a group of young economists whose researches are of particular interest, giving as they do statistical evidence that should be of great value to speakers, writers, etc., connected with the Labor movement.

MILK is generally admitted to be the most essential single food for the maintenance of health and vitality. The League of Nations nutrition committee places milk first in its list of Highly Protective foods (i). It is particularly rich in digestible protein and minerals and contains nearly all the essential vitamins. Its value consists not so much in its energy-producing qualities, but in its suitability for building, strengthening and protecting the body.

For this reason nutrition experts recommend the consumption of a large quantity of milk. Most nutrition experts in the United States recommend a quart of milk per day for each child and at least a quart of milk or its equivalent in butter, cheese or ice-cream per adult (ii).

From the following figures (iii) it would appear that the people of Sydney and Newcastle are far from getting this amount:

	Per capita		Per Household	
	Pints		Pints	
	1934	1936	1934	1936
Sydney	42	46	1.87	2.0
Newcastle	29	35	1.63	1.77

The importance of milk for the community lies mainly in its effects upon the young, for nothing can replace it as a food for growing children. Thus the future health and vitality of the population depends in no small degree upon the amount of milk consumed by the growing generation. Nor must it be forgotten that milk is an essential food for invalids.

For all these reasons the first aim in the fixation of milk prices should be to supply the greatest quantities possible to the consumer at the cheapest possible price.

The following analysis of the price of milk will start from this premise—that, in so vital a foodstuff, cheapness to the consumer is the first consideration.

HOW THE PRICE IS FIXED

In N.S.W., milk prices are fixed by the Milk Board, which consists of three members, one of whom is the chairman, another the representative of the dairymen and the third a representative of the

consumers. These members are appointed by the Governor for a term of five years.

In fixing the price to the consumer the Board has to cover all the costs not only of producing the milk, but also of transferring the milk from the dairymen to the consumer. Milk is delivered by the farmer to the local factory. Here it is cooled, stored and forwarded to Sydney or Newcastle. At these centres it is taken over by the Board's "agents" which are now two in number, viz., the Dairy Farmers' Co-operative Milk Co. and the N.S.W. Fresh Food and Ice Co. These companies pasteurise the milk and send it to suburban depots. From these depots it is taken by the vendors (commonly called "the milkman") and delivered to householders and shops. The companies themselves are also vendors on a large scale.

The Board is empowered to fix prices for the various stages of production and distribution. As a result of its first price

enquiry held early in 1932 the following scale was adopted:

The producer received between 11d. and 1/0d per gallon according to the freight rates from the different country factories to Sydney.

The country factories received 3d. per gallon treatment costs.

The wholesale distributors, or "agents," received 4d. per gallon.

The vendors received 11d. per gallon (except for bottled milk).

The total cost to the consumer was thus 2/4 per gallon, 7d. per quart, or 3½d. per pint. (The above costs do not add up to 2/4 because freight, which varies, is not included.)

In February 1938 the Board, as the result of another enquiry, fixed a minimum price to the producer of 1/- (a slight increase). The price to the vendor was fixed at 1/5d (an increase of 4d.) and there was thus a slight decrease in the margin of the wholesale agents. The retail price remained at 2/4 per gallon.

The above prices do not apply to bottled milk. No price was fixed for bottled milk in 1932, but in February 1938 the price to the vendor was fixed at 1/9d, and the retail price at 8d. per quart (2/8 per gallon).

Having outlined the costs of the various processes and stages through which milk passes on its way to the consumer it is now proposed to deal with each of the stages separately.

THE PRICE TO THE PRODUCER

Mr. E. H. Swift, M.A., who investigated the Milk Industry under the Milk Investigation Act of 1936, said in his report that the costs of production were too indefinite to determine from the evidence placed before him, as producers were not called upon to keep simple and uniform records of receipts and expenditure. Profits to the farmer varied over a very wide range, and there was no evidence to prove that the producer was getting excessive or even "fair" returns. There were, however, very wide variations in the conditions of production. Differences in methods of production had a great deal to do with the success or failure of farmers. "Those who had taken advantage of herd-testing schemes and exploited methods of pasture improvement to the full extent possible on their properties, thus ensuring that only cattle which yielded a satisfactory return were kept in their herds, and that they had substantial supplies

of their own farm products available towards the sustenance of the animals, could point to reasonably good financial results. Others struggling with indifferent herds, and who had not employed to the full opportunities for improving their pastures showed relatively higher production costs and poorer returns." (iv.)

To some extent farmers may not use the most efficient methods, due to their ignorance of scientific dairying methods; on the other hand many know well the benefits of herd testing, pasture improvement, proper feeding, etc., but simply have not the capital necessary to effect these improvements. Such inefficiency is inseparable from a system where a large number of small producers are operating, many of whom are heavily indebted, or have large fixed rent payments. It is probable that a system of loans to farmers for the introduction of more efficient methods would mean a considerable reduction of production costs. The necessary knowledge and advice for making these improvements is already available from the Department of Agriculture.

The price received by the dairy farmer for milk used for liquid consumption is much in excess of that for butter and milk products. Licenses are issued by the Board to farmers situated within certain districts defined as milk-producing districts under the Milk Act of 1931.

There are quite a number of farmers within these districts who have not obtained licenses and have to be content with the price which they can procure by sending their milk to the factories for butter or cheese. There are also a large number of producers situated outside the milk-producing districts as defined under the Act, who do not receive the advantageous rates offered by the Milk Board. Mr. Swift, in his report, says that "... it is no exaggeration to say that the requirements of Sydney and Newcastle could be readily obtained at reduced prices from those now prevailing if they were produced from the outer districts within the zone, and, if necessary, by a slight extension of the existing producing district." (v.)

It is obvious from this that the present price to the producers benefits only a section of the dairying industry, and to a considerable extent the consumer of milk supports the farmers in the milk-producing districts. In effect the consumer of whole milk is taxed to

(i) Interim Report of the Mixed Committee on the problem of Nutrition, 1936.
 (ii) From report of the Investigator, Mr. E. H. Swift M.A., under the Milk (Investigation) Act 1936, Section XV.
 (iii) Ibid. Section XV.

(iv) Ibid. Section II, p. 13.
 (v.) Ibid. Section II, p. 12.

support the less profitable branches of the industry.

In view of the vital necessity of whole milk as an article of diet and its importance to growing children, this is a policy which does not, to say the least, help to promote the best health of the community, more especially as those with children to support are the least able to afford it.

FACTORY TREATMENT CHARGES

These were fixed at 4d. per gallon in 1932. Mr. Swift in his investigation could find no evidence to prove that the charges could be reduced.

THE COST OF WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTION

Milk is received in Sydney at the depots of the two large wholesale companies who act as the Board's agents. These two companies are The Dairy Farmers' Co-operative Milk Co. Ltd., and the New South Wales Fresh Food and Ice Co. Ltd. At the 1937 enquiry both Companies stated that they were unable to determine the profits made on milk.

	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Gross Profit	292,508	379,662	410,957	467,178	543,080
Net Profit	11,934	15,516	15,935	15,827	16,275
Dividend %	5	6	6	6	6
Amount	7,833	9,829	9,850	9,850	10,052

It will be seen from these figures that the net profit disclosed has been very steady, and though the dividend has been kept down to 6 per cent, there has been a large surplus transferred to reserves. This net profit, however, is arrived at after making very excessive

Amount written off goodwill on milk runs	£16,328
Amount written off Dungog assets	4,638
Bad debts reserve	7,844
Depreciation on buildings, plant, machinery etc.	27,343
	<hr/>
	£56,163

For the year ended 30th June, 1935, ing the following items to profit and the net profit was arrived at after charg- loss account:

Amount written off goodwill on milk runs	£20,815
Amount written off Dungog assets	8,000
Bad debts reserve	7,792
Amount written off ice-cream plant	2,000
Depreciation on buildings, plant, machinery etc	28,122
	<hr/>
	£66,729

(Concluded Next Issue)

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Both handled other lines such as butter and ice cream and in the case of the Fresh Food and Ice Co., such foods as bread, fish and game. As their costing system did not treat these lines separately they could not arrive at the amount of profit derived from them. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that a very large proportion of their profits are made from milk distribution. An examination of the profits made by these Companies will give a fair indication as to whether the wholesale margin is excessive.

The Dairy Farmers' Co-operative Milk Co. has, since 1932, absorbed three other companies which were originally appointed authorised agents of the Milk Board. During 1935-36 this Company handled 16,135,875 gallons of milk which amounted to 69.4 per cent. of the supplies of country milk for city consumption. In 1936-37 the total of milk handled was over 18,000,000 gallons and in 1937-38 over 19,000,000 gallons. The profits of the company over the last four years have been as follows:

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