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# COMMUNIST ★ REVIEW ★

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## THE TIENTSIN AFFAIR

By J. B. Miles



## BLOOD ON THE MACHINE

By J. Williamson



## CONSERVE OUR LANGUAGE

By J. N. Rawling

AUGUST

1939

# COMMUNIST REVIEW

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# THE NEWS REVIEWED

## STRIP TEASE

ONE are the days when a British Foreign Minister could, à la Palmerston, tell the world that "A British subject, in whatever land he may be, can feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."

Of late British subjects have been stripped, searched, browbeaten and bayoneted with impunity by Japanese troops in China.

The only action undertaken by the British government on their behalf was to forward a note of protest to Japan.

If this policy of appeasement goes much further the world might yet be startled at the spectacle of the British Prime Minister himself performing a strip tease in Tokio. Or perhaps, with black umbrellas taking the place of white ostrich plumes, putting on a fan dance to the tune called by the Mikado.

Has the watchful eye of England become so dim that it cannot see the insults heaped upon Britishers in China? Has the strong arm grown so palsied that it cannot be lifted in their defence?

The answer to both questions is No! The eye of Britain is today as watchful as ever over her imperialist interests and the strong arm has lost none of its striking power.

However, political expediency

sometimes demands that the gaze be seemingly averted from happenings which in other days and circumstances would have attracted sharp attention. On the same grounds reprisals are often withheld which would otherwise have been quickly forthcoming.

It lies within the power of Britain to put an immediate end to the situation at Tientsin. All that is necessary is to declare an Empire-wide boycott of Japanese trade.

The Achilles heel of the Japanese war machine is the country's economic system. This is definitely deficient in supplies of such important raw materials as iron ore, oil, rubber, cotton and wool.

Japan's engineering industry and war industry proper are relatively weak and undeveloped. A considerable amount of war material must be imported.

In order to finance these very vital imports Japan must dump abroad large quantities of the rubbishy products of her light industries.

A mere threat to close the doors of the Empire against this shoddy stream would be sufficient to bring about Japanese capitulation on the Tientsin issue.

Whilst if this threat was actually carried into practice it would deal a death blow to Japan's expansionist programme which is playing such

havoc with Britain's interests in the Far East.

Why then does Britain refrain from such a course?

Leaders of the government tell us it is because such measures might lead to war, and that Britain is reluctant to resort to drastic action before all avenues of a more peaceful solution have been explored.

It is the same old story of appeasement. And it contains within itself the same old lie.

There is little or no likelihood of an economic boycott provoking Japan into war with the Empire, on the contrary it would do much to remove that danger.

For one thing it would meet with the support of America and many other countries, it would cut Japan off from supplies without which she could not continue the war in China, much less extend hostilities against the Empire. Her Rome-Berlin allies could not assist her much as they are in a somewhat similar plight.

So it is not for the reasons given that the hand of Britain remains suspended. The true explanation was given by Stalin in his report to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"How is it," he asks, that the non-aggressive countries, which possess such vast opportunities, have so easily, and without any resistance, abandoned their positions and their obligations to please the aggressors?

"Is it to be attributed to the

weakness of the non-aggressive states? Of course not. Combined the non-aggressive, democratic states are unquestionably stronger than the fascist states, both economically and militarily.

"To what then are we to attribute the systematic concessions made by these states to the aggressors . . .

". . . The chief reason is that the majority of the non-aggressive countries, particularly England and France, have rejected the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of 'neutrality.'

". . . The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire, not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work; not to hinder Japan, say, from embroiling herself in a war with China, or, better still, with the Soviet Union; not to hinder Germany, say, from enmeshing herself in European affairs, from embroiling herself in war with the Soviet Union; to allow all the belligerents to sink deeply into the mire of war, to encourage them surreptitiously in this; to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear, of course, 'in the interests of peace,' and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents."

Britain abstains from economic boycott not because this would lead to war with Japan, but because it would lead to the collapse of Japanese aggression in China. The Japan-

ese rival would be destroyed but a united and democratic China would remain. This is a prospect too terrible to be contemplated by the British bourgeoisie.

The "peaceful solution" sought by Britain in the current exchanges is one which will guard against too great encroachments being made upon her own interests in China but which will, at the same time, ensure the continuation of hostilities to the

further weakening of both combatants.

It is a dangerous game which British statesmen are playing, one which, in the words of Stalin, may end in a serious fiasco for them.

Let us see that it does not result in a serious fiasco for us. What the British and Australian governments refuse to do the people of Britain and Australia must take upon themselves—a complete and thorough boycott of Japanese goods.

## ● TOWARDS ANOTHER MUNICH ●

IN the May issue of the "Review" we drew attention to elements in the Danzig crisis which gave grounds for the suspicion that Britain was paving the way for a new Munich.

At that time Nazi agents were flocking into Danzig and German troops were massing on the borders of Poland.

In face of the new threat of fascist aggression the British Prime Minister made the following declaration in the House of Commons:

"In the event of any action clearly threatening Polish independence which the Poles consider it necessary to resist with their national forces, Britain feels bound to lend the Poles all the support in her power."

He went on to say that his government had consistently advocated the adjustment of differences by negotiation and that he still thought there was no question which was incapable of peaceful solution.

We contended then that this de-

claration would not call a halt to fascist aggression.

We pointed out the loopholes through which Nazi aims against Poland could be realised in a similar manner to that employed in the case of Czechoslovakia.

Since that was written Britain has gone even further than a declaration of support, and concluded with Poland a reciprocal pact against aggression. A similar pact has been entered into with Turkey, and guarantees have been extended to other countries.

However, the causes for suspecting that another Munich is afoot have not been removed.

The slogan, "Danzig is not worth a war," is being vigorously propagated, and British papers, semi-official mouthpieces of the government, are still stressing the desirability of a negotiated settlement between Warsaw and Berlin on the Danzig problem.

The procrastination of Britain in the Anglo-Soviet talks provides further grounds for misgivings.

In previous articles we endeavoured to show how it was Britain who was responsible for the protracted nature of the talks, and that it was impossible to escape the conclusion that she was not really anxious for a reciprocal pact on terms of equality.

This view was confirmed by Zhdanov, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet.

Writing in "Pravda," on June 29, Zhdanov states, "Britain and France do not want an equal pact with the U.S.S.R.

"... The Anglo-Soviet negotiations have already lasted 75 days, of which the Soviet government required 16 days to prepare answers to the various British drafts and proposals, whereas the rest—59 days—passed in delay and procrastination on the part of the British and French."

Even the "Sydney Morning Herald" gives added confirmation of Britain's responsibility for the delays.

In a leading article on July 6, under the title of "Hope Deferred" it was written, "Prolonged delays have already made a full understanding (Anglo-Soviet) more difficult to achieve. As far back as March, Mr. Hudson was in Moscow making 'a friendly exchange of views.' Now, in July, four months later, agreement is still un-reached. . . . Unfortunately, the psychological moment for an agreement with the Soviet was missed.

On March 19 the British government rejected the Russian suggestion for an immediate six-power conference against aggression following the German destruction of Czechoslovakia. When, some weeks later, the British government submitted its proposals for a defensive pact to Moscow, their limited nature proved unacceptable to the Soviet authorities. . . ."

If Britain had any real intention of taking a stand against Danzig's incorporation in the Reich, and if, as inferred, this would lead to war, then it is obvious that so much time would not have been lost in reaching agreement with the Soviet Union.

That Britain has so far failed to conclude such a pact strengthens the conviction that Danzig will become an object of further bargaining with the aggressors, that the way is being paved for a new sell-out.

It will be remembered how the Sudetenland became the subject of a "negotiated settlement" which led to the destruction of Czechoslovakia.

The reward expected by Britain for her perfidy on that occasion was to have German aggression turned definitely and directly towards the Soviet Union.

This, as is well known, did not eventuate. The "Peacemaker of Munich" was cruelly disappointed by his fascist friends.

Britain is certainly doing everything possible to ensure that there is no repetition of Munich. But

not in the sense which her leaders try to make us believe.

She is striving to ensure that when and if new concessions are made the fascist powers will really live up to their promises — not to refrain from extending aggression,

but to extend it in a direction not inimical to British interests.

Chamberlain and Menzies cannot be relied on to keep us from war. If we would avert this danger we must intensify our efforts to get rid of them.

## THE ENEMY WITHIN

FROM time immemorial ruling classes in society have followed the practice of sending paid spies and agents into the ranks of the oppressed classes to disrupt and disorganise their struggle for freedom.

Right from its birth the modern working-class movement has had to contend with the phenomenon.

When the great Chartist movement arose in the 1830's, expressing the dawning class consciousness of the British workers, the young capitalist class was quick to flood its ranks with hirelings who played a big part in busting up the movement.

When the First International was founded some thirty years later it also knew its secret agents of reaction.

Bakunin, whose disruptive activities contributed so much to the break up of the International, was subsequently shown to have been in the pay of the Russian government.

Down through the ages the Labor movement has received such unwelcome attention.

In its efforts to disorganise the ranks of the working class, however, the ruling class does not rely solely upon the activities of the spies which

it sends directly into Labor organizations.

It further seeks to recruit agents from amongst those who are already active in the movement but who, for one reason or another, have turned aside from Labor's real objective.

The history of the Russian Labor movement provides a classical illustration of this.

The Moscow trials revealed how individuals who had attached themselves to the Labor movement, but who were never at heart in sympathy with the aspirations of the working class, degenerated into spies, wreckers and paid agents of fascism.

Similar scum is to be found to-day masquerading under this or that name as a legitimate trend in the Labor movements of other countries.

In Spain the Trotskyites, organised in the P.O.U.M., paraded themselves as a working-class party further to the left than the Communists.

Their contribution to Spain's struggle for freedom was to organise a revolt against the People's

Front government, to stab the Republic in the back.

Arrested and brought to trial they were exposed as sordid tools and paid hirelings of fascism.

In China, where another gang of Trotskyists were recently brought to trial, it was proved that they had been receiving 50,000 dollars a month from the Japanese secret police. Their leader, Chang Muta-tau fled to Japan to escape arrest.

In every country the fascists are subsidising and supporting similar groups. This is one of their methods of waging the war against democracy, one of their methods of carrying forward their plans of world conquest.

The foremost champions of democracy today are the workers. The greatest potential force for peace, the most powerful barrier to fascism and war is the international Labor movement, provided it is united.

That is why the fascist powers exert such tremendous efforts to bring about its disruption, utilising to this end traitors within the movement who can be caught or pressed into their service.

The greatest lie factory in the world is maintained in Berlin.

The Goebbels Ministry of Propaganda is active day and night churning out its tirades of filth to flood the democratic world.

Not all of the products of this sinister enterprise carry a label denoting the country of origin.

It suits the Nazi purpose much better in other countries if their pro-

paganda can be disguised and given the appearance of a local product.

To this end millions of marks are spent in subsidising papers and journalists all over the world to put forward concealed fascist propaganda.

This technique has recently been exposed in France. There it was shown that newspapers and writers who consistently advocated a pro-fascist, pro-German line, were actually in the pay of the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda.

Foremost in the ranks of these national traitors was the French trotskyite, Doriot.

A short time ago Doriot, who was not a very rich man, purchased a leading daily newspaper.

The Communist Party of France raised the pertinent question, where did he get the cash?

There wasn't much room for doubt when the paper embarked on a campaign in support of Hitler's claims in Czechoslovakia.

The latest investigations, in which 150 journalists are said to be involved, has exposed Doriot and his paper as hired tools of the Nazis.

In America also the Federal Bureau of Investigation recently uncovered a vast Nazi espionage and propaganda network.

In face of these revelations in other countries we have no cause to think that Australia is free from such elements.

In this connection the official organ of the Lang Inner Group in N.S.W. calls for some attention.

Since it was founded a little over

twelve months ago the "Century" has waged a vicious campaign against Labor unity. Objectively its policy has played into the hands of reaction both at home and abroad.

Everybody knows that the slogan "Danzig is not worth a war" was coined in Berlin and propagated abroad to undermine and paralyse democratic resistance to new moves of fascist aggression.

Yet this slogan makes its appearance in the "Century" of July 7 in the slightly altered form "Is Danzig worth the blood of even one Australian?"

In the following issue, July 14, the "Century" is even more outspoken on Hitler's behalf. On

page 7, big black headlines announce that "A. C. Paddison gives you the case for Germany."

A fitting accompaniment of such headlines are others from the same issues: "To Hell with Labor Unity" and "National Register Boycott is Political Madness."

Such sentiments will meet with warm support from Menzies and Hitler, and so far as the latter is concerned the experiences in France show that he is prepared to reward his servants with more than verbal praise.

It is high time that the "Century" and those associated with it were given their conge by the workers of New South Wales.

## FRIEDRICH ENGELS AND WORLD WAR

ON 4 August, 1914, the British Empire entered the World War. On 5 August, 1895, Friedrich Engels died. On 23 February, 1888, in a letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht, he forecast the War thus: "It will be a war of positions with varied success on the French frontier, a war of attack leading to the capture of the Polish fortresses on the Russian frontier, and a revolution in Petersburg, which will at once make the gentlemen who are conducting the war see everything in an entirely different light. One thing is certain: there will be no more quick decisions and triumphal marches either to Berlin or Paris."

On another occasion Engels worked out the most probable line of the German advance through Belgium, disregarding the Neutrality Treaty as a "scrap of paper"—Engels' words—and that the German advance on Paris would probably be halted at the Marne.

In an article in 1891 Engels wrote: "No Socialist, whatever his nationality, can desire the triumph in war either of the present German Government or of the French bourgeois republic and least of all of the Tsar which would be equivalent to the enslavement of Europe."

"The Socialists of all countries," Engels continued, "are for peace," since

peace means certainty of victory within a measurable time, whereas "war brings either victory in two or three years or complete ruination for at least fifteen to twenty years." But "if, nevertheless, war comes, then one thing is certain": "This war, where 15 and 20 million armed men would slaughter one another and lay waste Europe as never before, this war must either bring about the immediate victory of Socialism, or so shatter the old order of things from top to bottom, and leave behind such a heap of ruins, that the old capitalist society will become more impossible than ever before, and the social revolution, though it might be set back for 10 or 15 years, would, however, in this case also have to conquer and in so much the more speedy and thorough fashion."

Finally, in a letter to Bebel of 16 December, 1879, Engels foresaw the birth of the Communist International as a result of the War: "A European war means the death of the present German Social-Democratic Party. . . . Such a war would be our greatest misfortune, it could throw back the movement 20 years. But the new Party that must inevitably in the end arise from these conditions will in all the countries of Europe be free from a host of vacillations and pettinesses which today hem in our own movement on every side."

# THE TIENTSIN AFFAIR

J. B. Miles

THE blockade of the British Concession in Tientsin by Japan has been in force for one month at the time of writing.

Before the end of June Mr. Chamberlain told the Commons that Japan had agreed to conversations for the settlement of the crisis at Tientsin. He said the conversations were expected to start immediately. But two weeks later it is reported from Shanghai that negotiations may not begin till next week, and doubts are beginning to arise as to whether the Japanese intend to allow the conference to take place.

The Japanese Consul at Tientsin is reported to have said that the Japanese will blockade the British Concession for one or two years, if necessary. He also declared that Britain must be compelled to respect the New Order in China. This means, to accept Japanese domination in the Concessions as well as in the occupied areas.

Understanding of the policy of British reaction, represented by Chamberlain, and contempt for British protests, characterises the Japanese behavior. The Japanese know that their fellow imperialists in Britain fear to take action which might result in the collapse of fascism in Japan; they know also that British reaction fears a strong, progressive China. The British and other governments with Concessions have been protesting for years but they continue to trade with Japan as well as to realise profits from China.

The Japanese attitude to the concessions and foreign settlements in the Chinese treaty ports is determined by the fact that the Japanese bandits cannot fully exploit the occupied territories until the foreign concessions have been eliminated. The Japanese select Britain for most attention because: Mr. Strang had arrived in Moscow to continue the negotiations for an Anglo-Soviet Pact, and the fascists do not feel sure

that Chamberlain can avoid this; the Japanese understand clearly the meaning of an answer given by Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, "I think the Japanese authorities are aware of the attitude of the British government"; the Japanese also know they have good friends in Australia, Menzies, Gullett and the isolationist Labor Party Rightwing, which uses its influence against any possible peace bloc which would curb the Japanese fascists; and because it is good tactics to avoid driving the powers together against Japan by attacking all concessions at once. There is another factor to be considered in explaining the weak attitude of the British government, its failure to protect subjects from murder, brutality and indignity; Britain is too weak in the Pacific to take successful military action, even with France. This view is confirmed in a recent statement by Earl Beatty, "Singapore base is of little value without a strong battle squadron based on it." Such a force may be possible in 1941, added the Earl. Meantime, the other axis partners keep Britain and France alarmed in Europe and they are unable to send adequate forces to the East.

With the beginning of the blockade there were reports of talk in London of economic action. The Foreign Office thought that economic action could be taken.

In the reports it was made clear that Australia, i.e., the B.H.P. and Menzies, would be opposed to any action likely to antagonise Japan.

In Australia, Sir Henry Gullett told the House of Representatives that there were no specific Australian interests in Tientsin, but a considerable volume of Australian exports to China, particularly flour, had passed through the port for some time past.

The appeasers soon stopped the semi-official talk about economic retaliation, even though the ac-

tions of the Japanese became more arrogant and brutal.

Sir Henry made clear the attitude of Australian reaction in the above statement and in another on the Anglo-Soviet talks about the same date. He said the Commonwealth supports the British government efforts to secure Russian participation on the most effective terms possible. "It is not intended," he added, "that such an agreement should have any application outside Europe. The Commonwealth is satisfied that it would not prejudice the interests of Japan."

Australia's Minister for External Affairs tells Britain that he and Menzies are opposed to any effective action to restrain Japan from dominating China and driving the world to war. He lets Japan know, openly, that the fascists of that country have good friends in Australia, who are hindering the tendencies toward an effective peace front, and who are determined to keep up supplies to the Japanese aggressor.

The poverty-stricken wheat-growers may see the Tientsin market abolished or reduced, but the B.H.P. will continue to sell pig iron to Japan. The menace to Australian security from Japan may grow greater, but if Japanese bandits do reach the shores of Australia, no doubt they will remember their friends, the B.H.P., Menzies, Gullett and others. Japanese fascism and the Australian imperialists could share the spoils, and the Japanese militarists would be so helpful in suppressing workers like the Port Kembla men and those refusing to give Menzies his National Register blank cheque.

Sir Henry's latest remarks deal with the move to boycott the Register. The man who fails to complete the Register and return it votes for war, he declares. Such a man would advertise that we are divided and vulnerable, unwilling to take the first step to preparedness, he adds.

Do our potential enemies not know of the Page-Menzies conflict? Do they not know of division in the U.A.P. and in the Country Party? Of course they do. They know that the Menzies government is a minority government

which does not possess the confidence of the Australian electors. They know that their Australian friends are losing ground. The boycott does not encourage the Japanese fascists or the Nazis. It is an action by people who want to defend democracy and who realise that the fight begins at home. It is an action by supporters of a real peace bloc to restrain the aggressors. It is an action by anti-fascists who reject absolutely unity behind the B.H.P. and the U.A.P. supporters of appeasement and treachery to democracy.

In diplomatic language, Sir Henry mentions the "mauling of British women in a certain country overseas," and tells us if we are slack and stupid that it can happen here. The "maulers" are the people whose interests Gullett is so anxious not to prejudice, the leering Japanese militarists—not the exploited Japanese people.

If it does happen here it will be because the British government permitted the Nazis to make it happen in Austria, because Chamberlain, supported by Lyons, permitted Hitler to make it happen in Czechoslovakia, because Britain and France allowed Hitler, Mussolini and Franco to make it happen in Spain, because British policy in the East since 1931 has been one of retreat before and encouragement to Japan, because Chamberlain and Halifax talk while Hitler acts in Danzig, because Chamberlain hinders an Anglo-French-Soviet peace bloc, and because the Australian governments have given unqualified support to British pro-fascist policy over the past eight years.

About 10 days after the blockade of Tientsin commenced, Mr. Chamberlain said "No British government can submit to dictation from another power concerning our foreign policy." About the same time Lord Halifax told the Japanese Ambassador in London that British public opinion from tolerate no further insults from Japan in China; if they are continued Britain will be compelled to take drastic action.

Insults, brutal and degrading, continued, and on the day I write it is reported that it happened

again; Mr. Ivor House was stripped naked by Japanese sentries at Tientsin.

Mr. Gullett pretends to want a National Register to prevent such actions reaching Australia. I will not discuss here the Blanket Funds which again try to cover the naked this winter in Australia. And leaving aside for the moment the "other purposes," not defined in the Register Act, the government by regulation extended by the Act, and its control by a militarist, let us consider how we can prevent it from happening here.

If the intentions of the government are as declared, preparation only to resist aggression; if the preparations are as efficient and advanced as Mr. Street claims; and if the Register and the Supply Bill are really intended to organise efficiently against aggression, will this prevent Australia being drawn into a world war, will Australia in isolation or with the Empire, be able to successfully resist the conquest of New Guinea, and subsequently, Australia?

Readers are referred to the facts and discussion of strategy by the author of "The Military Strength of the Powers," a recent Left Book Club publication, and to the opinion of Earl Beatty mentioned above. If Japan chooses to fight while Britain and France are compelled to keep the present forces in Europe, and before Britain's armaments are further strengthened, the Japanese could not be quickly and decisively stopped, even with the aid of the U.S.A. Authorities are agreed that the Soviet Union is a necessary partner in a decisive peace bloc in the Pacific.

To prevent a world war the pact with the Soviet Union is essential, and to strengthen the peace forces in the East and protect Australia the pact should be extended to include the East.

Even before a defence pact is realised, effective economic action is possible, but the pact would lead to co-ordinated economic action and to military co-ordination

which would prevent the fascists from launching war.

The Pact, then an economic boycott of Japan—prohibition of imports and no supplies or raw material to the aggressors. At the same time to supply China with every possible means for her defence and for the development of an offensive. Japan could not resist and her fascist partners could aid her little, if at all.

The possibilities of economic action are reflected in recent trade figures. The Japanese militarists charge Britain with aiding China and use this as their excuse for the anti-British campaign. But it is British suppliers and exporters in the other democracies which are arming Japan.

During 1938, the United States, the British Empire (Australia, the B.H.P.), and the Netherlands provided Japan with more than 86 per cent. of materials essential for war purposes.

**The Soviet Union sold no war material to Japan in either 1937 or 1938.**

The British Empire bought 40 per cent. of Japan's exports, whereas the fascist partners, Italy and Germany, bought only 3 per cent.

The Empire alone could strangle the Japanese militarists, but there is no need to take risks in isolation. Britain could secure a peace bloc, including the Soviet Union, without further delay.

In Britain, supporters of collective security, democracy and peace are doing their part. It is our duty to act in Australia. The plans of the government to assist British reaction, to regiment the Australian population for an imperialist war must be defeated; the government itself smashed, and the voice of Australia raised emphatically for a change in British policy, for Empire participation in collective action to put the aggressors in a straitjacket.

In the meantime the boycott of Japanese goods can be greatly extended, and the aid for China raised to levels worthy of Australian democratic traditions.

## DANZIG AND US

L. Sharkey

THE Chamberlain government and its apologists made strenuous but vain efforts to place the blame for delays and hold ups in the negotiations for the Anglo-Soviet Pact at the door of the Soviet government.

These efforts were, however, blasted beforehand by the speech of Molotov and the article of Zhdanov in the Soviet Press.

The point at issue was a partial pact or an all embracing pact that would be a real safeguard against aggression in Europe. The Chamberlain government wanted the former, the Soviet government the latter.

The Chamberlain government had given guarantees to Greece, Rumania and Poland and entered into an alliance with Turkey.

It has been more or less taken for granted that Britain and France were vitally interested in and would assist Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, because of their strategic relation to the defences of Britain and France. It has been authoritatively said that the British government would defend France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Egypt as well as the Empire countries.

Zhdanov pointed out in his article that a pact would mean that the Soviet Union would, directly or indirectly, therefore, be bound to defend these countries. And, said Zhdanov, the Soviet Union does not even have diplomatic relations with

some of these countries (Holland and Switzerland).

Whilst these demands were being made on the Soviets, the Chamberlain government was refusing to include in the pact the Baltic countries, which play a similar role, in relation to the defences of the U.S.S.R. to Belgium's in relation to those of Britain and France.

This was one of the plain examples of the unequal treaty that the Chamberlain government was attempting to force upon the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet government demanded that the treaty be upon an equal basis, mutual and reciprocal, with equal commitments, duties and obligations placed upon all the partners.

Comrade Stalin had pointed out that the British and French governments desired to use the Soviet Union to "pull the chestnuts out of the fire" for them; in Zhdanov's phrase, to use the Soviet Union as a "laborer," to carry all of the burdens and obligations.

The Baltic States were to be left unguarded, left open for the Nazi drive, in accordance with the "plan" referred to by Comrade Stalin at the 18th Congress of the Bolsheviks, of directing fascist aggression against the Soviet Union. In the light of all this, it was plain that the Soviet Union could not accept such a one-sided bargain, such horse trading as

this, and is quite blameless in the matter of the hold-up of the Pact.

Nor was there any desire on the part of the Soviets to use their powerful position to "drive a hard bargain" as has been suggested by some of the Chamberlain apologists. The Soviet Union, as always, was merely wanting a real peace pact, not a hotch-potch affair; meant by Chamberlain to be a mere pawn in the game for a new deal with Hitler.

In the meantime, Danzig was the *piece de resistance* on the Nazi menu. The Nazis turned on their quondam "friend," Colonel Beck, Polish foreign Minister, like the hungry and ferocious wolf pack upon a crippled and weak member of the pack. Beck had brought Poland into the Nazi "orbit." He followed a pro-Nazi, anti-Soviet policy for a number of years. Beck, by his policy, helped Hitler to dismember and destroy the Czech Republic. Immediately this was achieved his "friend's" armies moved threateningly to the Polish frontiers at all points and prepared for the seizure of Danzig. This was accompanied by the usual "atrocities" howl of the Goebbels propaganda machine, substituting the word "Polish" for Czech.

What are the Nazis' aims in Danzig? The official propaganda is that Danzig is a German city, with a German majority and that Hitler has the sacred mission of bringing all the "lost Germans back to the Reich."

The rape of the Czechs shows that Hitler's policy is not "liberating oppressed Germans," but the lust for

conquest of German monopoly capital, i.e., imperialism.

It is interesting and instructive to note that a somewhat similar "race" theory as a screen for imperialist conquest was fought and exposed by Karl Marx. The Empire of the Czar, in the last century, was continually extending its imperialist conquests. It wanted to expand into Europe as well as Asia.

In its path stood the Austrian and Turkish Empires, both of which at that time included among their subjects large numbers of the different Slavonic nations (Poles, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, etc.), and Austria was threatening to gobble up yet another, the Serbs. The Tzarist government, in its struggle against these rival imperialisms, tried to raise revolts and disrupt them within by raising the slogan of "Pan-Slavism" and representing Russian Tzarism as the Protector of all the scattered and oppressed Slavonic nations. Marx ripped the facade off this Pan-Slavism as an imperialist weapon of the Tsar, which, if successful, would establish the despotic rule of the Tsars over Europe, and demanded a struggle against it, at the same time standing for the freedom of the oppressed Slavs of Europe.

The real aims of Tzarism were exposed when the Bolsheviks published the secret treaties between Tzarist Russia and her allies, defining Russia's share of the loot of the world war (Constantinople, Galicia, Austrian Poland, etc.).

The Pan-Germanism of the Nazis

plays much the same role. It is merely a stalking horse for the imperialistic aims for which the Kaiser's Germany plunged into the world war. It is to be entirely disregarded and the real aims must be understood.

These real aims, in reference to Danzig, were defined by Frederick the Great, German Emperor. Frederick was a little more open than are the Nazis; he gave the opinion that whoever held Danzig and the mouth of the Vistula River ruled over Poland more firmly than did the Polish king whose throne was in Warsaw. In the days of the old Polish kingdom, before it was dismembered by Tzarist Russia, Austria and Prussia, Danzig was a "free city," and after the world war, when Poland again emerged as a State, Danzig again became a "free city," because this is essential, as the only outlet to the sea, for Poland's independence.

The issue at Danzig is nothing less than that of the independence of Poland or its dismemberment and subjection by the greater German Empire of the Nazis and German capitalists. It is plain enough that this would further strengthen and encourage Nazi imperialism and render the peace of the world still more precarious.

Despite this, the Cliveden Set furiously spread the propaganda of negotiations with Hitler and agreement on Danzig, which would only mean for the Poles what Munich meant for the unhappy Czechs: destruction of their nation and their enslavement.

Mr. Lang, in his "Century," does not hesitate to help along this betrayal of peace. He demands to know, not exactly in the words of Goebbels' "Is Danzig worth a world war," but demands to know if Danzig is worth an Australian soldier's life?

In the light of the foregoing, can we approach the question of Danzig in this fashion? Danzig is a point in the march of German fascism towards a world war, which, if it comes, must necessarily involve our country. The way to stop this world war is to stop fascist aggression, before the fascists become too strong.

By stopping fascist aggression before the gates of Danzig, by means of a strong stand by the peace desiring peoples, means to stop the onward march of the fascist butchers to a world wide war, to save the lives of tens of thousands of Australian soldiers and of millions of workers of other lands. Mr. Lang and his fellow rightwingers, with their narrow national outlook, would no doubt say, "Let the workers of other lands look to themselves."

It is from this narrow national chauvinist outlook of sections of the A.L.P. leadership, out of which also, partially at any rate, grows the disastrous policy of "isolation."

Mr. Lang's policy on Danzig is akin to that of the most crass and narrow craft unionist, who refuses to see that an attack by the employing class upon a kindred union undermines his own conditions and prepares the way for a similar attack upon himself by the class enemy.



The Lang line on Danzig is a continuation of that at the time of the attack on Abyssinia, Spain and on China. It is Lang's way of supporting the Cliveden Set, Chamberlain and Hitler, and yet appearing to be on the side of the people.

For a real working-class policy in respect to international affairs, the foundation was laid by Marx.

In his Inaugural Address to the First International, Marx declared: "If the emancipation of the working class requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfill that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the peoples' blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic.

"The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus (Marx here refers to the conquest of Georgia by the Tsar—L.S.) falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by Russia, the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every Cabinet in Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master for themselves the mysteries of in-

ternational politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments, to counteract them, if necessary by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

"The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class."

How apposite this is to the position as it exists at the present time. The head of the barbarous monster is now in Berlin, but it has its hands "in every European Cabinet"; the Cliveden Set in Britain, the reactionaries and fascists in France, the bestial trotskyites, who were caught red-handed and punished by Soviet justice, etc., as well as the so-called isolationists who fight President Roosevelt's policy in the American Congress, the pro-fascists at Canberra and elsewhere.

It is to be noted how Marx pilloried the ruling class for allowing Poland to be "assassinated" and Georgia overrun; for allowing the Tsarist barbarism to destroy other nations "unresisted" and called on the working class to put an end to this "idiotic and shameless" behaviour. Marx could easily be writing that passage about the Cliveden Set and the assassination of the Czech Republic and of Spanish Democracy.

Marx saw in barbarous Tsarism the greatest menace to progress and

civilisation, and particularly to the advance of the labor movement; just as Hitler today represents a mortal peril to peace, democracy and the labor movement. The working class and the love of democracy and peace have once more the opportunity of saving "heroic Poland," because the Polish people, despite their fascist government, are a bold and liberty-loving people who will throw

off the fascist shackles at the earliest opportunity.

Poland, Australia, all the small countries, peace and democracy can be saved by an Anglo-Soviet Pact to resist the encroachments of barbarism, of the character that the Soviet government, supported by the friends of peace in every land, is now fighting for.

## VICTORY MARCH

*You brave heroes,  
You who sang down the sky  
in planes above Guernica  
and the Malaga road,  
your song the stuttered hate  
of machine guns;  
the death roll, flamed leaping  
of bombs; the sighing destruction of fires;  
the screaming pain of women  
and children, with no weapon  
but their joy of liberty,  
their scorn of such as you, Fascists,  
and the bloody masters you serve—*

*You brave heroes,  
march singing down Madrid's  
streets, won not by your valor  
against half-armed men,  
but the treachery of dogs,  
that like you beg the bones  
from your masters' table—*

*As you march mark this—  
In the hearts of the people of Spain  
are songs of liberty and freedom,  
and a time will come*

*when, shouting from mountains,  
plains, cities, from the mines  
and from the fields,  
from factories and ships,  
their voice will blast you like spray  
before a triumphant rising wind  
into the past, where  
you belong—*

*The workers standing before you  
now, may salute  
—but in their pockets clenched fist;  
may smile  
—but in their hearts a knotted fury,  
an unbroken will to rise again;  
may submit  
—but freedom never lay in dust  
before such as you.*

*Bodies yes, burnt tortured wracked,  
but the spirit of revolt,  
the heritage of our class  
you can never reach—*

*Every furrow of a plough,  
each new stone placed  
where ruin stood,  
will turn before the people  
evidence of men who died  
that they might rise again—*

*Sing while you can heroes  
—the marching feet grow nearer,  
the songs of liberty grow louder;  
sing before your voice,  
your existence, your memory,  
is swept away in the ascending storm.*

—BOB LAMBERT.

## BLOOD ON THE MACHINE

J. Williamson

**E**ACH year the accident compensation in New South Wales amounts to about £2,000,000 apart from the cost in lives and suffering. Last year the Department of Labor and Industry found 1,100 employers who were breaking the regulations, many of them endangering the workers.

Thirty years ago accidents took fourth place among all the causes of death for the male population in New South Wales, today they take third. Thirty years have seen no improvement in the male death rate from accidents; in this time the death rates from all diseases except cancer, heart disease and kidney trouble having dropped. Today almost half the deaths from accident are caused by traffic, while correspondingly the death rate for the whole population from industrial accidents has fallen. This does not mean that in a given industry, however, the fatal accident rate has vastly improved, as we shall show.

### WE NEED BETTER STATISTICS

In order to prevent accidents it is necessary to know what caused them. It is necessary to have the most accurate figures and facts about all the accidents that take place so that we can see if one industry or another is the more dangerous, or if one group of workers is more likely than

another to suffer an accident. But unless the proper use is made of the figures that are compiled they can conceal as much as they are supposed to reveal.

When we look at the figures that the Workers' Compensation Commission collects every year, we see that no attempt has been made to calculate the time for which the worker is in danger, although it is obviously of primary importance in any consideration of accident rate. If in an industry the number of workers employed increase and the accidents increase also, we can only find out if there is a greater accident rate if we express the accidents as the number per thousand employed. Similarly, if the same number of workers are employed in the industry and they get shorter hours, then they are exposed to the danger of accident for a shorter time and the accident rate should fall. For this reason the best way of seeing if the accident rates are getting bigger or smaller is to express the accidents as the number of accidents for every million man-hours that are worked. In an 8-hour day one man will work for 8 man-hours, ten men for 80 man-hours, and so on. If the above statistics are worked out for the different industries, and for the different groups in those industries, i.e., for both the young and adult workers, then it is possible to arrive at

the most accurate measure of the accident rates. These can be compared with perfect correctness from year to year, which cannot be done with the figures that are given in the official statistics.

#### DANGEROUS INDUSTRIES

Owing to the careful way in which the statistician conceals the number that are employed in the industries into which the accidents are classified, it is only possible to have the figures for a few groups of workers. The following figures represent the number of compensated accidents for each thousand workers; mining 231, heavy manufacture 130, quarries 98, books, paper, etc., 52. The mining industry is the most dangerous of all, with almost one worker in four injured every year. Compare this with the accident rate in one of the light industries, such as the printing industry, where only one worker in 20 is injured. It is probable that building and construction is one of the most dangerous trades, but we have not figures at our disposal for the number that are employed.

#### ACCIDENTS INCREASING

In order to show the change in the number of accidents from year to year, we give figures for the mining industry. Out of every thousand workers the number that were injured each year in the period 1926-7 to 1936-7 were 261, 302, 231, 205, 153, 103, 142, 162, 180, 201, 231 respectively. The rate fell from 261 in 1926-7 to 103 in the depression years 1931-2, and has been rising

steadily ever since. The falling off in the crisis years was not due to added safety, but to the fact that the mines were not working to capacity. In order to see if the safety in the mines, or for that matter in any industry, is increasing or decreasing, it would be necessary to take into account the actual time worked. This has been done for the fatal accidents in the coal-mining industry. In the years 1925-9 there was an average of 5.06 fatal accidents per million man-days worked, while in the years 1930-37 (excluding 1934) the average was 5.62. For comparison the same figure is given for Great Britain for the years 1926-37, the average being 4.53. (An interesting fact, showing that the Australian coal mines are more dangerous than the English.) It is seen that the fatal accident rate has tended to get worse, and this in an industry in which the accidents cannot be blamed on lack of experience. Speed-up is exposed as the main cause of the increased danger. The annual reports of the Department of Labor and Industry refer to the removal of the guards on the dangerous machines because the speed-up method does not allow both the output and the safety to be maintained at the same time.

#### CAUSE AND EFFECT

The accidents that are reported to the Compensation Commission are analysed according to cause. For the 50,000 accidents that are reported the main causes are: Objects being handled, hand tools, falling objects and machinery, these making up 66

per cent. of all causes. In each industry the main causes of the accidents will vary. In the mining industry a third of the accidents are due to falling objects. In the heavy metal and machine industries about a third are due to machinery, and another third are due to objects being handled, and of all accidents due to machinery, almost half take place in the heavy metal industry. The degree of severity of the accidents also varies. In the heavy metal industry the worker receives compensation for an average time of 3.8 weeks, while in the mining the length of compensation is 4.8 weeks.

#### ACCIDENTS AND YOUTH

The effect of the age of the worker can only be shown correctly if we take cause into account. For example, 18.73 per cent. of accidents from all causes occur in the age group 14 to 19 years, but if we look at the accidents due to machinery (5,138) we find that 33.7 per cent. are in this group. One in five of the total number is to a youth, but where machinery is concerned a youth is involved in one in three. This state of affairs can be seen even more clearly if we calculate the accident rate for adults and workers under 21 in the heavy metal industry for 1936-7. According to the Statistical Register the number under 21 employed in the group of industries—industrial metals, machines and conveyances—is 16,000 of a total of 69,000 workers. Over half of the accidents in this group take place with youth, the calculated accident rate being 207 per 1000 for the

youth, and 107 per 1000 for the adult worker. This shows clearly a state of affairs in which youth is put on to dangerous work without adequate training, speed-up takes its toll, and they are sacked at 21 before they can gain the necessary experience. It also shows that the safety precautions that are supposed to be observed need an urgent revision, and that inspection of the factories must be made more rigorous.

#### FATIGUE AND ACCIDENT PRONENESS

If we examine the time of day, and the day of the week at which accidents occur we can see the influence of fatigue. The number of accidents that take place at the fourth hour of work is more than double the number that takes place at the first hour; after the break at lunch the accidents drop again, to rise as the end of the day approaches. This shows clearly the safety value of having time off for morning and afternoon tea, as well as the shorter working day. If we look at the accidents on each day of the week, they go down from 9961 on Monday to 8740 on Wednesday to rise again to 9003 on Friday. The usual interpretation that is put on this change is that the high accident rate on Monday is due to "Mondayitis" and over-exertion in the week-end while the rise at the end of the week is due to fatigue. No attempt is made to see if the high accident rate on Monday is due to other causes such as the increased danger from the plant that has been left in idleness over the week-end.

In countries where some attempt is made to discover the causes of accidents, and where a decent analysis is made of the accidents that take place, "accident proneness" has been shown to exist. By accident proneness is meant the fact that three-quarters of the accidents occur with only one quarter of the men. Some people being more likely to have accidents than others. The cause of this has not yet been found, nor have methods been devised to discover the dangerous worker and keep him away from hazards. Scientists, however, are of the opinion that accident proneness is due not so much to any physical defects, but to the fact that some workers have more worries and mental disorders than others. Poverty and insecurity are probably the greatest of these. It is not known how much this accident proneness is due to the loss of self-confidence by the worker after his first accident, making him more liable to others. However, if this is so the compensation for accident should be increased because this important mental disability lasts longer than the physical injuries. At present the best way of protecting the worker from the effects of his own and others' accident proneness is to increase the general safety of the plant.

#### SAFETY RESEARCH

In other countries, including Great Britain, there exist institutes for the study of industrial health and safety. Apart from the National Safety Council of Australia, whose publications are not available in the Public

Library of Sydney, but which does some good work warning people of the dangers of the roads and industry, there is no organised research into accidents and their prevention in Australia. For example, the question whether night shifts are more dangerous than day shifts has never been investigated, or if so the results are well hidden. The whole question of industrial health needs further investigation, especially in relation to age, occupation and accidents. One such example, carried out in England, will be mentioned. Following the 'busmen's strike about three years ago the frequency of gastric troubles was investigated among the 'bus conductors and, for comparison, among the tram conductors. It was found that the 'bus conductors had 15 to 18 per cent. more gastric sickness than the tram conductors. Where in Australia do we find this done?

The trade unions should press for increased and better safety committees, with more than advisory powers. Safety-first libraries should be established at the firms' expense, for they gain from the lessened absenteeism. The fight for the shorter working week and against speed-up should be linked with the fight for safety. In order that the organisation of safety in the works be put on a firm foundation, the establishment of a National Industrial Health Research Board, similar to that in existence in England, is a necessity long overdue. Only when the working class takes up the question of safety seriously will Australia be a land fit for workers to live in.

## FASCISM AND FARMING

R. Snow

EVERY week brings new reports of the treatment meted out to workers in fascist countries. Far too little is heard of the economic position of farmers in these countries, although reliable observers show their condition to be little better than that of the working class. The contents of available reports should be a warning to Australian farmers of the fate that may await them, failing collective action to prevent the world domination of fascism.

In Germany the small farmer is absolutely dominated by the Nazi dictatorship. Agriculture has gone steadily downhill since 1933 when Hitler battered his way to power, with the support of a considerable section of the German peasantry. Since then costs of production have risen steadily, although prices of agricultural commodities have remained at the figure set by the government. Indebtedness has increased till it represents an intolerable burden to the small farmers. On the other hand, large-scale farmers enjoy government subsidies and the privilege of producing basic food necessities which the German people, despite their poverty, must still buy.

Small farmers in pre-Hitler days produced the more expensive food-stuffs such as dairy produce, eggs and vegetables. As a consequence of the well-known policy of "Guns before Butter" these farmers are in

a tight corner. Their produce must be sold at the official wholesale price, which is considerably less than the retail price prevailing in the cities. The rake-off is taken by the Nazi wholesale organisations, which replaced the farmers' co-operative organisations whose funds were seized in 1933. These Nazi organisations divide their profits between rearmament and the upkeep of a greatly increased public service.

Large farmers produce rye, wheat, potatoes and sugar beet, and reap considerable profits from government subsidies, credit facilities and guaranteed markets. In addition the large farmers and Junkers are assured of ample and cheap labor under the German labor camp system. Owing to the restrictions on importation of stock-fodders the large farmers have a virtual monopoly in these commodities. The high price, together with the shortage of fodder resulting from these restrictions has been the cause of the severe outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in cattle. This was due largely to the decreasing resistance of under-fed stock. Another effect has been the increased slaughtering of stock by owners who can feed them no longer, even though this is illegal, as slaughtering is under government control.

Nazi reports, although under-rating the true position, show that German agriculture is in a critical posi-

tion. In 1936-37 the gap, or "scissors," between agricultural and industrial prices widened from 16.3 to 21.3. In March, 1938, the price index of cattle for slaughter stood at 86.8, while that for industrial consumption goods was 135.7 (1913 equalled 100). These price figures do not, of course, take into account the deterioration in quality of manufactured goods; nevertheless, it is clear that, on the one hand, the farmer receives less for his produce, while, on the other hand, he must pay more for necessities.

Taxes have increased: in the year 1937-38 receipts from taxes and duties rose by almost 22 per cent. and have risen even further since then.

Nazi decrees and regulations which have been brought into force have had the object of regimenting agriculture on a war footing. But this regimentation has by no means been successful, because of the well-defined contradictions of fascism.

Weighed down by an ever-increasing burden of debt, the mass of German farmers are being driven to increase production and efficiency. Unable to bear this strain, agriculture has become less efficient and less productive. This critical situation is recognised by the Union of German Mortgage Banks, which claims that arrears of agricultural interest represent 21.5 per cent. of all interest arrears.

Banks wish to sell-up impoverished farmers, but for a number of years were prevented from doing so by the Inherited Farm Law of 1933 un-

der which holdings were entailed so that they could not be divided up, sold, or mortgaged. In 1933 this law was no great hardship to the banks as the price of land was very low owing to the depression. The prosperity of the large farmers and the scarcity of land for small farmers has now helped to increase land prices and the banks are eager to collect past and present debts.

The "Regulations Governing Estate Rights," of December, 1936, subjected even the large and middle farmers to disciplinary measures, even up to expropriation without compensation. Among similar orders was the decree of March, 1937, for "Insuring orderly land management." This decree provides for compulsory supervision or compulsory expropriation. Farmers must accord with the demands of the official "farm advisers" who control cropping, slaughtering of stock and selling of farm produce. Another measure of June, 1937, gave land authorities the right to reallocate the scattered holdings (a survival of feudal agriculture) of any one farmer into one paddock, thus improving the accessibility of the land. But, in order to obtain this benefit, the owner has to give up 7 per cent. of his land to the State.

Nor does this complete the list of attacks on the small farmers of Germany. Land is now requisitioned for military purposes: training grounds, aerodromes and fortifications, subterranean hangars, barracks and strategic roads. Such land is usually taken from small farmers instead of

large land-owners (to take land from the latter would doubtless lower their "efficiency"). In all, 1,730,000 acres have been requisitioned for military purposes. This requisitioning is quite ruthless, as instanced by a report from Schleswig-Holstein. Second-grade land, used by some farmers for digging peat, was found surrounded by barbed wire in 1936. The owners had no access to this—their own land, nor had they been notified of any requisition. In the intervening years the farmer has received no payment or official notification.

The effect of the Nazi dictatorship has been to reduce the smaller German farmer to the position of a "tenant" on his own farm, while the big farmer is favored and receives benefits at the expense of others.

Nazi plans for world domination are already having a marked effect not only on German agriculture, but also on those of countries such as Denmark and Rumania, both countries which are largely under the economic control of Germany. By the German-Rumanian trade agreement of March of this year, Rumania undertakes to develop her agriculture along lines laid down by the Nazi dictatorship, so that in time of war, Germany may count on Rumanian foodstuffs as protection against a naval blockade.

Denmark, too, is in a pretty plight. According to Joachim Joesten, the author of "Denmark's Day of Doom," a secret agreement is in force between Germany and Denmark. This agreement, which the

Danish press is not permitted to comment on, binds Germany to accept Danish butter, other dairy products, and bacon. In return Germany sends to Denmark whatever articles she wishes to get rid of, such as out-of-date armaments. It is arbitrarily presumed that there will be a specifically yearly balance of trade in favor of Germany, and Denmark is to hand over in exchange to the Reichsbank the equivalent of this hypothetical balance, in foreign exchange.

Germany found this to be such a good proposition that more and more butter was ordered, until the balance of trade swung heavily in Denmark's favor, despite increased dumping in Denmark by Germany. Regardless of this, Denmark is forced to hand over the agreed amount of English sterling to cover the non-existent trade debt to Germany. As a result, Germany gets half the Danish dairy produce and the English sterling which Denmark receives for the other half. It is probable that Germany, as she has done with the agricultural produce of other countries, resells Danish butter on the world market at a dumped price.

To maintain the power and wealth of the German capitalists, the Nazi dictatorship has attempted to crush the German workers and small farmers. Driven forward by the increasing internal strain, the dictatorship now seeks greater security with its programme of world domination. In order to achieve this object, the Nazis firstly enslave the German people so as to place the country on

a war economy, by which they also hope to postpone the economic crisis. Secondly, they attempt to obtain a stranglehold on the national economies of other countries, over which they finally attempt to obtain political and military control.

All those States in Europe, which have not as yet fallen to German fascism, are afraid of Nazi ambitions. *All except the U.S.S.R.* Already the machinations of the Nazi octopus are evident, not only in the European countries, but also in Turkey, the Arabian countries,

Africa, and South America. To a lesser degree the effects are to be seen in Australia.

The lesson of Germany should serve to rally the Australian farmers in a People's Front against fascism.

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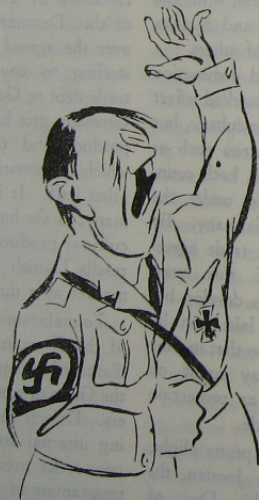
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## PAGES FROM THE PAST

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 III.—Democracy and Unionism, 1856—1890 (Continued)

#### FIRST "INTERNATIONAL" IN MELBOURNE

As was related in the last issue, I have been successful in finding a copy of the "Australian International Monthly" of June 8, 1872, organ of the Democratic Association of Victoria, section of the First International.

On the title page is the following:

#### AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY

No. 1—June 8, 1872.

"No Rights without Duties, No Duties without Rights."

Melbourne—Published by Jones and Vogt, Printers,  
175 Elizabeth St.

On the back page is the following:

The

#### "AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY"

Is published monthly at 175 Elizabeth St., Melbourne, and advocates in every form and by whatever means suggested, the cause of Progress and Humanity, the Rights of Labour and the Union of Labour's Strength.

#### AUSTRALIAN PROLETARIAN POET IN 1872

In this first issue of the "Australian International Monthly" appears a short notice of a book of poems entitled, "Efforts to be Heard," by E. F. Hughes. That review brought to my notice an Australian proletarian poet of whose existence I had been ignorant. I do not know whether any of the readers of the "Communist Review" know of him and his work. But both deserve resurrection. His "Efforts to be Heard" (1872) are very laudable efforts, indeed. They have been completely ignored by the anthologies. In the very near future I hope to have ready an anthology of Australian rebel verse, and readers will find, as I have found, that Australia has cause to be proud of her rebel poets. There follow some poems from the pen of E. F. Hughes. I have seen three of his books: "Efforts to be Heard" (1872), "Lays for Thoughtful Workers" (1875), and, the third, a long poem in the style of Milton's "Paradise Lost" called "The Millennium." The poem immediately following is the Dedication to "Efforts to be Heard."

#### DEDICATION.

To those who think, and seek to think aright,  
And thinking feel, and feeling speak and do

What they esteem good, beautiful and true;  
Whose souls enlightened, crave advancing light,  
And hail each added ray with gladdened sight—  
No matter what their clime, their race, their hue,  
Or what their forms of faith—ancient or new—

I dedicate these pages, and invite  
Their kind acceptance of the thoughts they hold,  
Some of which may perchance approval win,  
And in their own minds precious veins unfold  
Of native ore they knew not lay therein.  
'Tis thus, by mutual ministry of good,  
Earth must become one happy neighbourhood.

Hughes wrote a poem specially for the first issue of the 'Monthly.' It appears below.

### INTERNATIONAL STANDARD (ORIGINAL POETRY)

Three Spirits, named Truth, Right and Love  
Intent on doing earth some good,  
Smiling came hovering above  
The flag of human brotherhood;  
Which, wrought with skill,  
Was wide unfurled,  
And, waving high, this motto bore,  
Peace and goodwill  
To all the world,  
Earth's toilers shall be slaves no more,  
For Right,  
Grown Might,  
Triumphs, and Wrong to ruin shall be hurled.

These Spirits, bowing homage, said:  
Many have mighty aims designed  
To succor which whole kingdoms bled;  
Be ours to fuse and mould mankind;  
To heal each woe,  
Each ill to mend,  
To banish all the pride of class,  
Turn every foe  
Into a friend,  
Make discord cease, and in one mass,  
By Might  
Of Right  
Happy and prosperous all the nations blend.

When this the Sons of Toil had heard,  
They chose as chiefs these Spirits Three,  
And to their championship transferred  
The cause of human unity:  
Proclaiming still  
In every place,  
Through every land, from shore to shore,  
Peace and goodwill  
To all our race;  
Now Right  
Is Might,  
They all henceforth shall meet in one embrace.

Men of all talents, tastes and grades,  
Who work by muscle or by brain,  
Professions, callings, arts, and trades,  
Espouse our cause, and swell our train;  
While thus we teach,  
And stand or fall,  
Sovereign co-operation's plan  
Is all for each,  
And each for all,  
Man for the earth, and earth for man,  
And Right  
For Might  
Both to protect from Competition's thrall.

The standard, then, more firmly clasp,  
And wave it high o'er land and sea,  
Till all mankind its doctrines grasp,  
And form one nationality  
One brotherhood  
The race throughout,  
Fraternity the wide world o'er,  
In which the good  
And true shall shout,  
Earth's toilers shall be slaves no more,  
By Might  
Of Right  
Conspiring tyrannies we put to rout.

—E. F. HUGHES

(Australian International Monthly, 8/6/1872.)

The following is another dedication—this time to "Lays for Thoughtful Workers." It reaches a high level of earnest fervor.

## DEDICATION

[To "Lays for Thoughtful Workers," 1875]  
 To those who labour, and, while labouring, think  
 Of what they are, have been, and yet may be;  
 Who, realising their true dignity,  
 As men and citizens, agree to sink  
 All minor questions, and together link  
 Themselves in one compact confed'racy,  
 Resolved to combat every enemy  
 Of freedom, right, and truth, and never shrink  
 To face the fiercest, until all who share  
 Our common nature, shall each other own  
 As friends and brothers; and, the dazzling glare  
 Of wealth, and rank, and power no longer known  
 The people to delude, betray, and blind,  
 Gold shall give place to merit, and to mind.

—E. F. HUGHES.

And consider the uncompromising and rebel proletarian fervor of the following:

## A VOICE FROM THE REAR

Stand down in front!  
 You there, perched up above the rest,  
 Decked out in all your showy best,  
 With heads so high, and looks so proud,  
 Not heeding us who form the crowd,  
 Stand down!

Stand down in front!  
 Of what is done by other men  
 We catch but glimpses now and then;  
 No more monopolise the view,  
 But let us see as well as you.  
 Stand down!

Stand by in front!  
 Ye who the foremost places fill,  
 And fain would hope to hold them still,  
 Looking with jealous eye askance  
 On others seeking to advance,  
 Stand by!

Stand by in front!

We long have occupied the rear,  
 But now would in the van appear;  
 And, as we made, we would command  
 The pedestals on which you stand.  
 Stand by!

Stand by in front!

This lesson we would have you learn:  
 You have had yours, give us our turn;  
 "Forward" we move, nor brook delay:  
 Whoever would obstruct the way  
 Stand by!

—E. F. HUGHES.

(Lays for Thoughtful Workers, 1875)

## WHAT WAS ON IN JUNE, '72

The following are advertisements and announcements throughout the issue of the "International Monthly" of June 8, 1872. They are of interest for the light they throw on working-class activities of the time.

DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION  
OF VICTORIA

This Society holds weekly meetings for the transaction of business, and the discussion of social subjects every *Wednesday Evening*, at Mr. Manns' Secular Academy, corner of Nicholson and Gertrude Street, Fitzroy. Chair taken at 8 o'clock.

On Wednesday, June 12, the propriety of inaugurating a series of public meetings will be discussed, and the Rules of the Association will be brought up by the Committee for approval.

\* \* \*

LAND TENURE REFORM  
LEAGUE

Donations in aid of the *Funds* of the League are solicited. Members enrolled at 46 Elizabeth Street, where the publications of the League may be had gratis.

Subscription one shilling per quarter.

W. H. GRESHAM, Hon. Sec.

\* \* \*

Mr. W. S. Jamieson, Baker, Queenscliff, is appointed our agent for the sale of "The Australian International Monthly."

—JONES & VOGT.

\* \* \*

*The Members of the International of Victoria* meet every Tuesday evening, at Eight o'clock, for the purpose of enrolling members, and transacting other business in connection with the organisation.

\* \* \*

Free Discussion Society  
 Turn Verein Hall, Latrobe St.,  
 East.

Every Sunday Evening, at a quarter to Seven o'clock, the Chair is taken, and a Debate is opened



by the introducer of the Subject for the evening, the platform being open to anyone desirous of joining in the discussion.

To-morrow evening a paper will be read on "Land Tenure."

—B. LOEWY, Secretary.

\* \* \*

The Fitzroy Secular Academy  
Corner of Nicholson & Gertrude Sts.  
for

Young Ladies and Young  
Gentlemen.

This Institution is Conducted by  
Mr. Manns,

Assisted by Competent Teachers, and is established with a view of supplying what is felt to be one of the Great Wants of the Age, namely, an *Educational Establishment* of a *Secular Character*, not teaching Dogma, but inculcating principles of Morality, and cultivating a true sense of Honor.

Vacancies for Boarders.

Terms Moderate.

Elocution and Phonetic Shorthand (Pitman's System) Taught in Class or Privately.

Prospectus Forward on Application to Principal.

#### THE "INTERNATIONAL" AT WORK IN MELBOURNE IN 1872

The Democratic Association was not merely a discussion circle or mutual improvement society. Its members were active in the working-class movement. The "International Monthly" sums up the position of Melbourne labor in 1872 and the work done by the Association. The following items of news under the headings as given are very illuminating.

##### DEMOCRATIC SIGNS

"COMING EVENTS CAST  
THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE"

THE DEMOCRATIC  
ASSOCIATION OF VICTORIA

When this organisation first issued its Manifesto the reception it met with from the press was of such a character as denoted the opinion on the part of its critics that little or no good result could be expected from it. Nevertheless, it has continued quietly to pursue the course which it originally marked out for itself—that of teaching and being taught the first principles of social science—with considerable success.

The direction in which it first became observable that was some good was being realised by its operations

was in that of Co-operation, especially in regard to the Needlewomen's Union, which is a direct emanation and foster-child of the Democratic. The effects of this influence have been perceived by the "Age," but their cause has not been recognised, although sufficiently apparent, as in common justice it should have been. By some means this played-out-remnant of ancient Democracy became aware that an effort was being made to elevate the Needlewomen above the wretched state in which they are now existing; by the same means it must have been informed of the source from which the movement came; but, strange to say, a paragraph creeps into it informing its readers that on a certain evening dur-

ing the month a very successful meeting of Needlewomen took place at Mr. Manns' Academy in Nicholson Street, when, in fact, the meeting was the usual Wednesday evening's gathering of the complacently ignored Democratic Association of Victoria, which had devoted the night in question and the previous Wednesday evening to the consideration of the general question of Woman's Rights, and had invited, through the advertising columns of the "Internationalist," the attendance of females interested in the Needlewomen's Union, which was cheerfully responded to.

We can only conceive two causes for this perversion of truth. One of them is that it was wilfully brought about in order to defraud the Association of its well-deserved meed of praise; the other, that it depended on the authority of a chance contributor who had some inconceivable reason for garbling the report. In charity to the decrepit champion of Labour and Labour's Rights we are willing to accept the latter reason, and would advise our still largely circulating and yet powerful for good or evil contemporary, who can well afford it, to employ a sufficient staff of reporters to obtain for it as near the truth of passing events as it desires to publish, and then it would not commit itself quite so egregiously.

During the month, some excellent papers have been delivered, deserv-

ing a far more lengthy notice than it is in our power to give them in this number. Besides the two papers on the female question (one read by the president and the other by a gentleman who has devoted himself to the establishment of a Needlewomen's Union), there have been two excellent essays delivered, the authors of which, we feel confident, will favourably entertain our apology for not doing them justice.

Next Wednesday evening the members are especially invited to attend as the Rules are to be brought up, and the consideration of the advisability of holding public meetings entered into.

#### FREE DISCUSSION SOCIETY

The last six or seven meetings of this association have been more successful than any others since its foundation; in fact, we have been forced complacently to observe that since a fair recognition of these weekly endeavours after "more light" has been admitted to the columns of the "Internationalist" the general public are more and more in the habit of attending the generally instructive debates, and our reward in witnessing the results of our endeavours to represent the unrepresented has been great.

The Land Tenure question will form the subject of debate to-morrow evening, when, we remind our readers, the chair will be taken at a quarter to seven.

(Continued Next Issue.)

## HELMSMAN OF COMINTERN



DIMITROFF has said: "A true revolutionary and proletarian leader is formed in the fire of the class struggle and by making Marxism-Leninism his own. It is not enough to have a revolutionary temperament—one has to understand how to handle the weapon of revolutionary theory. It is not enough to know theory—one must also forge oneself a strong character with Bolshevik steadfastness. It is not enough to know what ought to be done—one must also have the courage to carry it out. One must always be ready to do anything, at any cost, which is of real service to the working class. One must be capable of subordinating one's whole personal life to the interests of the proletariat."

## THE LAND OF SOCIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT

Georgi Dimitroff

### I.

THIS year the working class throughout the world are celebrating the 50th anniversary of May Day—the day of international proletarian solidarity.

In 1889 May Day was established as a day of fraternal solidarity of the workers of all lands, as a day of military review of the forces of the proletariat, as a day of the struggle of labor against capital.

Small units of the working class began to keep this day in different countries. With every year that passed the proletarian May Day celebrations grew and spread to an increasing extent. The workers declared strikes, came out on to the streets, carried through tremendous demonstrations, and from year to year strengthened the bonds of their international solidarity.

But as the time went on the revolutionary Marxists and the reformists began to keep May Day in different ways. The Bolshevik Party, the great party of Lenin and Stalin, celebrated the day from the beginning as the day of revolutionary struggle. It fought for the daily needs of the working class, and at the same time prepared the workers for the approaching revolutionary battles against the Tsarist autocracy and capitalism.

In a leaflet written by Comrade Stalin for May Day, 1912, the Bolshevik Party proclaimed to the whole of Russia, then groaning under the Tsarist yoke, that:

"... we must on this day say ... that we swear to fight for the complete overthrow of the Tsarist monarchy, that we welcome the approaching Russian Revolution, the liberator of Russia. ... Down with capitalism! Long live Socialism!"

Nothing could prevent the Bolsheviks from celebrating May Day in revolutionary fashion; neither persecution by the Tsarist police, nor the economic pressure of the capitalists, nor the furious resistance of the Mensheviks, who opposed the celebration of May Day in a revolutionary manner.

An absolutely different approach to the celebration of May Day was made by the reformists. They were assiduous in depriving May Day of the demonstration of international proletarian solidarity and of the militant review of the forces of the proletariat and converting it into a vulgar festival, inoffensive to the bourgeoisie.

And here, in this question of the attitude to the character and content of May Day, there was manifested, decades ago, already the profound difference in principle between the two paths in the world labor movement—the path of Bolshevism, and the path of reformism, which subsequently led to two absolutely contrary results.

Reformism, which splits the working class, shows a lack of confidence in the workers' strength and in their victory, and subordin-

ates their movements to the interests of the exploiting classes, rendered it possible for the bourgeoisie, in the period of supreme revolutionary upheavals, to save itself, to prolong the existence of the system of capitalist slavery, and to proceed to the offensive against the working people.

Reformism has placed the working class and the peoples of a number of capitalist countries under the yoke of the fascist regime of barbarism and brigandage.

**Bolshevism**, which unites the forces of the working class, mobilises and leads it to an irreconcilable struggle against the exploiting classes, brought about the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class, the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

And in the light of the results of these two different trends in the world labor movement, the working class and the peoples of the capitalist world are becoming increasingly convinced of the **ruinous character of the path of reformism** and of the policy of conciliation with the imperialist bourgeoisie, of the **ruinous character of surrender** to the class enemy and of the **correctness of the path of Bolshevism** as indicated by the great continuators of Marxism, the leaders and teachers of the international proletariat—**Lenin and Stalin**.

It is with a feeling of pride, admiration and enthusiasm that, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of May Day, the proletariat and the working people of all lands celebrate the great historic victory won by the working class, who have established a socialist society on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. testifies to the mighty creative power of the working class. It shows clearly, on the basis of the example of a tremendous country, situated in the middle of the world, the all-conquering power of the proletariat, who are destined

to liberate mankind from the yoke of capitalism and to establish a free, happy, classless Socialist society.

It is as its own supreme achievement that the international proletariat celebrates the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. This victory is a triumph of international proletarian solidarity, a basis and a source of inspiration for the working class in its further struggle. The fraternal international solidarity of the workers of all lands, under whose banner they are demonstrating on May Day, has an indestructible material basis in the shape of the U.S.S.R.

During the historic eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), the land of Socialism faced the whole of mankind in the splendour of its strength, of its increasing riches, of the full bloom of the creative forces of liberated labor. Tremendous progress in all spheres of industry, agriculture, culture, science, and art were noted by the Soviet people, and together with them by the working people of all lands.

On the basis of the victory of Socialism there has been achieved the moral and political unity of the Soviet people—a unity unparalleled anywhere else in the world. The working class, peasantry, and the intelligentsia are joined together in a powerful united front, into a solid army of builders of Communism.

At a time when the capitalist States are torn by the most profound internal contradictions, and are in the throes of war, crises and general confusion, the Soviet country is without upheavals of any kind, and stands as a monolithic, indestructible force.

Whereas yonder, in the world of capitalism, crises reign which doom millions of working people to poverty, hunger and degeneration, here on the contrary, in the land of Socialism, there is unparalleled general prosperity, and a free and economic progress, which brings happy life to the people. Whereas yonder, in the capitalist world, a

bitter class struggle is being waged—as a consequence of the capitalist system of society—here, on the contrary, in the land of Socialism, the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, know nothing of class discord in their midst, and are united in an unbreakable alliance.

Whereas in the world of capitalism we see the glorification of brute nationalism and the cultivation of the hatred of nations by other nations, in the land of Socialism, on the contrary, friendship reigns between the peoples, and there is a co-operation, the like of which history has not yet seen, between numerous nations, constituting a splendid embodiment of internationalism.

Whereas, in the capitalist world, sanguinary wars are raging, and the fascist vultures are making onslaughts on peaceful peoples, here on the contrary, the Socialist State, and the entire great Soviet people stand on guard over the frontiers of the fatherland and of the international proletariat, and defend the cause of peace, which corresponds to the interests of all nations.

Through the lips of Comrade Stalin, the great Soviet people declares that it stands for the support of the peoples which have fallen victim to aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

The Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), once again demonstrated to the whole world that no intrigues and machinations of the enemy will succeed in shaking the indestructible might of the land of Socialism and the iron solidarity of the entire Soviet people around the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The Trotskyite-Bukharinite hirelings of fascism have been utterly smashed, and their contemptible names fill the masses of the people with a profound hatred.

Having purged itself of the Trotskyite and other agents of fascism and foreign Secret Services, the Soviet country has strengthened it-

self still further, and is marching on with still greater rapidity.

Having splendidly fulfilled two Stalinist Five Year Plans, the Soviet people is firmly and confidently setting about the fulfilment of the Third Five Year Plan, endorsed by Congress. Having secured the victory of Socialism, the Bolshevik Party outlined, in Comrade Stalin's speech, new, tremendous, breath-taking perspectives. The completion of the construction of Socialist society, and the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, are raised as practical tasks of the day. The slogan of Communism, which implies the fulfilment of the great principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," inspires the Soviet people to carry on the struggle for new victories and serves as a source of tremendous inspiration for the proletariat and the working people of the whole world.

In the eyes of the workers of all lands, the successes of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. signify the victory of their own cause.

They are vitally interested in these successes and in the further strengthening and development of the land of Socialism. Bound up with it is the entire fate of the international proletariat, and its liberation. The working class of the capitalist countries see in the growth and consolidation of the Soviet Union, a life-giving force, one that strengthens their faith in their own strength and in their liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

In the concluding part of his report at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin, with unsurpassed clarity and conviction, showed the significance of the victory of Socialism, won by the working class in the U.S.S.R., for the working class of the capitalist countries.

"The chief conclusion to be drawn," said Comrade Stalin, "is that the working class of our country, having abolished the exploita-

tion of man by man, and firmly established the Socialist system, has proved to the world the truth of its cause. That is the chief conclusion, for it strengthens our faith in the power of the working class and in the inevitability of its ultimate victory. . . .

"The bourgeoisie of all countries assert that, having destroyed the old bourgeois system, the working class is incapable of building anything new to replace the old.

"The working class of our country has proved in practice that it is quite capable not only of destroying the old system but of building a new and better system, a Socialist system, a system, moreover, to which crises and unemployment are unknown. The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the peasantry is incapable of taking the path of Socialism. The collective farm peasants of our country have proved in practice that they can do so quite successfully. The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it has not itself to thank, but the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be admitted that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism. If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own powers and in its victory, then our Party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt

that this will be the case."

These splendid words of Comrade Stalin point to the most fundamental thing lacking with the working class of the capitalist countries, if they are to crush fascism, overthrow capitalism and liberate themselves and their peoples from the yoke of capitalist slavery—and that is **faith in their own strength, faith in the inevitability of their victory.**

## II

The working class of the capitalist countries are facing the **Fiftieth Anniversary of May Day** in circumstances of a new imperialist war, in conditions of economic crisis and of acute struggle between fascism on the offensive, and the forces of the anti-fascist movement closing their ranks against it.

An imperialist war is already in its second year, it is raging over three continents and is spreading death and destruction over the fields of China and Spain, Abyssinia and Albania, in Central Europe and distant Asia.

In spite of the fact that the ruling classes of Britain and France possessed the forces and the possibilities, on the basis of collective security, for firmly repulsing the fascist aggressors and preventing war being let loose, yet, by their policy of non-intervention, by their Munich line, they pushed the people on to the bloody abyss of the destruction of millions of people. In their endeavour to kindle a most criminal, counter-revolutionary war—a war against the Soviet Union, to set the fascist beast of prey against the land of Socialism, the British and French imperialists rendered it possible for the fascists to engage in plunder in the heart of Europe, to lay waste and rob other countries, to enslave small nations and brazenly to reshape the map of Europe with the aid of brute force.

Encouraged by this policy, the appetites of the fascist aggressors have grown increasingly. Having seized Austria and Czechoslovakia, and inflicted a blow on Spain, fas-

cism occupied Memel, occupied Albania. It is directly threatening Poland. It is stretching out its rapacious hand to the countries of the Balkan Peninsula, seeking sources of raw material and food, and hewing out a path to the East.

It is exerting pressure on Holland, Switzerland and Belgium, and on the Scandinavian countries, and is engaged in machinations in the Latin American countries.

The fascists are building fortifications at strategic points in the Mediterranean, preparing to lay their hands on Gibraltar and the French colonies in Africa, to seize the route to the overseas possessions of Britain, and are stealthily advancing upon its colonies.

In the Far East the Japanese militarists, encouraged by this same policy of non-intervention by the biggest imperialist powers, are conducting a war of plunder against the Chinese people.

Begun by the fascist aggressive States, the new imperialist war, which has flared up with the downright toleration of the reactionary bourgeoisie of Britain and France, threatens to become transformed into a general world war.

The policy of the ruling circles of the British and French bourgeoisie—of letting loose imperialist war and of tolerating brigandage on the international arena—is indissolubly connected with a pro-fascist reactionary line in their own countries.

The bourgeoisie of Britain and France saw in the anti-fascist movement that arose, forces that could cast aside the pro-fascist friends of German and Italian fascism, that could bring to nought their agreement with the fascist aggressors.

The success of the Popular Front in France, the growing solidarity of the French proletariat, the considerable progress in the Labor and democratic movements of Britain, the U.S.A. and other countries, the heroic struggle of the Spanish people and the mighty campaign of

international anti-fascist solidarity around this struggle, and particularly the strengthening of fraternal international solidarity and contacts between the working class of the capitalist countries and the great Soviet people—all this aroused unusual alarm among the bourgeoisie. Therefore the bourgeoisie intensified their offensive against the working class, and opened up a drive against the social achievements of the proletariat and democratic liberties. They brought all possible weapons into action in order to frustrate the establishment of unity in the ranks of the proletariat, united action by the working class internationally, the movement of the anti-fascist People's Front, and primarily of the People's Front in France and Spain.

The reactionary bourgeoisie did everything possible to stifle the Spanish Republic. They did not hesitate to strike a mortal blow in the back of the heroic Spanish people, and organised the counter-revolutionary plot of Casado, Besteiro and Miaja in Madrid at the most decisive moment of the struggle of the Spanish people in defence of their country. There was no crime towards the peace, liberty and independence of the peoples to which the British and French imperialists would not resort in order to achieve agreement with the fascist aggressors, to buy off the colonial claims of fascism and to transform it into the watchdog of world reaction against the liberation struggle of the international working class and the great land of Socialism.

But the British and French reactionaries miscalculated. They have let forces loose which it is difficult for them to hold back.

It is now becoming increasingly clear to everybody that the edge of fascist aggression is now directed primarily against the West European States. The hopes of the reactionary British and French bourgeoisie of being able to drive the

fascist vultures against the Soviet Union have, as yet, not been justified. They have not been justified, but not because fascism is giving up such plans altogether, but because the Soviet nut is too hard a one for the fascist teeth. Fascism fears that on such a venture it would not only lose its teeth, but would also break its neck, and therefore it prefers to direct its aggression along the line of least resistance.

The bankruptcy of the Munich policy of "appeasement" is so clear and indisputable, that nobody, including those who created it, dares to question this now. They only seek to justify themselves by pleading that the villainy, hypocrisy and deception of their fascist partners were an unexpected surprise for them.

Thus, the events that have followed on Munich show clearly that not only did the Munich agreement not lead to peace, but that it assisted in every way in the further extension of aggression, and that instead of the imperialist contradictions being overcome a new sharpening of them has taken place.

At the same time, the letting loose of a new imperialist war, the barbarism of fascism and the criminal policy of non-intervention are calling forth a new wave of anti-fascist sentiments and of hatred for fascism and its accomplices in all countries of the world.

This mass movement finds expression in the growing opposition of the popular masses to the Munich line, in the growing resistance of the working class to the offensive of bourgeois reaction in the domestic arena, at parliamentary elections—as was the case recently in Holland and Belgium when the fascists suffered a severe defeat. The eyes of millions of hitherto confused people are being opened. Pacifist illusions are falling to the ground. Hidden enemies and cunning deceivers of the people are being exposed. The hatred of the masses is growing against them. Masses,

who but yesterday were indifferent, are being drawn into active political life and struggle. The influence of those who warned the peoples of the ruinous character of the Munich Pact is growing.

Only fascist agents and deceivers of the working class can spread false legends as to the "invincibility" of fascism, and only scared capitulators and political cowards can believe such a legend. The furious convulsions of the fascist rulers, and their boundless impudence and barbarous excesses—all these are far from being a sign of the stability of the internal strength of fascism. In resorting to fascism the bourgeoisie did so not out of an abundance of strength, but out of the consciousness of the shakiness of their rule. Faced with economic upheavals and a growing storm of indignation among the working people, the bourgeoisie passed over to the regime of fascist dictatorship, their calculations being that they would be able in this way to solve the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

But what actually took place?

Fascism boasted that it would eliminate the anarchy of capitalist economy and crises. But that, of course, proved to be beyond its strength. By means of the most severe exploitation and the plunder of the masses of the people, it succeeded in increasing the profits of the biggest capitalist sharks. But anarchy continues to corrode capitalist economic life. The notorious "planned" economy, proclaimed by the fascists, has boiled down simply to the transfer of the country's economic life to a basis of war economy. This, however, as Comrade Stalin stresses, cannot do away with the oncoming economic crisis, but on the contrary, is preparing the ground for a crisis of still more profound and destructive force. Before the eyes of the whole world the economic difficulties of the fascist countries are growing day by day.

Fascism demagogically announced the destruction of class contra-

dictions and the establishment of "the community of the interests of the entire people." But actually the opposite took place. In its endeavour—by the terror—to destroy the manifestations of the class struggle, fascism is driving the discontent of the masses deep down, and at the same time is rendering class contradictions still more acute. Instead of the "unification of labor and capital" we see the growth of class antagonisms. In no country is there such a profound abyss between the exploiters and the exploited as in the fascist countries. Fascism destroyed the legal organizations of the working class, but their place was taken by illegal ones. In the endeavor forcibly to smash up and crush the ranks of the Labor movement, fascism is, despite its will, driving the workers to join their forces in a **united proletarian front**. By plundering and oppressing the peasantry and the small townsmen, fascism is driving these sections of the population to form an alliance with the proletariat, to establish an anti-fascist Popular Front.

The bourgeoisie saw in the fascist regime a means of rooting out the Communist movement and of doing away with the danger of revolution. However, the admissions of the fascist rulers themselves and the mobilisation of the entire State machine against "the Communist danger" and the People's Front movement testify to the fact that the growth of the forces of revolution is going on without a break, and that the working class is not ceasing in its struggle and that the sympathies of the laboring people for Communism are stronger now than ever before.

Fascism has established enormous armies for its wars of conquest, but there are in the ranks of these armies hundreds of thousands of armed people who are filled with hatred for fascism. And fascism's own hinterland constitutes a portentous danger to it in case of a military clash.

With the tolerance of the reactionary bourgeoisie of Britain and France, fascism has succeeded in seizing foreign territories, but it has thereby set against itself new millions of the peoples enslaved by it, and has sharply increased the number of its mortal enemies.

All this is a clear proof that behind the outer facade of the fascist dictatorship profound processes are maturing of enormous revolutionary strength. All this is proof of the instability and shakiness of the fascist regime. Beneath the feet of the fascist brigands the ground is burning; a volcano is smouldering, the hot lava of which will sweep aside the fascist dictatorship, and what is more, capitalism itself.

### III.

**Fascism, however, will not collapse of itself.** It will not give up the further letting loose of war. The reactionary bourgeoisie will not voluntarily change their course. Only the resolute struggle of millions of the proletariat and of all working people can bar the way to fascist aggression, prevent war and curb reaction.

What is it that makes possible the offensive of the fascist aggressors and their savage attacks?

The main reason essentially is that fascist aggression and the letting loose of imperialist war, which are taking place with the tolerance of the ruling circles of the bourgeois-democratic countries, have not as yet met with the necessary rebuff from the masses of the people. But they are not meeting with this rebuff because the working class of the capitalist countries have not succeeded in overcoming the split in their ranks, in coming forward in a united front and in winning over their allies—the peasantry and the working people of the town.

The **Communist International** has on more than one occasion pointed out that if it has not proved possible hitherto to secure the establishment of united action by the working class internation-

ally, this is so because the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Parties and of the Trade Unions systematically spread the opium of superstitions regarding the stability of the bourgeois system, regarding the impossibility of a successful struggle being conducted against the fascist aggressors, spread lack of faith in the strength of the working class, and use all sorts of excuses to sabotage and frustrate the unification of the ranks of the proletariat. These reactionary leaders, being bound up in the closest degree with the ruling classes of their respective countries, fear the victory of the working class no less than the bourgeoisie do, and are at one with them in all fundamental questions of international and domestic policy.

They play skilfully on the pacifist sentiments of the masses, speculate on the legalist illusions that have been developed in the course of many decades, make use of the workers' attachment to their old organisations, and threaten to split these organisations should the United Front with the Communists be established.

A striking demonstration of the splitting, capitulatory line of these leaders is provided by the May Day Manifesto of the Second International.

At a time when the flames of the imperialist war threaten to engulf the whole world, when fascism is preparing new onslaughts, new acts of plunder, new nefarious deeds, when reaction is raising its head everywhere against the working class, the Manifesto of the Second International passes by, in deathly silence, the question of the need for rallying the forces of the working class for the struggle against fascism and war.

In this Manifesto there is not a single word about the supreme achievement of the workers of all lands, about the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, however, the astonish-

ed reader learns from the Second International's Manifesto about the successes of Socialism . . . in New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries. The ill-starred authors of the Manifesto imagine that they will be able by this "Scandinavian Socialism"—an invention fit to make a cat laugh—to undermine the attachment of millions of workers throughout the world for the great land of Socialism. Miserable, ridiculous creatures!

The masses of workers have the right to ask: **What sort of socialists are these, when they come out against real, genuine Socialism?**

**What sort of leaders of the Labor movement are these,** when not only do they fail to use the example of the U.S.S.R. to show the great creative power and victory of the working class, but stubbornly endeavor, in some way at least, to weaken the significance of this victory in the eyes of the workers of their countries?

**What sort of supporters of peace are these,** what sort of defenders of the interests of the peoples menaced by the danger of fascist aggression, when by their action against the U.S.S.R., by their sabotage of united working-class action, they are helping the fascists and their accomplices among the imperialist cliques of other countries, to set alight the flames of a new world war?

We Communists know that in the world Labor movement the forces of the supporters of united working-class action are growing and gathering strength, that ever wider circles of workers are powerfully raising their voices on behalf of the establishment of unity.

We also know that profound processes of differentiation are taking place within the Second International, that with every passing day increasing numbers of leading figures in the ranks of Social Democracy and the Trade Unions are giving expression to the will of the workers by more and more determinedly raising the

question of the establishment of a united front with the Communist Parties.

While the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party expels Cripps for his campaign on behalf of the Popular Front, numerous members and even entire branches of this Party and of the Trade Unions are declaring against the decision of the Executive Committee and are supporting Cripps.

While Paul Faure's "Munich" group in the Socialist Party of France is doing everything possible to disrupt the United Front, the majority of the Party is declaring resolutely for the United Front with the Communists and for the anti-fascist Popular Front. Such facts are no longer isolated ones. Their number is growing without interruption.

And we are firmly convinced that the day is not far distant when, under the pressure of the millions of the working class, this United Front will become an accomplished fact.

No force will stop this inevitable historic process. It is imperatively demanded by the entire course of events, and primarily by the need to struggle against the war of plunder being kindled by the fascist aggressors.

On this basis, the Communist International once again addresses to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions an appeal to establish united action.

In its May Day Manifesto the Executive Committee of the Communist International declares:

"Expressing the will of the working class of all countries, the Communist International proposes to the Executives of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions . . . immediately to commence negotiations regarding the establishment of a United Front for struggle, against the instigators and incendiaries of war. The

Communist International proposes to the Labor and Socialist International a platform for unity of action—defence of peace on the basis of a determined repulse to the fascist aggressors, the organisation of collective security, the struggle in each capitalist country against the treacherous policy of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who seek agreement with the fascist aggressors, to the detriment of the liberty and independence of their own nation. The Communist International proposes that a conference of Labor organisations of the whole world be convened to draw up a concrete plan of action, to map out the ways and means of struggle, to devise a single organ for the co-ordination of joint action."

(From the May Day Manifesto.)

And he who really stands for the interests of the working class, who really sees in blood-thirsty fascism the enemy of all working people, he who has no desire to transform the earth into a sanguinary battlefield for the sake of the interests of the bourgeoisie, cannot turn down the proposal of the Communist International.

The Communists, the advanced workers and all United Front supporters will make this proposal of the Communist International the starting point for a mighty campaign on behalf of united action and the extensive mobilisation of the masses for the struggle against fascism and war.

The decisive condition for the successful fulfilment of the tasks facing the working class of the capitalist countries is, above all, the strengthening of the Communist Parties themselves, organisationally, ideologically and politically.

Since the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Parties in a number of capitalist countries, by overcoming sectarianism in

their ranks and tenaciously pursuing the United Front tactics, have made considerable progress, extending their influence over the masses, and have become political factors of considerable weight in the life of their countries, in the life of their peoples. But our weakness is that the Communists do not always as yet consolidate their ideological and political influence in organisational forms. It is also a weakness of ours that we lag behind in the sphere of the Marxist-Leninist training of the cadres of the Communist Parties and the Labor movement.

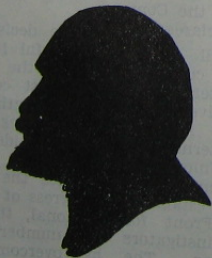
This lag provides favorable ground for the penetration of hostile influences into the ranks of the Communist Parties, for all sorts of opportunist distortions of the policy and tactics of the Parties, distortions that are exceptionally harmful, particularly in conditions where the situation changes rapidly and where sharp turns are taking place in the development of events.

The Communist Parties, the militant vanguard of the working class, need constantly to study and master Marxism-Leninism, the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. They need to do so as much as they need bread, air and water. An end must be put as rapidly as possible to the disdain-

ful attitude to theory, to the tendency towards Empiricism.

The publication and distribution of Marxist-Leninist literature and particularly of the works of Lenin and Stalin, and the publication of the "Short Course of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B)" in editions running into thousands of copies, which the Communist Parties have set about—all this is a welcome beginning in the direction indicated. But it is only a beginning. The task of systematically studying and really mastering this splendid book, this Encyclopaedia of Marxist-Leninist science, this living embodiment of the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin, and its comprehensive employment in the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, lies ahead.

Every Communist, every advanced worker, every honest leader of the Labor movement, must clearly appreciate that the basic condition for the fulfilment of the historic tasks facing the working class is above all that the vanguard of this class master Marxist-Leninist theory and apply it in practice, that the fighters of the world working class and anti-fascist movement are armed with the powerful, victorious weapon of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin.



## CONCISE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM

E. Yaroslavsky

(Continued From Last Issue.)

**D**URING the process of its development, new horizons opened up to the Bolshevik Party, new problems on the grand scale arose which the Party well knew how to solve successfully. Every step forward enriched the arsenal of the international struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism for Socialism. *Bolshevism became the theory and tactics of all Workers' Parties.* Just as the teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is correct, the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.) shows that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is all-powerful because:

"The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find its direction in a situation, to understand the inner connection of the events going on around it, to foresee the course of events and to perceive not only how and in what direction events are developing in the present, but how and in what direction they must tend in the future.

"Only a Party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward.

"On the other hand a party which has not mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory, is compelled to grope its way, acts without assurance and is unable to lead the working class forward."

In preparing the "Short History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)" the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) wished to give a uniform guiding line to the History of the Bolshevik

Party, free from the arbitrary interpretation of any individual author writing on the history of the Party; it wished to give an interpretation, thoroughly tested and recognised by the Party, of historical facts and experiences. These historical facts and experiences are presented in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, while earlier books on the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) were not seldom superficial and disjointed narrations of events which were not at all or falsely, illuminated by theory. In these books the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism were not laid down. In the practical work of the propagandists and teachers of the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) there often arose incongruities between the history of the Party, Leninism, and the teaching of Marx and Engels.

The "Short History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)" disposes of this incongruity. It points anew to the doctrine of Leninism, but shows at the same time that Lenin's teaching is inseparably bound up with the doctrine of Marx and Engels (and that one cannot be a good Leninist unless one is familiar with the fundamental works, the teachings of Marx and Engels. The Short History makes an end of the shallow-

ness and over-simplification which were characteristic of the earlier textbooks on the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.). For example, in these textbooks the Party's way was not seldom shown as an unbroken progress from victory to victory without defeats or retreats at any stage of development. The Short History does away with these tendencies which are harmful to Bolshevik education. This book shows the reasons for the defeat of the revolution in 1905 as well as the difficulties of the period of the Brest-Litovsk peace; it shows why and how the Party had to make a retreat in the period of reaction and in the first period of the New Economic Policy.

In this way the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.) arms Party members with the ability to overcome difficulties and to proceed from temporary defeats to glory. The International Workers' Movement can derive rich experience and valuable teaching for itself from the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.). The most important doctrine is always to be in close connection with the masses, to lead them forward in periods of change, not to lament at the moment of defeat, not to abandon oneself to moods of depression, pessimism and irresponsibility, to continue the work under any reactionary government, if necessary to carry on illegally and cautiously continue the work, to employ new methods in the struggle and to know that the forces of Communism are growing.

And the other important lesson of the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.) is,

not to be made conceited by victory, not to lose vigilance if the foe is not yet completely destroyed, to fight against all suggestions of compromise and conciliation with the enemy, against Social Democratism, opportunism, against the Trotskyites and Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists, to eradicate from our midst all opportunist forbearance and all attitudes of compromise with tendencies inimical to Marxism-Leninism.

The "Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B.);" ensures a high theoretical level and abolishes theoretical backwardness of Party members. It is for this reason that so much attention is paid to theoretical questions in the History. These questions of theory are introduced in the first chapter. In spite of the great concentration of the Short History, there are thoroughly treated in it not only all the fundamental theoretical works of Lenin and Stalin, but also a series of theoretical works by Marx and Engels. In the Short History there is not only an account of the course of revolutionary events and the life of the Party since the formation of the C.P.S.U. (B.), but also there are presented the main theses of Marxist-Leninist theory, of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and of dialectical and historical Materialism.

The History of the C.P.S.U. (B.) is Marxism-Leninism in practice. In order to use this weapon aright one must understand it thoroughly. Therefore this book presents the foundations of dialectics and of Historical Materialism. Dialectical and

Historical Materialism provide the clue to understanding the laws according to which society develops:

"Hence this clue to the study of the laws of history, of society, must not be sought in men's minds, in the views and ideas of society, but in the mode of production practised by society in any given historical period; it must be sought in the economic life of society.

"Hence the prime task of historical science is to study and disclose the laws of production, the laws of development of the productive forces and of the relations of production, the laws of economic development of society.

"Hence, if it is not to err in policy, the is to be a real party, it must above all acquire a knowledge of the laws of development of production, of the laws of economic development of society.

"Hence, if it not to err in policy, the party of the proletariat must both in drafting its programme and in its practical activities proceed primarily from the laws of development of production, from the laws of economic development of society." ("Short History.")

This book gives to every Marxist the most essential knowledge of political economy. The Short History shows what gigantic work was done by the Bolshevik Party at the Front and in the building of Socialism. One can thus say that this book is a concise encyclopaedia of Bolshevik knowledge.

The first Marxist group in Russia, the "Liberation of Labor" group, organised by Plekhanov, Axelrod, Vera Sassulitsch and others, was not bound up with the workers' movement. They can claim undisputed credit for having spread Marxism in Russia as there was as yet no Workers' Party. To them also must be given the credit of striking the first blow at the Narodniki.

But only with the birth of the "Fighting Union for the Liberation

of the Working Class," led by Lenin did there appear at the head of the Workers' Movement an organisation bearing in it the seed of the future Bolshevik Party, the seed of the Communist International.

Lenin, Stalin and their pupils realised the dream of Marx and Engels—they created a real Communist International. The road to this lay via the defeat of the various anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist groups and Parties. These Parties not infrequently disguised and masked themselves in a cloak of Marxism.

It is well known that the Russian Mensheviks who fled before the Proletarian Revolution were supported by the leaders of the Second International (and are so supported up to the present day).

Lenin's fight against the Economists, the Legal Marxists, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries and Anarchists was, from the beginning, of great international importance. *And the whole experience of the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.) is beyond doubt of international importance*, though not in the sense that the Workers' Parties of other countries should copy the examples of the activity of the C.P.S.U. (B.)—in other situations the teaching of Marxism-Leninism must naturally be differently applied. The experience of the work of the Bolshevik Party before the Socialist Proletarian October Revolution is of great significance to the Workers' Parties which must work illegally, and the spread of Fascism and increase of reaction forces the Communist Parties and



other Workers' Parties in many countries into illegality. For even in 1917, after the fall of Tsardom, the Bolshevik Party had to lead a kind of half legal existence, persecuted by the Kerensky Government supported by the Parties of compromise, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. The Bolshevik Party was able to conquer because it did not admit opportunism, but carried on a relentless struggle against all its manifestations, because it was quite implacable against the compromisers and defeatists, because its attitude to the bourgeoisie and towards all reactionary forces was revolutionary, because it mastered the progressive theory of the Workers' Movement, because it understood and still understands how to criticise its own mistakes, because it is closely bound up with the masses. That is the lesson taught by the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.).

Take, for example, Lenin's activity after the Second Party Conference, when the opportunists, perturbed by the successes of Bolshevism, united, and, supported by the leaders of the Second International, led the campaign against Lenin. In his book, "One Step Forward Two Steps Back," Lenin exposed the whole harmfulness of opportunist vacillations. He knew how to gather the majority of Party Committees round the revolutionary programme of action which he developed in the pamphlet "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution."

The Bolshevik current was victorious in the working class because

the Party knew how to convince the workers of the correctness of its teaching and of the opportunism of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. The Bolshevik Party was able to win because it was in close contact with the masses, because it knew how to develop general agitation and thorough theoretical propaganda. It won because it was implacable against the Mensheviks, against the Leftist phrase-mongers in its own midst (the so-called Otso-vists), against the Trotskyists who hid their hostility like chameleons under the most varied colors. Persistence and tenacity in pursuit of a goal is another memorable characteristic of the Bolsheviks. This sign, this characteristic of the Bolshevik Party runs like a red thread through the whole history of the C.P.S.U. (B.). No persecutions in the Stolypin period of reaction were able to prevent the Bolsheviks from getting control of all kinds of movements of the workers, from penetrating deep into all organisations through which it was possible to exert influence on the workers and peasants, nor were these persecutions able to prevent them from making use of the tribune of the National Duma as a revolutionary tribune, from which they threw their revolutionary watchwords over the heads of the reactionary deputies, priests, great landlords and capitalists into the masses of the workers. No persecution of the Workers' Press at the time of reaction was able to prevent the Bolshevik Party from spreading Bolshevik teaching among the masses. Later

in 1917, no slanders were so strong that the Bolsheviks did not render them ineffectual, and found the way to the masses past all obstacles.

One can say that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the sharpest and best-tried weapon of the Bolsheviks. Lenin always underlined the fact that the Bolsheviks are the guardians of revolutionary tradition, the revolutionary heirs of Marx and Engels. But we do not preserve it in the way that the custodian of a museum preserves an ancient parchment. We keep it as a fighter keeps his weapon. We perfect this weapon, we hold it ever ready for the struggle.

The revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels would be of no help to the Party of the working class if the Bolsheviks looked on it as a finally established dogma. Lenin wrote in 1913, in the article already quoted, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism",

"The history of philosophy, the history of social science, show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling "sectarianism" in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose away from the highroad of development of world civilisation. On the contrary the genius of Marx consists precisely in fact that he furnished answers to questions which had already engrossed the foremost minds of humanity." (p. 68.)

"The Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)", shows that one ought not to conceive of the theory of Marx and Engels, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism as something petrified, static or dogmatic. For the Bolsheviks the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is not a dogma but a guide to action.

"The Marxist-Leninist theory must

not be regarded as a collection of dogmas, as a catechism, as a symbol of faith, and the Marxists themselves as pedants and sticklers. The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in development, it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions corresponding to the historical conditions." ("Short History.")

"The Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)" gives a series of examples to show that Lenin and Stalin drew new conclusions from new revolutionary experiences. Lenin developed the *new theory of the Socialist proletarian revolution because the old theory of the possibility of the victory of the Socialist Revolution at the same time in all countries did not apply under new conditions.* The new period of Capitalism, the period of Imperialism has shown that *the victory of Socialism in one country is possible.* Marx and Engels taught that on the day following the proletarian revolution, after the proletariat had taken possession of the means of production, the State began to die out. In so doing, Marx and Engels were proceeding from the possibility of a victory of Socialism in all Capitalist countries at the same time. However, the proletarian revolution was completed in one single country. The young Soviet State, encircled by Capitalist neighbors on five-sixths of the earth, not only could not relinquish its func-

tions as a State but had to strengthen them still more—the functions of defending the country, of suppressing the exploiting classes, the function of defending its borders, its social system and the life and property of the citizens of the Socialist society. The State has not died out in these twenty-one years of the life of the U.S.S.R. Its functions as a State will remain as long as capitalist encirclement remains.

The history of the Party characterises two kinds of wars; *the just war and the unjust war.*

"It was not to every kind of war that the Bolsheviks were opposed. They were only opposed to wars of conquest, imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks held that there are two kinds of wars:

"(a) **Just wars**, that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack, and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

"(b) **Unjust wars**, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

"Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government." ("Short History.")

We know of many examples of just wars and of unjust wars both before the imperialist war of 1914-18 as well as after this war. Today the fascist robbers are waging a war of conquest, occupy the territories of other countries and enslave foreign peoples. The fascist aggressors overthrew Abyssinia, occupied Austria and dismembered Czechoslo-

vakia, they wage Imperialist war in Spain and China. The heroic people of Spain and China wage a just war against the fascist invaders, they defend their independence, their freedom and the territorial integrity of their countries.

A whole number of such facts presented by the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.) proves the correctness of the principle that the Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, that dogmatic Marxism is not seldom a cloak for opportunists and for their activities against the proletariat.

"The Bolshevik Party could not have won in October, 1917, if its foremost men had not mastered the theory of Marxism, if they had not learned to regard this theory as a guide to action, if they had not learned to advance Marxist theory by enriching it with the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat." ("Short History.")

In the work "Left-wing Communism; an Infantile Disorder," Lenin answers the question, in the struggle against what enemies within the working-class movement, Bolshevism grew, gained strength and became steeled.

"First of all, and principally, in the struggle against opportunism, which, in 1914, definitely grew into social-chauvinism and definitely went over to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. This was naturally the principal enemy of Bolshevism in the working-class movement. This enemy remains the principal enemy also on an international scale." (p. 17.)

But at the same time the Bolshevik Party struggled within the Workers' Movement against petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

(Concluded Next Issue.)

## Conserving Our Language

J. N. Rawling

**A** LONG with others, I welcomed Kevin Connolly's excellent article, *Overhauling Our Language*, which appeared in the *May Review*. I was, therefore, all the more surprised to see, in the succeeding issue, what purported to be a *Retort Courteous* to that article. Having read it, I thought I could have suggested a more appropriate title, for, to my feeling of surprise, were added others of impatience and exasperation. In the resultant mood I should have suggested "peevish" instead of the adjective selected. One could have imagined the original article's exciting some comment, but not the illogical attack upon it by Comrade Purdy.

In my opinion, Comrade Connolly's contribution was almost perfect. It was certainly long overdue and pointed to many weak points in the English of Party publications. It is surely at once illogical, naive and opportunistic for Comrade Purdy to claim (as he does) that, because our Party has grown, our language must have been good. Such arguments as this would indicate the necessity for a course in logic at our Party schools, as well as one in English.

Comrade Connolly appealed for attention to be paid to our language, to our English, to our manner of expressing ourselves and presenting our case. He did so most thoroughly,

giving examples of bad English and bad expression. His aim was to help the Party writers to make of their work a more efficient and a more effective weapon. To such an appeal there could have been several responses. One response would have been to retort, "To Hell with Grammar." Of course, if we are to take up that attitude, there is nothing more to be said. We'll continue disgusting and driving away, or failing to convince, thousands of people, as we have done in the past, Comrade Purdy's disclaimer notwithstanding. Another would be to agree that, not only the gaining of a knowledge of Marxism, but also the acquiring of the ability to write and speak, necessitates study and attention. The response of the *Retort Courteous* approximates more nearly with the first than with the second. Let us, on the other hand, pay attention to what Comrade Connolly had to say and to the examples he gave. The result would be the conviction that we had to improve and the seeking of means to do so.

It would almost seem that Comrade Purdy had determined to give readers of the *Review* some examples of the very things that Comrade Connolly had condemned. His article contains at least five grammatical errors, many examples of bad phrasing and instances of that

exaggeration which is so nauseating to the outsider who has not steeled himself to put up with "communese." For example, I know that lines six to thirty-one of the first column of page 372 would tend to urge many intelligent people to throw away the *Review* in disgust. Abject genuflections before a master and the abnegation of one's intellectual independence can lead only to general stagnation. To state that the standard of Lenin's and Stalin's writing can never be reached by ordinary mortals is to excite amazement and ridicule. While our writers have much to learn from them in the matter of clarity and logic, neither would claim to be great stylists and both would urge, and have urged, higher standards. And, what is more to the immediate point, neither could write English, which, after all, is supposed to be the language we are writing in. What we have of Lenin and Stalin has reached us through a translator.

To learn to write English let us go to the masters of English, especially to those writers of the people whose words have been fired by sympathy, indignation and enthusiasm. Journalese, the talkies, and the general lowering of the level of education have resulted, I am convinced, in a deterioration of the written language. That is not to say that there are no masters of English today. But it is to say that we Communists have a task to raise the standard and to be the custodians of the literary heritage that is ours.

In addition to the writers mentioned by Connolly, I would suggest also the writings of the nineteenth century scientists, Huxley, Tyndall and Clifford, who combined logical argument and scientific demonstration with beauty of language. Amongst modern writers that I would urge Communists to emulate is the American, Upton Sinclair, in whose works there is never a dull sentence. But—and this is where I differ from Comrade Purdy—I do not approach any of these in the spirit of worship. I merely urge that we endeavor to carry on our English tradition, of which their writings have become a part, and to help make of our noble English language a still more efficient and beautiful medium for the transport of our ideas and ideals. Let us not degrade it.

In our press—and in the capitalist press, too—there are many evidences of the degradation of our language. There have been, and are, grammatical errors, the wrong use of words, errors of style and taste, bad constructions, lack of clarity, abuse instead of argument, exaggerated language, naivety, bathos, lack of dignity, and so on. One could go through any issue of the *Workers' Weekly* and find examples of these. They are not so common as formerly. But would not their elimination make our work more effective? Comrade Connolly appealed to our writers to help eliminate them. Is it too much to ask our would-be writers to give as much attention to learning how

to write English as they would to learning any other trade or profession? The essentials of grammar and literary usage should be mastered and some of the masters of English read. Care and revision, thought and attention to detail, would make for a general improvement. I would recommend a study of H. W. and F. G. Fowler's *The King's English*—it is, of course, the people's English, but the title does not spoil a good book.

Finally, in regard to the gradual changing of language that Comrade Purdy mentions, it is necessary to retain the correct perspective. Language *does* change—but not always for the better. There are ever two tendencies—the conservative and the innovating. The rise of the middle classes to power in the 16th and 17th centuries brought great changes in our language. Those changes were almost wholly good and they made of English the world's most flexible and expressive language. The Industrial Revolution brought further changes and others are still being made. But all changes have not

been good. One regrets the passing of many words and phrases and manners of expression. Today, many changes are being made that are wholly bad—changes that reflect the rottenness of capitalist society. When ignorant journalists repeat illogical errors of grammar and idiom until they pass into the everyday vocabulary of the people, are we then to receive these as desirable additions to, or changes in, our language? More desirable than what they displace? Or are we to place our standard in the hands of Hollywood actors whose voices carry to every corner where English is spoken the particular slang and ugliness that it suits the purses of the film magnates at the moment to perpetuate? No, it seems to me that, in this period of capitalist decline, when standards of culture tend to be thrown off at a tangent downhill, our influence has to be a conserving one. At any rate, let us conserve the heritage that the English writers of the people have handed down to us and—not throw retorts courteous or discourteous at those who endeavor to raise our literary standards.

## N.Z. NEWS LETTER

### The City States Its Terms

**B** RITISH Money Power has delivered its ultimatum to New Zealand. It could have found no better vehicle than the London "Times," the organ of the pro-

fascist circles of finance-capital most closely connected with the Chamberlain government. It was the "Times" which in a notorious editorial foreshadowed the betrayal

of Czechoslovakia and Munich. It was the "Times" which made the equally ominous statement that Chamberlain's guarantee applied to the "independence" of Poland but not necessarily to its "integrity." It is the "Times" which has laid down the programme of the city for the strangling of yet another democracy, this time a British Dominion.

On June 16 the city editor of the "Times," writing in connection with Mr. Nash's loan negotiations in London, stated that it is doubtful "whether it is justifiable to give New Zealand sufficient assistance to sustain the government's ambitious programme intact. The writer adds that the present development of manufactures in New Zealand is excessively rapid and lavish. A reduction in the tempo, combined with an adjustment of other matters in which the Dominion's economy is out of gear, might involve a substantial saving in New Zealand's sterling requirements without involving Mr. Savage in any sacrifice of principle."

The "other matters" which British finance-capital considers in need of adjustment, are undoubtedly the 40-hour week, the social security legislation, wage scales and public works expenditure.

It will be seen that the terms which the city is laying down for New Zealand are *political ones*, going far beyond the mere driving of a hard bargain over a loan renewal. Its objectives clearly are to smash the Labor government and with it the democratic movement in New

Zealand, which has proved such an irritating thorn in its side. Two main demands may be noted from the "Times" editorial:

(1) The strangling of any New Zealand industrial development, to which the Labor government has given considerable encouragement and which is assisted by the present import restrictions. New Zealand is to be given a "Rumania deal," at the behest of the Federation of British Industries, in order that it may remain an open market for British manufactures;

(2) the smashing of the social legislation and the achievements of the working class in the past three and a half years.

That these are the basic objectives of British reaction is confirmed from other sources, British and New Zealand. On June 15, the "Manchester Guardian's" city editor commented that "people who provide the money want to be sure it will not be used to increase imports of industrial plant and thus enable New Zealand to further compete with imported manufactures." The London "Financial Times" declares: "The first essential should be a slowing down of expenditure on social and economic reform . . ." on which the N.Z. "Financial Times" comments, under the heading "London Will Lend—At a Price": "Lenders will want to know . . . what modification will be applied to public works expenditure, and how and when the general level of State spending is to be reduced." Clear enough.

The city believes that it has New Zealand in a cleft stick. A £17,000,000 loan falls due in the first days of 1940, which in the existing state of N.Z. sterling funds, in spite of import restrictions, cannot possibly be paid off. Either Mr. Nash must renew the loan, under the terms laid down by reactionary finance-capital, or else it must default, when the same measures will be employed against it as were used against the N.S.W. Labor government, according to Money Power's calculations. Similarly, New Zealand needs loan money for defence expenditure. Once again, the city believes it holds the ace; either New Zealand must endanger its security and incur the charge of being the weak link of Imperial defence, or it must come to terms. As "Reynold's News," organ of the British Co-operative Movement put it: "The nation (of N.Z.) is being held to ransom in the interests of the British moneyed and trading class."

In reality the Labor government is reaping the fruits of its policy of concessions to reaction in the past. The measures necessary to prevent the flight of capital and the depletion of sterling exchange funds were imposed too late, for fear of an accusation that New Zealand had committed "a breach of the Ottawa agreement" (an accusation which is now being made by the Federation of British Industries, in spite of Mr. Nash's over-scrupulous tardiness in taking steps against the financial wreckers). Again, in order to "create a favor-

able atmosphere in London" for present loan negotiations, the government consented to a general rise in internal interest rates in connection with its £4,500,000 internal loan, which has netted generous returns for the banks and wealthy insurance companies who invested heavily. British Money Power has rewarded it for its pains by the present barefaced blackmail. Once again we see that the policy of "appeasement" of reaction only encourages it.

There is no need for the Labor government, even now, to accept the terms of finance-capital, which would involve a definite lowering of the standard of life of the N.Z. people, a rapid rise in unemployment and a strangling of democracy (for it is certain that they would not willingly be accepted by a people which has known an advance in its standards). If the government would rely on the people instead of on an appeal to the stony hearts of the city, if it would rally British Labor to its side over the heads of Chamberlain and Co., if it would take really vigorous steps to mobilise the untapped financial resources in New Zealand through increased taxation of the wealthy and a compulsory internal loan from the banks and insurance companies—it would be able to overcome its difficulties and rally the people around it. A recourse to the American loan market is not out of the question, and indeed Mr. Savage has hinted at such a possibility. But the essential thing is

mobilisation of the united forces of the people.

New Zealand reaction has its part to play in this plot against Labor and democracy. It is advancing to take up new positions under cover of the barrage laid down by the heavy artillery in London. In this the situation differs from the election offensive of reaction last year, in which the N.Z. Nationalists held the centre of the stage. Now more powerful and more subtle forces are in action to break down the defences which New Zealand democracy threw up in October, 1938.

In a programme speech at Palmerston North a spokesman of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Mr. McCaul, declared: "If we wish to save our standard of living we must sacrifice the 40-hour week. I make an appeal to every citizen of New Zealand . . . to work longer hours and work harder . . . I point to a hard road, but a safe one." This speech was made on June 11. The date coincides closely with the British press offensive. What we are dealing with is a co-ordinated plan of campaign of British and N.Z. reaction.

But this was not the most remarkable feature of Mr. McCaul's speech. Attacks on the 40-hour week by spokesmen of big business in New Zealand are familiar enough. Its distinctive feature was its unbridled attack on New Zealand. "New Zealand is the poorest endowed country in the British Empire," he declared. "Most of our land is poor . . . we have very little

mineral wealth . . . we cannot produce high-grade metallurgical coke" and so on. This line was promptly developed by the reactionary press. The N.Z. "Herald" writes down New Zealand's assets heavily, in writing about "this pleasant but comparatively poor land." "Two-thirds of New Zealand possesses little value other than scenic." Never before has New Zealand found itself so thoroughly black-guarded by New Zealanders.

It is hardly necessary to say that these estimates are completely false. The richness of New Zealand's farm lands is an old story, which has earned it a world reputation. Nor is it so poor in mineral deposits as is commonly supposed. Contrary to Mr. McCaul's statement, New Zealand has coal capable of producing the best metallurgical coke that can be made. Iron deposits at Onekaka (which the Labor government intends to develop as a State enterprise, in the face of fierce opposition from the Nationalists) show a test 25 per cent. above British standard specifications. The real purpose of these fraudulent declarations of bankruptcy is to show that N.Z. is too poor to afford the 40-hour week or decent wages or the guaranteed price for dairy produce. To achieve their objectives the spokesmen of reaction will drag New Zealand's name in the mud. Mr. Sullivan, Labor Minister of Industries and Commerce, rightly described Mr. McCaul's speech as "the most damaging speech that has been made

for some time against New Zealand by a New Zealander."

This concerted attack of British and New Zealand reaction is stirring the working class to resistance against any encroachments on its gains of the past years. The movement of last November against the insolence of the employers is being repeated, with new sections of the workers involved. This is the most hopeful feature of the situation, since it indicates that the New Zealand workers will by no means allow their standards to be sacrificed on the altar of the city.

The main movement has come in the building trades, where recent Arbitration Court awards have perpetuated old wage scales in spite of increased costs of living, as well as the scandal of no paid holidays. 2,500 building trades workers attended a stop-work meeting in the Auckland Town Hall last week, and 2,000 a similar meeting in Wellington, to protest against these awards. This week Auckland drivers held a similar stop-work meeting, as a result of efforts by the employers to sabotage the 40-hour week. These meetings have been marked not only by the large numbers involved, but by the very high level of solidarity and militancy. Building trades workers are demanding the enactment of the government's Holidays With Pay Bill.

Other powerful movements are developing amongst the workers. Waikato miners unanimously and emphatically rejected a proposal to re-introduce machines in pillar work-

ings, on the grounds of the danger involved, in spite of an appeal by the Minister of Mines to confer on the question with the owners. They point out that there are other ways of increasing production, without placing the lives of miners in jeopardy. (In fact the coal owners are carrying out a real sit-down strike, refusing to undertake necessary developmental work in the fields, etc.) Even the Navy has been involved in this movement for the maintenance and improvement of conditions, and recently N.Z. naval ratings from the "Leander" and the "Achilles" walked ashore for a protest meeting against disgracefully low rates of pay. They expect the Prime Minister's pledge that no man will suffer economically through service in the defence forces to be given effect to in the Navy. They have succeeded in securing the appointment of a committee to investigate their grievances and an immediate increase in the allowances for married men.

These movements are characteristic of the spirit of resistance to the offensive of finance-capital that exists at present. There is in the New Zealand people sufficient reserves of courage, initiative and common sense to enable the Labor government to overcome all its difficulties, if only it will learn to rely on them instead of on "Fifth Column" advisers and experts, who still infest the State apparatus.

GORDON WATSON.

June 27, 1939.

# PALESTINE — A PROBLEM FOR ARABS AND JEWS

S. Morris

ONE of the centres in dispute during the last war was the Near East, with its chemical and oil resources, and the Suez Canal and route to India and the East. Most of this area which included Syria and Palestine, was under the rule of the Turks, who controlled it not only temporally, but also spiritually, through the Caliphate, the centre of the Moslem Church.

With the outbreak of hostilities, commenced the intrigue on the part of Great Britain and her allies to secure the assistance of the Arabs, who were enslaved by the Turkish despotism. The British government negotiated with the Sherif of Mecca, promising assistance to the Arabs if they would revolt and join the cause of the Allies.

In June, 1915, a British statement was issued to the effect that the Arabian Peninsula would be assured of independence at the restoration of peace. The German and Turkish governments were giving similar promises to the Arabs.

While the Arab negotiations were being conducted, Great Britain, France and Czarist Russia concluded a secret treaty *dividing up the area amongst themselves*. This treaty was unknown to the Arabs until it was published, when the Soviet government took power in 1917.

Not content with its treachery to the Arabs the British government through the Balfour Declaration sought the support of the Jews on false promises. Mr. Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Lord Rothschild a statement to the effect that the government would endeavor to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine without interfering with the rights of the non-Jewish population. Mr. Lloyd George, who was the British Prime Minister, told the 1936 Royal Commission that the reason for the declaration at that time was "due to propagandist reasons." The Allied Powers were in a bad way in spite of successes in Palestine, and it was considered that the sympathy of the Jewish people in all parts of the world would be most helpful in saving the position. Millions of leaflets notifying the Jewish people of the Balfour Declaration were dropped from the air on German and Austrian towns, and distributed throughout the Jewish centres of Russia and Poland. At the same time, the Zionist leaders conducted a campaign to rally Jewish support for Britain and her Allies. The Central Powers had also realised the possible value of the Jewish people in the war and had conducted negotiations with German Zionists and

the Turks, but Britain gained control of Palestine before agreement was arrived at.

The Balfour Declaration was confirmed by the League of Nations when granting the Mandate of Palestine to Great Britain. The Mandate included the right of the Arab people to self government.

In 1920 Britain replaced the military regime with a so-called Civil Administration in Palestine consisting of a High Commissioner, Executive Council and Advisory Council, appointed by the British government. All senior officials were British. This was the first step in the "self government of Palestine" in the terms of the Mandate.

It is necessary to mention here that Arab society in Palestine was still almost feudal, a few wealthy landowners and the mass of the people tilling the soil in abject misery and poverty. Malaria was rife, public health activity almost nil. Education for the masses was unknown.

The first serious Arab disturbance occurred in 1920 in which a number of Jews were killed and wounded. Again in 1921, a most frightful attack was made on the Jews. To conciliate the Arabs, they were allowed to form a Supreme Moslem Council and the Mufti of Jerusalem was elected President. The Mufti was the representative of the old wealthy landholding class, with little or no concern for the Arab masses.

There was, for general reasons, a gradual depreciation of the econo-

mic position in Palestine from 1925 till 1928. This caused a falling off in Jewish immigration and activity. A feeling developed amongst the Arabs that the Zionists would abandon their claims. Jewish immigration increased after 1928.

Nationalism in the Near East had been steadily asserting itself. Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, all had gained some measure of independence and this fanned the sparks of the Palestine Arabs' nationalism.

In 1929, the position of the Arab masses was desperate, through unemployment and landlessness. An incident occurred at the "Wailing Wall," a site holy to both the Jews and the Arabs, and widespread rioting followed. The riots and their suppression cost the lives of 249 Jews and Arabs.

The military and police in Palestine were able to maintain effective control, although there were many symptoms of unrest, until 1933 when there were large increases of immigrants, due to Hitlerism in Germany. Further riots occurred. But there was now a new feature of significance present. The attacks were now directed against the government. There was a general realisation that the Jews were but a pawn in the game played by British imperialism.

In 1936, following the termination of more or less successful struggles of the Arab people in Egypt and Syria for national independence the Palestine Arabs intensified their activity. A general

strike was declared and organised guerilla warfare commenced. The strike lasted six months and terminated on the instructions of the Arab High Committee at the request of the monarchs of Iraq and Trans-Jordan and Ibn Saud of Arabia (all under British influence). A Royal Commission (the third) visited Palestine to investigate the position. The Arab demands were substantially the same as those made in 1917 and at frequent intervals since. The investigations and report by the 1936 Royal Commission failed to provide a basis for the settlement of the problems of British rule in Palestine.

A new factor has now entered the field. German and to a lesser extent Italian fascism is sponsoring the "independence" of the Palestine Arabs. Its propaganda of anti-Semitism falls on soil that has been fertilised by 20 years of British policy.

The leadership of the Arabs in the hands of the Mufti and his wealthy colleagues is quite prepared to accept the assistance of their new found friend. This has led to a repetition of the violent acts of terrorism against the Jews.

Neither is the position assisted by the activities of the Rightwing of the Zionists and Revisionists, whose anti-democratic behavior has labelled them as Jewish fascists. The Revisionists wish to reply with further terrorism.

Those Arab leaders who accept fascist aid have no intention of

liberating the masses, but seek to consolidate their own privileged position. It is more necessary than ever to appeal to the Arab people over the heads of these leaders. Who will do this?

In the past the Zionist leaders, while paying lip service to co-operation with the Arabs, have consistently capitulated to British policy of separation. Zionism was allowed to degenerate into a form of guarantee for Britain's Near East possessions. While it was never more than an "escapist" philosophy for the persecuted Jews, large numbers have been influenced by it. The recent "White Paper" issued by the British government is a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration. Those Zionists who have tagged along behind the imperialist policy for 20 years are to be thrown overboard. Even so some are prepared to fall in line with the Chamberlain government.

The position in Palestine is most serious. Zionist policy in the past has allowed no effective co-operation between Arabs and Jews, and this condition was worsened by those Arabs who used the situation for their own ends.

A constructive policy acceptable to the Arabs must be arrived at. Such a policy is possible. The election of a democratic government which is the main demand of the Arab people, can only be accomplished with the aid of the Jews. Such a government, while guaranteeing the existing Jewish population, could ensure good feeling between the two peoples. Many voices amongst the

Arabs and Jews are now raised for such co-operation. The unity of interests of the Arab and Jewish masses can form a basis. The Jewish people in Palestine have great economic and

cultural resources to offer. Arab goodwill can not only facilitate the immigration of Jews to Palestine, but may create possibilities in neighbouring countries.

## NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Gordon Grant

MUCH of the information in *The Military Strength of the Powers* by Max Werner (translated by Edward Fitzgerald) confirms the blindness or treachery of the foreign policy of the Menzies government when it supports the veiled or open anti-Soviet policy of the Chamberlain government. This book is a late Left Book Club choice.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Menzies), with pompous wordiness, subscribes to appeasement of the fascists, and suggests a Pacific pact with Japan and the United States. *His* Pacific pact would be calculated to bring ridicule from the leaders of the United States either for its unreality in suggesting that Japan, already at war against China and threatening the United States in the East, could possibly sit at a table and discuss the peace of America, who has been forced to change her naval strategy from the Atlantic to the Pacific because of Japanese activities. Mr. Menzies further places Australia in a ridiculous light by ignoring the Soviet Union, the most necessary ally to Australia as well as the

U.S.A. in a war in the Pacific. Such a war could be only against the aggressor nation—Japan, and her allies of the axis.

Much data of tremendous interest if one is properly to understand the positions of the powers in Europe is given in the book. The strengths and weaknesses of the arms of European nations occupies a great part of it. Facts about the Red Army and Air Force—subscribed to by the leading military men of France, Britain, Germany and others—leave no doubt of the real need for Britain to grasp with both hands the chance she has of a splendid ally to resist the aggressive nations in Europe.

In a critical study of the relative strengths of the armed forces of the nations, the book emphasises the great differences between the Red Army and those of other powers—its superiority in arms, numbers, mechanisation and other ways. He quotes Henry Bidou, the French writer in *Vu*, on July 10, 1935, for instance:

"The ordinary soldier in the Red Army has a level of education, dis-

cipline and professional earnestness unrivalled in any other army."

The Red Army, said Max Werner, "is a political army; it gives the soldier a political education and moulds his general social outlook."

*Deutsche Wehr*, a German military publication, in December of the same year, is quoted:

"Since the existence of the Red Army there has been no single case of mutiny either at the front or behind the lines. The question of the reliability of the Red soldier in the event of war must be answered in the affirmative."

"Complete political reliability and high morale, together with powerful economic backing and modern war technique are the main factors of the Red Army's strength," Max Werner adds.

The author gives details of strategy in a war in Europe and in the Pacific, showing that the military leaders of all countries fully appreciate the importance of the Soviet Union in any future war.

On the other hand, the leading German generals had failed to give any solution to the problem, which had not been solved by Nazi strategy, of fighting a war on more than one front.

Referring to the Soviet air force, after quoting enemy praise of its growth and exploits, Max Werner says: "The icy wastes of the Arctic have become a training ground for Soviet airmen."

The Soviet Union, he says, would be the most important strategic ally

for the U.S.A. in the Pacific, and points out that the United States has shown she fully realises the position. In addition to submarines—60 or 70 of them in the Pacific—the Soviet could provide the U.S. with the most decisive element she lacks for naval warfare against Japan, namely, an advanced base of operation. He continues: "The Soviet Union, one might add, has the political monopoly of all the naval *points d'appui* which lie near the Japanese coasts."

Vladivostok, a first class naval harbor and a powerful naval fortress, lies 500 miles from the Japanese coast and 680 odd miles from Tokyo. In addition the Soviet East has a powerful air force. Thanks to her land forces, naval bases, her light naval craft and her air arm, the "Soviet Union could offer the U.S.A. more effective assistance than any other power as an ally. That U.S.A. realises this is shown by her technical aid to build up the Soviet powerful high seas fleet and the movement of her strategy to the North Pacific where she has conducted exercises in recent years." Werner explains the value of a Pacific alliance between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, and mentions Australia's position and that of others in the Southern Pacific strategy.

"*The Military Strength of the Powers*," by Max Werner (*V. Gollancz*, London). *Left Book Club* price 3/9, *Australian Book* (?)

## DEAN'S APPEAL

WE can well pay a tribute here to the Dean of Canterbury for his pamphlet *Act Now*, which recently arrived in Australia and has already had a wide sale.

In 64 pages it shows a strong revolt at social conditions in the world, and Britain in particular, by a follower of Jesus.

His attitude today, says the Dean, would have been "nearer to the young men who carry coffins into Piccadilly, lie on tramways, and chain themselves to railings to call attention to the wrongs and miseries of the unemployed, than to the financial magnates who fashion Test Acts and leave unregarded the oppressed areas where their wealth was made; and to the clergy who speak soft things in face of it."

The Dean advocates "production for use" and not "for profit."

He says that fascism—"bolstering up with utter ruthlessness the threatened private ownership of the means of production—drives us back to primitive and tribal life."

He outlines the material advantages gained by the people of the Soviet Union: "Within 21 years Russia has made herself for all prac-

tical purposes independent of other countries. If war should come she would lack little more than coffee, cocoa and the latest technical devices."

The highest moral achievement in Russia "lies in the respect for personality, regardless of sex or race."

"Higher education is encouraged in Russia," says the Dean, and adds: "Molotov does not look round for his gun when someone mentions the word 'culture.'"

In an "appeal to the mind and heart of Britain," the Dean of Canterbury concludes with the Cripps petition to the government, and says its six points appeared to clinch the "Christian and scientific principles" for which he had been pleading.

From the opening lines on the pathetic scene—"The child holds in her hand a glass of milk, places her finger at the side, pauses and asks, 'Mother, how far down may I drink?'"—to the last line a "plan for plenty," the Dean's pamphlet makes stirring reading and advocates Socialism in a simple, telling fashion.

"*Act Now*," by the Dean of Canterbury. (*V. Gollancz*). Price 4d. —G.G.

## HISTORICAL NOTE

IN reference to the *Australian International Monthly*, the discovery of a copy of whose first number I announced in the *July Review*. While in Melbourne last

month, I found that there is a copy of the second issue, July, 1872, in the Melbourne Public Library.

—J. N. RAWLING.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

*We here invite expression of views not exceeding 300 words.*

*From Lidcombe, N.S.W., J. Culinan continues the discussion of war and peace:*

**W.** DRINKWATER, in the June issue of the "Review," considers co-operation with the Menzies government is in the best interests of the people, in its defence programme. He quotes two factors:—

First, that the beating of the war drums will keep the present government in power; and second, the Curtin opposition definitely does not want office with its responsibility in these strenuous times.

Instead of beating the war drums, so beloved by the reactionaries, he forgets to take into consideration the flames of peace that are now enveloping the world with increasing momentum, instilling into the minds of the people the urgent desire for unity. Not with reaction, but with all progressive people. When this is achieved, the war drums will be punctured and discarded, along with the rest of the band who are playing the same tune. As for Mr. Curtin being afraid to take office, W. Drinkwater sees only the leaders of the Labor Party. What about the great mass movement behind these leaders?

*Further on Defence, F. Polman writes from Mackay, Queensland:*

**I** HAVE read with great interest Comrade Dixon's article on "The Communist Defence Policy." He says "the militia should be democratic." He does not explain what he means by that statement. My idea of a democratic person is one who upholds the Constitution of the Commonwealth, as opposed to those who favor its overthrow and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

What does the Constitution guarantee? Parliamentary institutions, the right of political parties to nominate one of their number as a candidate, or for any person to submit his name for election, one person, one vote, proportional representation, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Trade Union Act, which legalises the trade unions, the Arbitration Act

which guarantees wages, free speech, free press, right of assembly.

We must explain all these measures fully.

Armed with the democratic theory among the people, a few reactionary officers need not trouble us.

I am opposed to a manpower register as under the circumstances it is unnecessary.

*An interesting contribution to the Materialist Conception of History comes from Charles Newman, of Burwood, Victoria:*

**A**LL the study classes I have attended although of necessity dealing with the materialist conception of history, have never reached the stage of making a specific study of it. This is unfortunate because people have come into the Party and gone out knowing little more than when they entered.

The importance of the immediate needs of the workers and their day-to-day struggles should not prevent Communists from keeping up a study of Marxism.

You may say that members of the Party are putting into practice the theory of dialectics by their activities. Perhaps so, but there is lacking the means to acquire a real knowledge of the materialist conception of history because the study classes never seem to get beyond a certain stage. Then there is an upset. New members come in or there is a switch over to something else and you find the same ground is covered again.

Even in my experience, few Communists appear to know the famous proposition that appears in the second preface of the "Communist Manifesto."

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Engels said this proposition of Marx

"is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology."

"Dogmatist" (J. Hosken), writing in the "International Socialist," Sydney, as far back as May 12, 1912, said of the above quotation:

"... and he who further calls it 'mechanical' only shows what a world of culture separates him from the power to assess the qualitative and quantitative values of scientific formulae. Certainly in this statement Marx rises to the level of the mathematical form of expression, but, such precision in the statement of a great truth is one of the glories of science and ranks those who reach it for the first time in a science or in philosophy as being among the eminent of the ages. The most beautiful line in the most artistic creation has its mathematics, and the richest color its chemistry, and thus art and science, hand in hand, can go ever forward and upward, the one discovering the further modifying element in the proportions which is to combine yet more excellent beauty, the other adding further to the total of power and means to be drawn upon for the accomplishing of all aims..."

It is the job of the Party to educate its members, especially the fine type of recruits coming into the Party, and for that reason I would like to see a more direct study of the materialist conception of history by the study classes.

*A number of letters on Kevin Connolly's now famous article "Overhauling Our Language" have reached us, all in general favor of Connolly's views. Here is one from "A Young Reader," of Salisbury, South Brisbane:*

**I**N the May and June issues of the "Communist Review" appeared two articles which I have studied: "Overhauling Our Language" and "Retort Courteous."

Before expressing an opinion I would state that I have had an ordinary and moderate education and that I am backward politically.

From what I have seen and heard of the language of the Communists, I think that Mr. Connolly's article is long overdue. If there were more of this criticism the contents of many papers,

pamphlets and speeches would be much more easily understood by the people outside the Party.

Although Mr. Purdy's analysis of Mr. Connolly's criticism is very thorough and explicit, I do not think he understands its meaning as the writer put it.

Poorly educated people can learn to speak and understand clear, simple English, but it takes much longer to learn involved Marxian phrases.

The confidence of the workers which is reposed in the Party comes from its reliability in action on their behalf, not from incomprehensible propaganda, as Mr. Purdy would have us believe.

*On the same theme, H. Johnstone, Sydney, writes:*

**I** WISH to congratulate Kevin Connolly on his article published in the May issue of the "Communist Review," entitled "Overhauling Our Language."

While not without weaknesses, this article, by virtue of its freshness and clarity of purpose, will, I feel sure, arouse in the minds of many Communists an earnest desire to improve their methods of writing and speaking.

On the other hand, S. Purdy's "Retort Courteous" tends, in my opinion, to draw the reader away from the keynote struck by Connolly — the necessity of IMPROVING our language.

S. Purdy, despite his admission in the early portion of "Retort Courteous" that we should strive for a higher goal in our writing and speaking adopts an attitude of consolation towards all who may have suffered at the hands of critic Connolly. The general tone of this article suggests more of a feeling of satisfaction with our existing literary levels.

On the question of descriptive phrases, Purdy's remarks are practically identical with those of Kevin Connolly...

There appears, therefore, to be no serious grounds for accusing Kevin Connolly of exaggeration in this regard.

Descriptive terminology does not become hackneyed phraseology by discriminate use, but by indiscriminate abuse.

If, and when, new words and phrases are used, Communists should explain their meanings—not content themselves with just using them.

I strongly disagree with Kevin Connolly's statement that an understand-

ing of the Party of Lenin and Stalin has no immediate appeal to the broad front of democratic people. Nevertheless, I am of the firm opinion that a more lucid and popular exposition of what our Party stands for, would extract a greater response from the people.

Kevin Connolly's contribution, more so than Comrade Purdy's, goes far towards assisting us in this important, but none too easy task.

Still on the same subject, our indefatigable correspondent, George Wilkie, writes all the way from Carpentaria Downs:

THE "Letters to the Editor" page is a welcome addition to the "Review" and provides an informative forum for thrashing out contentious matters. These contributions merit as much attention as articles by leading comrades, as those who take trouble to write in are sure to have given the matters much thought. On the other hand the page might become an arena where criticism for criticism's sake might be waged.

Comrade Purdy's "Retort Courteous" to Kevin Connolly in the June issue savors of the latter. In it he adds nothing at all to the discussion of better propaganda.

Purdy's idea that materialist dialectics and socialist society require a new esoteric language of their own must be repudiated. Dialectics and the socialist idea have been expressed in the homeliest of language by John Strachey and others. When he says "the necessity for a changed language . . . also applies to the Communist press of the capitalist world," meaning a "Communist" language, he falls into the very error which Connolly warns against. But we can agree with Purdy, not in his sense, but in Connolly's. We do need a changed language, a change to a homelier, commoner language, free of complicated symbolism and blank cartridges.

A final contribution (for this issue) on "Overhauling Our Language" comes from "Shop Assistant," Sydney:

THE article "Overhauling Our Language," published in the May issue of the "Review" appealed to many of us as a very necessary and quite ade-

quate restatement of a thesis which has been frequently advanced in recent years by many leading Marxists. Imagine our surprise, therefore, in reading the almost complete rebuttal of all Kevin Connolly's least debatable points by S. Purdy, . . .

Running right through S. Purdy's retort is an unhappy strain of self-satisfaction with our Party's past achievements. . . .

It overlooks the important point that the aim and object of the Party is to lead the working class towards the attainment of a new social order, and that we are handicapping ourselves quite unnecessarily by speaking to the workers in a language which, to say the least, is unfamiliar to them because they do not use it in everyday life.

Purdy says ". . . but whatever their weaknesses and faults in the past, our writing and speaking in the past have helped to build the Party which we are all so proud of today." Plainly the Party could not have been built without the unremitting enthusiasm of its many workers. . . .

Just recently a supporter who has only just begun to move towards Marxism and had been persuaded to attend a political study class by one or two enthusiasts, heatedly complained that Marx was our divinity and "Das Capital" our Bible and he did not mean it in any metaphorical sense. One or two of us immediately sensed that perhaps one reason for his exasperation was the almost unconscious habit of several members of the class expressing themselves in phrases which to him seemed to have no relationship with the world about him.

According to Purdy we must be condemned to the use of such phrases as "fascist hordes," "fascist hangmen" etc. **ad nauseam**, even though the effect has, as a result of constant reiteration, long since disappeared. The point is that although these phrases were at their inception vivid and descriptive, they are rapidly degenerating into mere stock formulae to be swung into action at any moment when the writer or speaker wishes to take the line of least resistance by avoiding an accurate description or definition of the point he is attempting to make.

Kevin Connolly emphasises quite justifiably that in the English language we have a medium of expression second to none and that it is up to us Communists to make it work for us to the limit, never forgetting that it will be the heritage of the Communist England and Australia of the future.

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