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COMMUNIST REVIEW

A Monthly Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

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The Block on the front cover depicts the Eureka Stockade Monument, erected at Ballarat, Victoria.

THE NEWS REVIEWED

WHO WANTS WAR?

"WHO WANTS WAR?" "We do," reply the bankers, brokers and business men in chorus.

"Why?" "Because it means more business, greater profits and increased dividends."

While these ghoulish sentiments are not expressed in such crude terms, they are none the less real, as the following will show.

Mr. G. J. M. Best, F.C.I.L., General Manager for Australia and New Zealand of the Prudential Assurance Co. Ltd., in an article in the October issue of "Rydge's," wrote:

"... whatever our job, it must not only be 'Business as Usual' (Mr. Menzies' Slogan), 'but Business MORE than usual.'

"Though the cause of present conditions is not of our desire or seeking, (?) there can be no doubt Australia is on the eve of stability and greater prosperity, for there will be a stable market assured for our primary products, at prices substantially above those enjoyed for several years past. In addition, the inevitable restriction on imports must demand of our secondary industries increased production, and even new industries. Every sphere of commercial life must ultimately share in this prosperity."

Norman B. Rydge, professional company director and proprietor of

the journal in which the above appeared, was just as enthusiastic in his editorial.

"Now that the first shock of the declaration of war is passing away," he wrote, "businessmen are confident of the future and see ahead stabilised, in fact, boom conditions. Our national income will be considerably increased because:

(a) The British Government has taken over all Australia's surplus wool for the duration of the war. Our wool clip should be worth £stg.10-20,000,000 more than our last year's cheque of £39,000,000.

(b) The Federal Government has acquired all the wheat stocks of Australia as well as the forthcoming crop . . . As a result of the increased world demand wheat prices must rise.

(c) Great Britain has purchased for the duration of the war all our surplus foods, butter, cheese, meat, eggs, and canned and dried fruits.

(d) The British Government has agreed to take the whole of Australia's sugar surplus.

(e) Big increases have been recorded in the prices of all minerals. Our income from this source is £32,000,000 per year, and must be much greater in future.

"No matter from what angle the position is viewed," concludes Mr. Rydge, "Australia faces the busiest period in her history."

Mr. L. J. McConnan, Chief Manager of the National Bank of Australasia, is equally confident for the future.

"As a result of the experiences of the last war, and the difficulties of the great depression," he stated, "the Australian economy is much better equipped to withstand the shock occasioned by the outbreak of world conflict than it was twenty-five years ago."

"Our banking structure . . . may be confidently relied upon to carry through its share of the community efforts and to make positive contributions towards the solution of the financial problems which will arise."

Mr. McConnan has good cause for such optimism. During the last war the Bank of New South Wales

maintained a steady 10 per cent to shareholders from 1915 to 1919 inclusive.

Shareholders in the Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney were treated likewise. The Bank of Australasia paid 17 per cent. from 1915 to 1918 and raised the rate to 18 per cent. in 1919.

Evidently "contributing towards the solution of financial problems" is, in war time, a very lucrative business.

The experience of the last war shows that it was not only the banks who were able to increase profits, "every sphere of commercial life," to use the words of Mr. Best, shared in "this prosperity."

The following table, covering a wide range of companies, bears this out.

THE LAST WAR					
PROFITS AND DIVIDENDS					
Company	1915		1919		Div. %
	Profits £	Div. %	Profits £	Div. %	
BANKS—					
Bank of New South Wales	470,300	10	579,400	10	
Bank of Australasia	410,500	17	460,700	18	
SHIPPING—					
Adelaide S.S. Co.	45,500	6	117,500	15	
Huddart Parker	132,400	7	319,800	11	
Howard Smith	155,200	8	212,600	10	
SILVER, LEAD—					
Broken Hill Sth.	231,000	15	385,000	120	
Broken Hill Nth.	112,000	5	377,000	40	
Zinc Corporation	136,000	25	226,000	35	
IRON & STEEL—					
B.H.P. (Capitalised Reserves in 1919)	£1,500,000		1919		
	439,200	50	787,500	15	
LIGHT & FUEL—					
Australian Gas Light	106,100	6	139,000	8	
RETAIL CLOTHING, Etc.—					
Buckley and Nunn	12,800	7½	42,700	10	
Farmer and Co.	41,800	10	79,000	15	
Mark Poy's	74,000	10	117,000	13	
PASTORAL—					
New Zealand Loan	141,400	5	173,000	8	
Dalgety and Co.	266,700	8	252,200	14	
Winchcombe Carson	13,800	6	26,200	7	
Pitt Son and Badgery	25,400	10	26,300	12½	
Goldsbrough Mort	110,300	10	160,500	15	

Company	1915 Profits £	Div. %	1919 Profits £	Div. %
FOOD, Etc.—				
Colonial Sugar (Reserves capitalised £3,250,000 in 1916)	529,000	12½	578,000	7½
Henry Jones	67,300	12½	100,900	12½
FURNITURE—				
Beard Watson	1,900	—	28,000	15

Little wonder that no support for peace is to be found in the ranks of "big business" or its U.A.P. Government.

What interest can they have in peace (unless it be another Versailles) when war is such a profitable venture?

The movement of share prices on the Stock Exchange is a good indi-

cation of the way in which the ruling class is looking forward to history repeating itself, and to this war being even more profitable than the last.

The following table shows that since the outbreak of war there has been a marked increase in the value of shares in a number of important companies.

"B" STOCK EXCHANGE REACTION TO WAR				
Industry	Company	Sept. 5	Share Prices	
			Oct. 25	Nov. 8
Iron & Steel	B.H.P.	63/-	69/6	73/6
Paper Making	Aust. Paper	28/-	33/6	34/3
Textiles	Yarra Falls	36/1½	42/-	42/-
Sugar	C.S.R.	£43½	£48	£48
Shipping	Huddart Parker	53/-	58/6	58/6
Pastoral	Winc. Carson	25/7½	28/6	27/3
Jams, etc.	Henry Jones	48/9	54/-	56/6
Glass, etc.	Aus. Con. Inds.	32/3	35/7½	36/4½
Engineering	Morts Dock	14/-	16/7½	17/-

Not the least prominent among the above will be noted the B.H.P., whose shares increased in value from 63/- on Sept. 5 to 73/6 on Nov. 8.

At the beginning of the last war this company's profits were less than half a million, but by the end of the war were well over three quarters of a million.

Repetition of history in the case of the B.H.P. would mean that the 1½ million pounds profit which was made last year would become £2½ to £3 million before the war ended. No wonder its shares are in such brisk demand.

No wonder that the capitalist class in general look forward with such eagerness to war.

But what of the workers, have they any prospects of sharing in this much flaunted prosperity which war is expected to bring?

If the experience of the last war counts for anything they have no such prospects.

The following table is extracted from the Commonwealth Year Book, 1938, and shows that while money wages (column 2) increased by 26.7 per cent. during the war, they still lagged behind prices which

increased by 48.7 per cent. (col. 3). Thus real wages (col. 4) dropped 15 per cent. during the war. This

is in glaring contrast to the movement of profits and dividends shown in table "A."

"C" **THE LAST WAR: WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING**

Nominal and Real Wage Index Numbers
(Base: Weighted Average Real Wage in Australia in 1911 eq. 1000)

Year.	Nominal weekly Wage Index	Retail Price Index "C" Series (All Items)	Effective or Real Wage
1914	1,081	1,140	948
1919	1,370	1,695	808

A similar worsening of conditions is taking place today, prices are rising rapidly and wages are failing miserably to keep pace. Continuation of the war can only bring with it a continuation of this process unless the working class energetically intervenes to change the course of events.

In answer to the demand of the profiteers, plunderers, and freebooters, for a continuation of the war, the working class must raise the demand for immediate peace.

At the time of writing the rulers of Holland and Belgium have addressed a plea to the governments of the belligerent powers asking them to consider an armistice and negotiations for peace.

These proposals met with a cool reception in British and French official circles. The governments, it seems, are bent upon carrying the war through "to a victorious conclusion."

To understand what this means in terms of loss of life and destruction of property it is only necessary to recall the experience of the last war and multiply this by a figure representing the enormous technical progress made since then in the

sphere of armaments production.

In all the warring countries in 1914-18 sixty-two million men were called to arms. More than ten million were killed and the number of wounded and maimed who remained crippled for life reached twenty-four million.

The cost of the war is estimated at three hundred billion dollars. To grasp the significance of this figure it should be noted that the entire wealth of all the warring countries on the eve of the war amounted to six hundred billion dollars.

The war thus swallowed up a sum amounting to half of what all the nations of Europe had been able to amass at the price of many generations of back-breaking labor.

This is what war "to a victorious conclusion" meant in 1914-18. The imagination balks at considering what will be its cost today.

As yet the war has not broken out in all its fury, as yet there remains a chance of averting it and re-establishing peace. But only providing that the people are prepared to take strong and resolute action to bring their desires to the notice of the governments.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

L. Sharkey

THE U.S. Senator, Downey, recently declared that the "Munro Doctrine" should be extended to cover Australia and New Zealand.

Sydney Walton, a U.S. writer, in the "Forum" visualises a new U.S. "frontier" that would include Australia and New Zealand, in these words:

"A geographical chain for over six thousand miles north and south. Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, Hawaii and the United States. So runs the chain. Regarding California, as the American mainland unit, white civilisation throughout the chain has developed within a century and a half. Right from the start, destiny seems to have been bent on epitomising in this chain precisely what President Roosevelt wished to convey."

Commenting on the "affinity" between Australia and the Americans, Fulton continues:

"Evidences confront the visitor to Australia and New Zealand on every hand. They have adopted our five-and-ten-cent. stores; our merchandising and advertising methods; our automobiles, electric appliances, and aeroplanes.

"There is an increasing exchange of scholarships and other educational activities; a wider distribution of

American books and magazines; a more and more extensive use of our phonograph records, our broadcasting methods, and transcribed programmes.

"And nowhere in the world, not even in America, is the impress of Hollywood deeper or more perceptible in manners and modes, than in Australia and New Zealand."

Another American, Frederick Keppl likewise refers to Australian-American relations in his "Philanthropy and Learning":

"For those of us who believe in what is called the Anglo-Saxon tradition, these far distant lands (Australia and New Zealand), have a significance beyond anything that can be measured by their present population, wealth, or economic importance.

"This significance lies in an essential unity of the spirit, an agreement as to what things are really worth while in life. I have confidence that, as the years go on, this essential unity will assume real importance in world affairs."

When the ideologists of the bourgeoisie commence to write in such a fashion, there is some sparks of fire behind the smoke of the appeal to common ties of language, customs and interests.

The United States bourgeoisie is the richest and most powerful, at any rate potentially, in the world; it is imperialist, desirous of spreading its own power; requires new markets and spheres of investment and of protecting its areas of influence from rival imperialist marauders.

The Wall Street millionaires are, above all, as desirous of perpetuating the capitalist system as is any other section of the capitalist class in the world.

That is why they begin to think of a defensive line extending from Australia and New Zealand to Alaska; a part of the globe that can be cut off in the event of (a) the defeat of British imperialism in the present war; or (b) the victory of the Proletarian Revolution in Europe as a consequence of the war.

In the United States, there are somewhere about as many people of "British"—English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh descent as there are in the British Empire. What, then, has caused the division and antagonism and the two wars that have been fought between the British and the Americans?

The answer is the capitalist system, the greed of the ruling class for profits.

The American colonies of Britain fought the War of American Independence because of the greedy exploitation of their land by the English capitalists and Lords, which aroused the hostility of the then young colonial bourgeoisie which was ambitious to control America's boundless wealth for itself.

In this way, the capitalist class, in its greed, brought about the separation of the United States and Britain.

In our own, modern time, the separation has been maintained because of imperialist rivalry.

Lenin wrote, at the close of the First World War, that the chief imperialist antagonism in the capitalist world was that between Britain and the U.S.A. This struggle was going on over the whole of the globe, a struggle over markets and spheres of influence.

It was especially marked, and bitter, in Latin America, where the British and the Yankee imperialists hired rival generals to fight each other's protege governments; the struggle being waged for Mexican oil, for rubber and other raw materials of Latin America, as well as for markets for manufactured products and spheres for the investment of capital.

The rise of the aggressive imperialisms of Germany and Japan and their challenge to the position of world dominance of both the United States and Britain has tended temporarily to gloss over this fundamental antagonism of British and U.S.A. imperialism. That it still remains is clear from the fact that at no time have they been able to establish an alliance; even when both were fighting Germany, they could not co-operate as closely as French and British imperialism is able to do in face of the common threat of German imperialism to both their Empires.

That the United States will remain entirely inactive in relation to the present war is unlikely.

It has shown its anti-Soviet policy by interfering in the Finnish-Soviet negotiations; its policy of profiting from the war by the repeal of the Arms Embargo legislation; the repeal of legislation being so framed that it protects Wall Street from its misfortune of the last war; the piling up of huge debts by the Allied belligerents which have not been paid and, in the present state of capitalism, are unlikely ever to be paid in full.

The "strong" tone now adopted by the U.S. government towards Japan as shown in the speech of Ambassador Grew and the denunciation of the trade agreement with Tokio shows the sharpening of the antagonism between U.S.A. and Japanese imperialism and the growing possibility of the European war being extended into a world war by an armed clash between the U.S.A. and Japan.

The relations of Britain to her Dominions is a big factor in the attitude of the latter to the U.S.A., largely determining these relations.

The bourgeoisie of the Dominions loudly prate of the "silken threads of kinship" that bind the Dominions to the "Motherland." But they also have the same "kinship" with a very large section of the Americans. "Kinship" is certainly a factor, but not the decisive one, as the revolt of the practically 100 per cent. "British" American colonies demonstrates.

In the case of Australia and N.Z. military protection is important, but

the bourgeoisie, in view of England's preoccupation in Europe are very doubtful as to how much assistance Britain could offer (Billy Hughes's book for example). But Canada has the full military protection of the U.S.A. and is therefore safe from attack, but still remains inside the Empire. What, then, is the decisive factor? The British Empire still offers the best market for Dominion agricultural products and raw materials.

There is great difference in the economic structure of Britain and the U.S.A. Britain does not supply her own food and raw materials for her industries; these are produced in the overseas colonies and the Dominions. The U.S. on the other hand, is practically self-contained. It does not buy Australian wool, farm and dairy products, wheat nor frozen mutton, etc., in huge quantities because it grows huge surpluses of its own; its farmers are paid *not* to cultivate large areas of the land, but to allow the land to remain idle.

Britain, then is the market for the Dominions' products, and this is the umbilical cord that ties the Dominions' bourgeoisie to Britain and has stood so far impregnable against the strivings of groups and classes in the Dominions towards complete separation from the Empire, at different periods.

Lenin, in his famous article on Australia, written in 1913, pointed out that it was the mission of the Labor Party to constitute Australia as an independent capitalist state; this tendency is to be discerned in the Labor Party policy in relation to the

present war; the policy of "isolation" and the desire to commit Australia as little as possible to the defence of its London markets against the Nazi imperialist rival.

The Statute of Westminster, after the first world war, marked a step by the Dominions towards further control of their own affairs.

It is true that these British markets cost Australia a heavy price; industrialisation of the country has been retarded in the interests of British manufacturers and Australian wool kings; in order to keep the trade going between the two countries, to preserve Australia as an agricultural, mainly, appendix of Britain. This is also the reason for the disproportion between the primary and secondary industries, to the advantage of the former. This economic policy is now beginning to change, as the Dominion bourgeoisie recognise the dangers by which Britain is confronted and has resulted in a spurt in the industrialisation of Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

Secondly, the price for the British market has been the participation of the Dominions in the First Imperial World War and the now commencing war with Germany, which involves the Dominions in heavy losses of men and the piling up of enormous national debts. The market has to be defended.

The relation of the Dominions to the United States has been determined by capitalist relationships and the rivalries and antagonisms of the bourgeoisie. Their relation to Britain is also a capitalist one. The present "interest" of the Wall

Street imperialists, which is reflected in the ideologists, whom I have quoted, arises from the possibility of the defeat or crippling of the British Imperialist strength in the present war, a European Revolution that would hamstring it, or a successful national revolution in India and other colonies that would cause the whole structure of the Empire to come toppling down.

The American ruling class has now to decide whether, in the event of the war going against the British and French, they will remain neutral and allow them to fall and build up their own Empire, or to intervene and save them, as in 1917, at the same time extending their own Wall Street imperialism. Molotov suggested that this is likely.

For the present, they loudly proclaim neutrality in all circumstances.

In these eventualities the three British dominions, according to the writers I have quoted, would come into some form of alliance with the U.S.A., to form a new great capitalist world-powerful empire aiming at the preservation of capitalism over a large part of the world.

Such is the nature of the new "interest" of the American ruling class in the affairs of the British Dominions and Senator Downey's idea of extending the Munro doctrine to Australasia.

The real unity of the English-speaking peoples, however, can only be firmly founded and enjoy peace when Britain and the Dominions and the United States have established Socialism.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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

In connection with our appeal for one thousand new readers, made in the November issue, "H.N.," Sydney, writes:

I WAS surprised to read that there has been no increase in the circulation of the "Review" since the middle of 1937. In my opinion it is the best monthly political magazine in Australia.

Personally, I would not be without it. It has always been by custom after reading it to introduce it to my friends; in many cases this has resulted in a new reader being gained.

My method in bringing the "Review" to the notice of friends is to first find out what subjects or topics they are most interested in, then look through my "Review" files to discover an article or articles which have bearing on the particular subject, and on this basis initiate a discussion. Since the "Review" covers such a wide field I seldom have difficulty in this.

I have gained new readers on the basis of J. N. Rawling's articles, people who are interested in Australia's history. At the moment I am carrying on a discussion with a person interested in India, and find the article by G. K. Peel in the October issue of great value.

I feel sure that if other readers were to practice this idea your objective of 1000 new readers would soon be reached.

Regarding the controversy waged around the article, "Overhauling our Language," which appeared in May issue, "R.S.," Victoria, sends the following quotation from "Reminiscences of Marx," by William Leibknecht:

"MARX attached extraordinary value to pure, correct expression, and in Goethe, Lessing,

Shakespeare, Dante and Cervantes, whom he read every day, he had chosen the greatest masters. He showed the most painstaking conscientiousness in regard to purity and correctness of speech.

"Marx was a severe purist—he often searched long and laboriously for the correct expression. He hated superfluous foreign words and if, nevertheless, he frequently used foreign words himself—where the subject did not require it—his long stay abroad, especially in England, must be borne in mind. But what an infinite wealth of original, genuine German word formations and word constructions we find in Marx who, in spite of the fact that two-thirds of his life were passed abroad, performed very high services for our German language and belongs to the most eminent masters and creators of the German language."

From North Queensland "Economist" writes to congratulate us on the article, "Problems of Political Economy in the Short History of the C.P.S.U.," published last month.

OSTROVITZANOV'S article in last month's "Review" was, in my opinion, very good and I would like to see more material of a like character published in future issues.

From reading this article I got a new slant on many points contained in the "Short History of the C.P.S.U."

Especially in connection with Chapter 4, Section 2. On reading what the author of the "Review" article had to say concerning the significance for economists of the role of new social ideas and institutions, I went back and re-studied this part of the History, and must say that as a result deepened my

understanding considerably.

I hope we will be treated to many more such articles.

And now comes a brickbat. "Theorist" doesn't think we should publish poems and sketches in the "Review."

IF the "Review" is "a monthly magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism," as claimed on the title page, why must you waste space on poems, plays and short stories. Surely such things are out of place in a theoretical periodical. At least I never see them in the "Labor Monthly" or the "Communist International." I am convinced that nothing would be lost by giving them the go-by in future and turning the space to better use by publishing more theoretical articles and material from the classic writings on Socialism by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

[After that will some kind readers come to our defence and let us know that they appreciate the lighter side of our magazine. Or don't they?]

And here's another complaint from "J.S.," Melbourne.

SOME time ago the "Review" had a section under the title "World Opinion," in which appeared excerpts from the world's press, as well as a number of political cartoons.

Why has this been dropped? I, and many of my friends liked the cartoons particularly, and would be glad to see this feature brought back either in its old or a new form.

[Our alibi here is that blocks for cartoons cost money and with the present circulation we can't meet any added expense. If "J.S." and his friends, plus all our other friends buck in and help us to get that 1000 new readers, we will do

our part in making the "Review" a bigger, brighter and better magazine.]

We are pleased to publish this important letter from J. B. Miles. It refers to an article which appeared last month under the title "Our Party in the Crisis" and warns us against exaggeration.

NO less than comrade Gould, I have been enthused by the additional evidence in recent weeks that Soviet Russia "has become the great arbiter of mankind's destinies." Also I have felt pleased that our Party came through the weeks of abrupt changes "with flying colors."

We are stronger because we no longer carry the handful who fell out and the addition of new forces during these critical weeks also adds to our strength.

It is good to be able to say so, it is good to be in such a position to face the tasks of today and those lying ahead.

However, we will not strengthen our role as "general staff of the working class and the workers' allies" if we exaggerate. Our Party did not "forecast (with certainty) the tactical manoeuvres of the Soviet Union." I do not know who was able to do this.

We are not prophets; we cannot anticipate always and exactly the developments in the capitalist world in relation to which the Soviet Union must determine its tactics.

Had comrade Gould written "we were able to understand and explain" in the face of a heavy barrage of lying and distortion I would not have requested space to reply. One day we may find time to examine how clearly we understood, how quickly we were able to fully explain. Meanwhile our Party is united and in line with the International and there is much work to do for peace, bread and freedom.

The Australian Labor Party and the Present War

J. D. Blake

DEALING with the collapse of the second international at the outbreak of the last imperialist war Lenin said: "In formulating the question scientifically, i.e., from the point of view of the relations between classes in present day society, we must say that the majority of the social democratic parties . . . have joined their general staffs, their governments, their bourgeoisie, thus taking a stand against the proletariat."

In another article on the same subject, Lenin said: "The opportunists, in order to influence the workers and the masses in general, are ready to swear allegiance to internationalism any number of times, to accept the slogan of peace, to renounce the annexationist aims of the war, to condemn chauvinism, and so on and so forth, anything *except* revolutionary action, against their own government."

Reading today these statements of Lenin one would think they had been written to apply to the position of the right-wing leaders of the Australian Labor Party, in relation to the present war. An abundance of phrases to influence the workers combine with a complete silence about the all important question of working for the defeat of the present Australian Government headed by by Prime Minister Menzies—that is

the outstanding feature of the policy of Labor Party leaders in this war.

The official pronouncements of the Labor Party leaders on the war are notable for their utter failure to present the real issues involved in this war, they are notable also for the fact that in their grand disclaimers about the defence of "freedom," "independence" and "democracy" they fall right into the camp of the imperialists, into a position of support for the British ruling class, support for the war policy of the Chamberlain Government. . . . thus taking a stand against the proletariat."

On September 7, the declaration of the Federal leadership of the Labor Party was published in Melbourne. This declaration contains the following statement: "In this crisis facing the reality of war, the Labor Party stands for the maintenance of Australia as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Therefore, the Party will do all that is possible to safeguard Australia, and at the same time having regard to its platform, will do its utmost to maintain the integrity of the British Commonwealth."

This term "British Commonwealth" is one of those fine phrases which the Labor Party leaders like to use; a phrase which is a polite cloak, or a sugar coating for the real

thing, which is the British colonial Empire. To have openly stated the issues at stake in this war would have made it rather difficult for the Labor Party leadership to come out in defence of the integrity of the British Empire—so what do they do?—they simply ignore the real issues involved in the war and pass on to the "integrity of the British Commonwealth."

This war is an imperialist war, it is a war between two conflicting groups of imperialist powers for world supremacy; that is the important issue which Mr. Curtin and his friends ignored. The British Imperialists plunder and exploit hundreds of millions of people in the largest colonial empire in the world; the rulers of this empire are setting out in this war to strengthen and if possible extend the exploitation of millions of colonial people.

"Maintaining the integrity of the British Commonwealth" means nothing else than maintaining the right of the British imperialists to enslave and exploit hundreds of millions of people in India, in the Sudan and in other British colonies—that is the position of the Australian Labor Party leaders. It may be argued that Mr. Curtin and the others did not mean this, but if they did not mean this why is it that the Labor Party leaders have not made one declaration in support of the demand for self-determination voiced insistently by the Indian people since the outbreak of the war? This failure to support demands for Indian independence is very closely connected with the real sense of the

Labor Party's anxiety to "maintain the integrity of the British Commonwealth."

On October 26, the Melbourne "Labor Call" published an article by Mr. Curtin, Federal Labor Party leader, which reveals all the confusion of the Labor Party leaders combined with not a little misuse of the truth. In this article Mr. Curtin charges the Soviet Union with having failed to honor its mutual assistance pact with Czechoslovakia last year; either Mr. Curtin is ill-informed or he deliberately distorts the truth, for it was long ago established even on the word of ex-Czech President Benes that the U.S.S.R. offered to help Czechoslovakia even though France failed to help—that offer was rejected by the Czechoslovakian Government on the advice of Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Curtin also says that: "Poland . . . was simultaneously penetrated and invaded from the rear by Russia." Germany attacked the Polish State on September 1; the Red Army began to occupy the Polish Ukraine and White Russia on September 17 when the Polish Government had fled the country and the Polish State had collapsed. You have allowed your facts and dates to get a little mixed, Mr. Curtin.

Lumping the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany into one under the head of dictatorships, Mr. Curtin says: "Labor, therefore, pits itself against one force. It will resist to the uttermost the aggression of the dictatorships." Dealing with what he says is at stake in the war, Mr.

Curtin goes on to say: "Self government is at stake; the rights of the people are at stake and the hope for peace and decency on the earth are at stake."

Those words were written after the proposal for a peace conference to end the war had been made, yet Mr. Curtin advocates continuation of the war and he does so by the use of the same catch cries as the Chamberlain Government uses to conceal its real aims and purpose in continuing the war. The leader of the Labor Party talks about peace but urges that the war be continued, and in doing so he conceals from the Australian workers the established fact that the war is an imperialist war for a redivision of the colonies, sources of raw materials and markets of the world. In other words in supporting the war, Mr. Curtin supports British Imperialism and effectively passes into the camp of the enemies of the Australian workers.

It is interesting at this point to recall what Mr. Curtin had to say on September 29, 1938, on the subject of war and peace:

"The present trouble in Europe is the outcome of the last World War. That war, it is now clear, did not determine the problems of Europe and, we are firmly convinced, no decision emerging from conflict, should conflict again occur, will resolve the diverged aims and ambitions of European nationalism. Labor, therefore, in every country seeks and will continue to seek, peace by negotiation in international matters as representing the only

sane "solution"; the only lasting agreement which can free the people from living constantly under the darkening shadow of the sword."

Now, Mr. Curtin has become an advocate of war; today he says that much good can come out of armed conflict now that armed conflict has again occurred. Today it seems that Labor no longer wants peace by negotiation and far from desiring to free the people from the darkening shadow of the sword Mr. Curtin urges the people to take up the sword and fight to defend the integrity of the British Empire and the colonial rights of the British ruling class.

This is the seemingly contradictory position into which Mr. Curtin has fallen but everything is readily understood when the different settings for these two statements is considered. When talking about peace by negotiation Mr. Curtin was defending the Munich agreement of last September—he was defending the policy of Mr. Chamberlain and the British Imperialists. On October 26, 1939, Mr. Curtin urges continuation of an imperialist war because the British Imperialists and the Chamberlain Government want this war to continue. On both occasions the Australian Labor Party leader supports British Imperialism, on both occasions he supports the Chamberlain Government, only the conditions of the setting had changed somewhat in the meantime.

The "Labor Call," official organ of the Victorian Labor Party did exactly the same thing; on October 6, 1938, its editorial stated: "The

Peace Pact was agreed to on Friday by the representatives of the nations responsible, and which provides for substantial concessions in favor of Germany at the expense of Czechoslovakia, is apparently infinitely better from Labor's point of view than another world war."

On November 2, 1939, the "Labor Call" editorial stated:

"Who wants peace at Hitler-Stalin's terms? Certainly not the Australian labor movement, even though the vast majority of its units favor a quick return to world tranquility."

It is unnecessary to say anything more to show that the leadership of the Labor Party has for some time pursued a consistent policy on foreign affairs which in each critical situation has fitted in with the needs and aims of the Chamberlain Government and British ruling class.

The Labor Party right-wing leaders refuse to carry on a revolutionary struggle against the present Australian Government; they do their utmost to prevent any such struggle developing. All the talk about defence of democracy, defence of living standards and so on becomes mere empty prattle to deceive the workers unless it is linked with the development of mass struggle for

the defeat of the present Menzies Government.

The Labor Party workers want to see the war ended and they also want to see the Menzies Government thrown out of office, but as yet the majority of these workers do not understand the full implication of the policy of alliance with the enemies of the workers which is pursued by the right-wing leaders of the Australian Labor Party. The exposure of this treacherous policy and the isolation of the right-wing leaders is one of the fundamental tasks of the Australian labor movement.

To end the war, to establish peace, to defeat the Menzies Government and protect the interests of the Australian workers it is essential to put an end to the deadening influence of the Labor Party right wing on the labor movement.

Mr. Curtin said "the working class is the nation." No, the working class is the only class capable of defending the interests of the Australian nation and the working class will be able to occupy their rightful place at the head of the Australian nation to the degree that Mr. Curtin and his right-wing colleagues are politically isolated and their influence on the Australian workers broken.

A BOAST THAT CARRIES CONVICTION

Trotsky Proves Own Guilt

THE trials of the rights and Trotskyites in Moscow indicted Trotsky, from the mouths of his oldest associates, of mass murder of workers through poisoning their food, train accidents and explosions in factories and mines. His associates revealed that he has been a hired spy of the German Secret Service since 1921 and of the British a few years later.

Trotsky was revealed as again and again demanding that the great writer of the international working class, Maxim Gorky, be murdered, as well as Kirov, Stalin, Molotov and other leading figures of the Party and the State.

As a result of the trial, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov; if they were ever found on the territory of the Soviet Union.

At the time of the trials and since, Trotsky has issued frenzied "denials" of any knowledge of the plot and especially of any contact with the gangs who were dealt with by Soviet justice. Trotsky claimed that neither he nor his son, Sedov, had any contact or communication with the Trotskyist criminals in Russia.

However, Trotsky has provided the evidence against himself and his son, evidence that connects them definitely with the plot which meant the overthrow of Socialism, and the

restoration of capitalism, with the aid of the fascist armies. Hitler was to be rewarded with the Soviet Ukraine and other territories. In an article written after the death of his son, Sedov, Trotsky bears witness against himself and proves his own guilt.

Trotsky writes about how his son, Leon Sedov, was always secretly in contact with the Trotskyite and right-wing assassins.

When Trotsky was exiled to a remote part of the U.S.S.R., in 1927, he describes his secret plottings as follows: "Leon (Sedov) decided to tear himself away from his school and his young family in order to share our fate in Central Asia. . . . It was essential, whatever the cost, to guarantee our connection with Moscow. His work in Alma Ata during that year was truly peerless. We called him our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Police and Minister of Communications. And in fulfilling all these functions he had to rely on an illegal apparatus. Comrade "X," very devoted and reliable, acquired a carriage and three horses and worked as an independent coachman between Alma Ata and the city of Frunze, at that time the terminus of the railroad. It was his task to convey the secret mail to us every two weeks and to carry our letters

and manuscripts back to Frunze, where a Moscow messenger awaited him. Sometimes special couriers also arrived from Moscow. To meet with them was no simple matter. We were lodged in a house surrounded by the institutions of the G.P.U. Outside communications were handled entirely by Leon Sedov. He would leave the house late on a rainy night or when the snow fell heavily or, evading the vigilance of the spies, he would hide himself during the day in the library to meet the courier in a public bath or in the thick weeds on the outskirts of the town. . . . Each time he returned with the precious booty under his clothing."

This continued underground treachery, aiming at the destruction of the Soviet power and Socialism, led to the expulsion of Trotsky and Sedov from the Soviet Union into that capitalist world for whom they were working so assiduously. Then Trotsky goes on to give a glowing description of how Sedov "worked" from abroad: "During the first years of emigration he engaged in a vast correspondence with oppositionists in the U.S.S.R. But by 1932 the G.P.U. destroyed virtually all our connections. It became

necessary to seek fresh information through devious channels. Leon was always on the lookout, avidly searching for connecting threads with Russia, hunting up returning tourists, Soviet students assigned abroad, or sympathetic functionaries in the foreign representations."

And that statement by Trotsky agrees exactly with the statements of the guilty criminals when in the dock in Moscow and which Trotsky claims to have "refuted."

One after another they testified to meeting Sedov abroad and, from him, receiving Trotsky's directions for the murder of Soviet workers, of Maxim Gorky and Stalin; for espionage for the fascist powers and sabotage of the industries and defences of the U.S.S.R.

Trotsky now boasts about what he previously tried to deny; admits in his braggings that the statements of the criminals in the dock were true; that Trotsky was the head of the foul conspiracy.

The lieutenants have met with justice, the head spy and murderer has as yet escaped his just punishment to carry on his foul slandering of the Soviet Union in the millionaire press; to organise new bands of assassins and spies.

SPAIN TODAY

Bread is Dearer than Life

E. Williams

SOMETHING must happen in Spain — and it must happen soon.

Civil war, the overthrow of democracy and the white terror have solved none of Spain's problems—church, landlordism, army politics, unemployment, starvation, industrial and rural unrest are contributing more than ever before to the old feudal-capitalist order of the Peninsula.

For a picture of Spain as it is today we cannot go to the Australian press, which has declared something like a boycott on news revealing Franco's desperate situation. French official sources estimate that the execution rate in Spain is one Republican every nine minutes. That average excludes the mass executions which followed the betrayal by the professional soldiers, Miaja and Casado, of the gallant defenders of Madrid. And on the admissions of Francoist newspapers we know that 1782 people, including Rev. Father Mosen Llorens, a priest much loved by Republicans, were executed in Lerida, a moderate-sized town of Aragon.

The most reliable account of the present state of Spain comes from a woman who was a leading Liberal in Madrid, from which she escaped. She still has contacts in Madrid.

She was an official of the Republican Government and is probably better informed on conditions in Spain today than any other person beyond Spanish borders. She tells us:

Ordinary Spaniards try to get back to normal after 2½ years of war—and can't. It is not only that food is terribly scarce and prices high and that it is nearly impossible to buy clothes; the worst feature is the insecurity of life.

This is a typical case of a Spanish working-class family today. The husband, Manuel, is out of work and can't find any, because he was known as a trade union member before the war and worked in one of Madrid's militarised repair shops during the siege.

His wife, Pilar, cannot find work because she has been "godless" — she did not go to church — and because her brother has been arrested. Grounds for arrest was that he was a sergeant in the Republican Army. The brother's wife and children have come to live in the tiny flat (two rooms and kitchen), where there were already five persons. They all go hungry together now.

They can get a little food in the Auxilio Social, founded by the fascist Falange and run by the church.

Their children occasionally get food there, too.

Adults, as well as children, are forced to go to Mass and confession regularly. Before they can get food they have to show slips of paper proving they have been to confession.

The little children are taken to church by Auxilio Social workers. They have classes in religion but no other teaching.

The family are mortally afraid that an old neighbor woman might report that Pilar was seen in a militia woman's overalls in 1936 and that Manuel had a friend in the Republican police. Then, they would not only lose this bit of bread in the dining hall of the Auxilio Social, but they would be arrested.

Arrests are announced in the papers by the simple statement: "Maria Perez Lopez has been detained because she had been seen in militia overall, wearing pistols, and had assisted in numerous murders by a Cheka."

This formula means that somebody saw Maria in a blue overall, like that worn by most young working-class women in Madrid in 1936. All police services of Republican Spain, whose tolerance of the enemy within was their chief fault, are being called "Chekas" by the fascists. Nearly every detained person is alleged to have taken part in murders, because the fascists think it sounds best to foreigners, who would not want to plead for "murderers."

Denunciation of Republicans pro-

cures daily bread for many in Valencia, Barcelona and Madrid. People are decorated for helping the fascist police. Fear of denunciation presses on liberals, socialists, Catalan and Basque separatists, Protestants, intellectuals and working men. Even employers dare not give work to anyone who cannot prove that he or she belonged to a Nationalist organisation. Many join these groups for protection, but this earns them spy suspicion and sullen resentment from neighbors.

Republican families feel bitter about having their children taken over by their murdering enemies. But they have no choice—yet. With no work, no money, and potatoes costing one peseta a kilo (five times normal price), with hardly enough oil, beans and rice for the meagre ration allowance and prices soaring, what can they do to save their children.

A ten year-old girl writes from Madrid: "Juanito and Antonin are now internees in a religious institution so they can eat, because, you know, mother does not work. There is no work. You say I ought to learn much, but I do not go to school. In the comedor (food dispensary) where I eat they prepare me for first communion. We have hardly any clothes.

The older boys are put in the Falange organisation called "Flechas" (darts—the symbol of the Spanish Fascists is darts and a yoke). Younger boys have to enter the "Pelayos." Pelayo was a Spanish nobleman who first organised re-

sistance to Franco's saviors, the Moors, more than a thousand years ago.

Girls have to go into the "Margaritas League." "Margarita" does not mean a daisy-flower; it's religious significance is the cult of the Virgin. The girls are "educated" as far away as possible from contact with boys, which normal adolescent development should make essential to their character development.

"Women have to be given back to the home," says the Labor Charter and the priests. The women say, "The homes are without bread—and for many there are not even homes."

One third of Madrid was destroyed by Franco's guns and planes. The "Reds" get the blame for this. Great reconstruction works are planned — houses, churches, roads, railways and ports. Plenty work is promised. But there is no money—and Franco is afraid to trust the Spanish workers. Already there are "accidents" by the hundred in Spanish factories. Franco and his allies, the landlords, the church, the feudal army officers and the capitalists, believe they can cove the Spanish workers by starvation before they are put back into employment. But they reckon without the terrible indomitable independence of the Spanish workers.

The church is again in control of education. Books are burned or made into pulp. Some weeks ago,

all the books in the Barcelona library of Frederica Montseny, best-known Spanish Anarchist and only woman Minister, were used for pulp. Anarchism, which grew as a protest against the horrible repressions Spain has suffered over the centuries, is a Spanish tradition. One of its leading exponents in Spanish history was a Catholic Archbishop.

Every Republican is now called "Marxist" and "Communist." But sermons and pamphlets attack with equal violence what they call "humanism" and "liberalism." Franco, speaking to north-western Galicians, talked of "this part of Spain that never was contaminated by the democracies and liberalism."

But if Franco has had to give the people terror instead of bread, he has at least restored the bull-fighting to Spain. More open air life and sport and the humanitarian stand of the socialists and Communists had lessened the hold of bull-fighting on Spanish imagination. Another of the Republic's crimes.

Bull fighting provides that right atmosphere of cruelty, wealth and privilege, rich men and closed bedroom windows, mysticism and religiosity, that the old powers of Spain want. But the old order cannot stay. The Republican burial squads uttered the words of doom for Spain's brutal ruling-class as they lowered their dead comrades into the graves. . . .

"These are not corpses we bury, but seed."

THE FORTRESS

"Gordon"

EARLY spring.

Two men, a factory hand and a swagman, lying side by side on the bank of a river. Directly opposite, on the other bank, looms the monstrous wall of a factory, bleak and weatherbeaten, and studded with grilled windows like rows of scowling eyes. Between men and factory the river moves in shadow, elsewhere the sunlight turns in to silver.

"Watch this." The swagman held up the short stick with which he had been idly poking at the grass. A flick of his arm and it was in the river. It began to move immediately.

"See that? In the shadows, eh? The factory's got it. But it's moving!"

The factory hand, hardly more than a youth, nodded indifferently. He had met this man for the first time only half an hour ago, when he came out for lunch. Their talk, however, was of big things and had carried them far.

"Yer've got no imagination, son," challenged the swagman. "Yer don't see nothin' in that?"

"Don't worry. I know what you're getting at. You're telling me I should do what that bit of stick's doing . . ."

"You bet I am! Start movin'. Look at it now. Out in the open! Headed . . ."

"For the beach, just like any other stick, even if it gets as far. No, mate, you can't put that one over me. That stick isn't free just because it's moving. Neither are you. Why, so help me God, look at it now!"

The little stick had drifted towards the far bank and had become lodged against a trailing willow branch.

The swagman gave an exclamation of disgust. "That don't prove nothin'. I was just tryin' to illustrate a point, and the point is yer've got to get a move on sometime. The factory's got you in, son. In a few minutes the whistle'll go off and yer'll get up like a good little boy and go back ter . . . gaol. That's all it is, gaol."

The factory hand accepted the taunt. He was watching the narrow footbridge across which some of his workmates were already returning.

"And up there . . ." the swagman pointed to where the ribband of water crept away into a wilderness of willows and peppermints, ". . . yer can go on an' on, till . . . now I'll bet yer was 'ardly ever out of Melbourne?"

"Not far. The Dandenongs, and down the Bay."

"The Dandenongs? Speed the crows, that's only a suburban range! Didn't I tell yer the factory's got yer? Y'aint seen nothin'.

Yer'll get so yer won't ever want ter see nothin'. Y'told me yerself yer started at fourteen, an' yer twenty now. That's six years already. Still, they'll most likely kick yer out when yer twenty-one; yer'll be entitled ter full money."

"I got no illusions about that. I'm just sticking it as long as I can."

"Yer a bloody fool. What whistle's that?"

"Only a quarter to; there's ten minutes yet."

"There y'are. Y' admit it; ten minutes. An' when they're up yer'll go across that bridge an' stand like a buggy-horse while they put the winkers on yer."

Again the factory hand did not retort, and the swagman, sitting up and gesturing in his eagerness, went on: "An me? I'll just flop 'ere watchin' yer, an' when yer go in at that gate I'll 'eave up an' away . . . up the river. Son, yer just can't imagine it! Kidman 'imself couldn't give me no orders. I live on the fat of the land an' do as I damn well like. While you're sluggin' away inside those walls I'll . . . Christ, yer don't know this country! You try wakin' up of a mornin' like this up in the bush; a full tucker bag an' only the birds to watch yer scoff. I been in places where the 'orses and cattle run up an' stare like 'ell 'cos they only see a man once in a blue moon. Yer go swimmin' in creeks lukewarm, with parrots and galahs squawking all round yer. I'll bet yer never saw a wild pelican. Up on the Lachlan and 'Bidgee . . ."

"I'll see it all some day," muttered the factory hand resentfully.

"Some day! I knew an old woman . . ."

"Never mind about the old woman. There's a job to be done. You're no more free than I am."

"You wait till that bloody whistle goes off!"

"Yes, I'll give in, I'm a slave. But I know it. That makes a difference. It's easier. I'm fighting."

"That won't help. You're only one. Go down an' tell that mob on the bridge they're slaves. See what they say."

"We've got to teach them."

"We?"

"I'm a Communist."

"Oh!"

The two men looked into each other's eyes, the swagman with amused curiosity, the factory hand with defiance.

"D'you know what that means?" demanded the latter.

"Sure. It means you're a bigger mug than I took yer for."

"It means I'm sticking to the job, not running away from it."

"I'm running away, am I?"

"'Course you are." The factory hand paused as another whistle blew. "That's ten to one. Time's short. Listen . . ." In a twinkling he had passed from defensive to offensive. The clear young eyes burned with enthusiasm. "I said there's a job to be done and that I'm sticking to it. And that's not skite. I'm no hero. Maybe if it was just a matter of principle I'd stop here and see the factory to hell. But there's more to it than that. Look at that stick of yours now!"

The little stick had not moved.

"See? You reckoned that stick let you down. It didn't. It told the truth. You're not even as free as I am. I know what's going on; you don't. That's why I'm in the struggle and you're not. If I lose, then your blasted bit of freedom isn't worth twopence. That mob over the bridge . . . we've got to wake them up . . ."

"Yer'll never do it. Not as long as they've got three meals a day an' a smoke."

"Damn you! You're like all old timers."

"You bet! I learned sense. It just can't be done. Hold on . . . you're just a kid. So was I once, and one of the best organisers the Seamen's Union ever had. I did six months for stouching a 'John' in the 'seventeen strike. But I learned. Yer'll never wake the workers up. Slaves'll fight if they know they're slaves. But if the b— think they're free what can yer do about it?"

"Teach them!"

"Teach them be damned! Yer'll never do it. They won't even listen to yer. I 'ad enough. I pulled out. I reckoned I'd be free, anyway. I never worked since 'eighteen."

"You will soon . . . if we lose."

"Not on yer life!"

"If . . . we . . . lose . . ." the factory hand's voice was pregnant with conviction, "there won't be any freedom left anywhere. They'll rope you all in. Number and ticket every man-jack in the country. You're only free now because the fight's on. They're busy; you've got little jokers like me to thank. What

d'you think it'll be like on the wally when every station and farm has a company manager running it? Blokes that'll have to account for every ounce of tea they use. Because that's what it'll come to . . . if we lose. And the struggle's on now, in that joint over the river. That's where you'd be if you thought such a mighty lot of your freedom.

They're wanting hands now. You're an old militant. You should be up to the neck in it, in amongst the slaves, waking them up. Look at them . . ."

With the approach of one o'clock the trickle of workmen across the bridge had become a steady stream.

"Slaves!" ejaculated the young Communist. "And they don't even know it. Stuffed up to their simple eyes with King, Queen, Empire, Heaven and Hell, Duty, Patriotism, Thrift. And all you've got to do is to get them to think. They'd fight like hell if once . . ."

Another whistle.

"One o'clock," queried the swagman sardonically.

"No, five to. But I've got to go."

The factory worker rose reluctantly. From the pile of bricks across the river there came the sound of machines starting up. "We've argued most of the time, but I'm glad I met you." His eyes were fixed on the water, hungrily.

"So yer goin' back, eh?"

"Yes, I'm going back. You go up the river; I go across it. There's a bigger difference than you think, mate."

"Yer a fool, son."

"You can't beat a thing just by

running away from it."

"There's some things yer can't beat any other way, an' that's one of 'em." The swagman nodded at the factory. His voice, however, was a trifle less scornful.

"We've got to. You see . . ." the factory hand smiled self-consciously, "I always think of that joint as a . . . a fortress. Maybe when we capture it we'll all be able to go up the river, sometimes. So long. I've got to go now."

"Good luck, son."

Thoughtfully the swagman watched the sturdy figure all the way across the stretch of grass, over the bridge, and up the path to the big iron gates. He was last in. A wave of his hand and the factory had swallowed him up. The hum of the machines became a roar.

A cool breeze, laden with the scent of wattles, blew over the deserted landscape. Two magpies swooped down to investigate a fluttering lunch paper. The sunlight sparkled on the river, and the little

stick still edged helplessly against the willow branch. Blue skies and beckoning water.

And the frowning wall of the fortress.

For a long time the swagman remained, sunk in contemplation of it all. Old memories agitated him. There were doubts where but an hour ago there had been such fine convictions. Short, significant, sentences kept repeating themselves over and over again in his mind. "If we lose there will be no freedom left anywhere . . . the struggle's on . . . you should be up to the neck in it . . . they're wanting hands . . . the fight . . . the struggle . . . they're wanting hands! . . ."

Perhaps it was the shadow of the factory creeping up over the grass and settling on his face that helped him to a decision. Because when that happened he suddenly got up, shouldered his swag, and with firm step and the light of battle in his eyes, set off ACROSS the river.

THE END.

MATERIAL ON THE HISTORY OF C.P.S.U. (B) I.

Marxist-Leninist Philosophy

I.—Dialectics and Metaphysics

This is the first of a series of articles on the History of the C.P.S.U.

We invite comments and questions from our readers.

IN the history of the development of social thought two methods of perception, two methods of studying reality, have been developed: the metaphysical and dialectical. These two methods are mutually opposite and rule one another out.

The metaphysical method of perception arose a long time ago.

"Metaphysics" is a Greek word, which when translated literally means "after physics." The disciples of the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (who lived between 384 and 322 B.C.) divided his books into two groups: the first group of books contained questions of physics, while the second group contained questions of the fundamentals of existence, of the fundamentals of being. This second group of books was called metaphysics. Subsequently, metaphysics began to be understood as being the method of the isolated study of objects, apart from their movement, in a condition of repose. It is in this sense that metaphysics is examined in the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

By examining things, natural phenomena, concepts, ideas as unchanging, not undergoing development

and existing in isolation one from the other, metaphysics cannot solve the problem of the origin of things and phenomena, of their interconnection. This method of perception was able to satisfy science in the period when scientists were for the most part occupied in gathering facts, describing different things, and natural phenomena. Such an examination of natural phenomena was historically justifiable at that time. Before studying nature as a whole, it was necessary to accumulate facts, to describe them.

But as science developed further, the necessity arose of solving the problem as to the origin of natural phenomena, and the mutual connection between things and natural phenomena, as to the transition of phenomena one into the other, and it became necessary to discover the laws of the development of nature and society. The great scientists of the 18th century—Kant (1724-1804), Laplace (1749-1827) raised the question of the origin of the universe, and regarded the solar system and the earth not as the creation of a deity, but as the result of a natural process of the development of matter itself, as the product of a process of development that has

lasted millions of years.

The famous natural-scientist Darwin (1809-1882) proved that the animal and plant world arose as a result of a lengthy development of nature itself. The scientists Schleiden (1804-1881) and Schwann (1810-1882) on investigating the structure of animals and plants discovered a connection between them, and established the fact that both in the animal and plant worlds organisms possess one and the same cell formation. The discovery of the law of the preservation and transformation of energy belongs to the same period.

All these scientific discoveries did not now fit in the bounds of the metaphysical world outlook. Metaphysics as a method of the isolated study of phenomena began to act as a brake on the development of science. Another approach, another method was necessary in analysing the phenomena of the objective world—a method which would render it possible to examine nature as a whole, to examine the transitions of phenomena one into the other, their inter-connection. And philosophy established such a method. Hegel (1770-1831) was the first philosopher of the new period to give a detailed and comprehensive formulation of the dialectical method. Whereas prior to Hegel philosophers had expressed individual principles of dialectics, had established certain of its elements, Hegel created the system of dialectics. But Hegelian dialectics are idealistic.

Philosophic systems are divided

up into two opposite camps, depending on how the question is solved of the relation of thinking to being, of spirit to nature. Which is primary: nature or the spirit, being or thinking? Philosophers who recognise nature to be primary, who consider that nature precedes consciousness, the spirit—such philosophers express the materialistic world-outlook, and their theories are materialistic ones.

And on the contrary, those philosophers who accept consciousness, the idea or spirit as primary, as fundamental, who regard nature as secondary, as the result of the idea, of the spirit are representative of idealism.

Such a representative of idealism was Hegel, who considered the spirit, and not nature to be primary, fundamental. The subject of Hegel's philosophy is the so-called absolute spirit, which allegedly existed before nature and gave rise to it.

"... all this did not prevent the Hegelian system from covering an incomparably greater domain than any earlier system; nor from developing in this domain a wealth of thought which is astounding even today... Logic, natural philosophy, philosophy of mind, and the latter worked out in its separate, historical sub-divisions: philosophy of history, of law, of religion, history of philosophy, aesthetics, etc.—in all these different historical fields Hegel laboured to discover and demonstrate the prevailing thread of development. And as he was not only a creative genius but also a man of

encyclopaedic erudition, he played an epoch-making role in every sphere." (Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach," p. 24, Moscow, 1934.)

The great merit of Hegel's dialectics—its rational kernel—consists in that although Hegel considered both nature and society to be the creation of the absolute spirit, they are regarded as a process of development. Whereas the previous philosophical systems had regarded substance—that which constitutes the foundation of being (with the idealists it is the idea, the spirit, and with the materialistic—matter) as something motionless, once and for all given and unchanging, according to Hegel, on the other hand, substance (the absolute spirit) develops uninterruptedly, and this development takes place contradictorily, and is caused by internal contradictions alone.

Hegel's doctrine regarding the self-movement and contrariety of development inflicted a crushing blow on metaphysics, on the metaphysical notion regarding substance as something motionless, congealed, in a state of repose. In spite of this, however, Hegel's dialectics were insufficient to head the progressive development of the sciences. Science cannot develop on the basis of idealism.

"When describing their dialectical method, Marx and Engels usually refer to Hegel as the philosopher who formulated the main features of dialectics. This, however, does not mean that the dialectics of Marx and Engels is identical with

the dialectics of Hegel. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from the Hegelian dialectics only its 'rational kernel,' casting aside its idealistic shell, and developed it further so as to lend it a modern scientific form." (Short Course of the History of the C.P.S.U. (B), p. 105.)

Hegel's dialectics is wrapped in mysticism, is idealistic. It was necessary to cast aside this mysticism of Hegel's dialectics, to take from it the "rational kernel," to develop dialectics further and to create a new dialectical method, based on materialism.

It was this method, the dialectical-materialistic method that Marx and Engels established.

"My dialectic method," says Marx, "is fundamentally not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurge (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea.' With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol. I, p. 30. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1938.)

Marxist philosophical materialism recognises as the point of departure not the idea, but nature, which exists outside of, and independent of, the human consciousness and of any spiritual substance at all. Nature

is primary, and the idea, consciousness, is secondary. Consciousness is the result of the development of nature. This is the materialistic solution of the fundamental question of philosophy. Nature has not been created by anybody, it has existed from eternity.

The founders of Marxism not only provided a materialistic solution to the basic problem of philosophy—regarding the attitude of thinking to being, of the spirit to nature—but also disclosed the dialectics in nature itself, showed the dialectical character of the development of nature, social relations and thinking. The supreme principle of dialectics is development. Nature is in a process of constant development: some natural phenomena vanish, and others arise anew and this development is endless.

Marx also gave a dialectical explanation of social phenomena, disclosed the dialectics of the social-historical process. The dialectical approach to the study of social life rendered it possible for Marx to create the doctrine of capitalism being a social formation that does not exist eternally. Capitalist social relations were preceded by other epochs: the epoch of the primitive-communal system, the epoch of the slaveholding system, the epoch of feudalism. Each of these epochs possessed qualitatively distinct social relations. The dialectical method also enabled Marx to draw the conclusion that capitalism must disappear, that its place would be taken by other social relations, socialist social relations. From the doctrine

of the Marxist-Leninist dialectical method to the effect that the world is in constant motion and development, it follows that no social orders last for all time, that private property and exploitation are not everlasting. The capitalist system can be replaced by the Socialist system, just as previously the capitalist system took the place of the feudal system.

Wherein, then, lies the cause of the development of social relations? Marx gave a detailed answer to this question also. He said that the cause of the development of social relations does not lie outside society, but within it. In class society the mainspring of development is the class struggle.

Starting out from a dialectical-materialistic analysis of the social relations of capitalism, Marx also pointed to the force within capitalist society which will sweep capitalism away. This force is the proletariat. This is the class which, in alliance with, and at the head of, the toiling masses of town and country, is capable of fighting consistently and to a finish against bourgeois social relations, of abolishing them and of establishing new social relations, socialist ones. Thus materialist dialectics comes forward as the world-outlook of the proletariat and of its Party, the Communist Party.

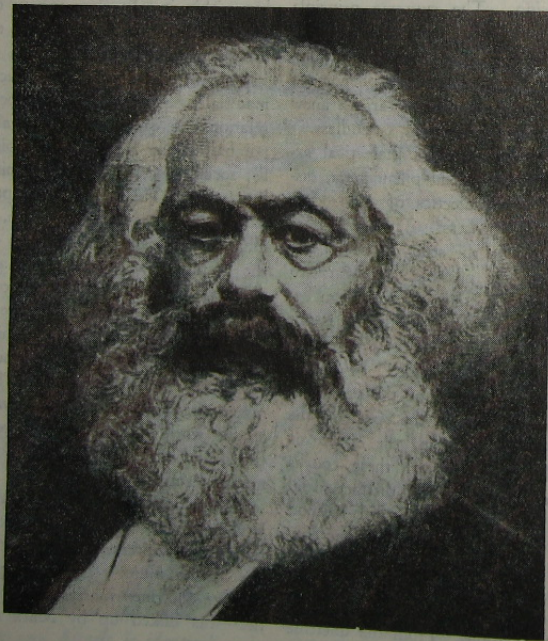
The establishment of the dialectical-materialist method of perception was a supreme achievement of the human mind. The most progressive doctrine—materialist dialectics—was linked up by Marx and

Engels with the fate of the most progressive class—the proletariat. Dialectical materialism was established by Marx and Engels in the epoch when the proletariat had already appeared on the arena of history as a political force of considerable weight.

The Marxist dialectical method is characterised in the Short Course of the History of the C.P.S.U. (B) by the following basic features:

the doctrine regarding the general connection between natural phenomena, regarding their mutual conditionality and regarding nature as a whole; the doctrine regarding continuous movement and change, continuous renewal and development of nature; the doctrine regarding qualitative and quantitative changes in natural development; the doctrine regarding the inner contradictoriness of natural phenomena.

(To be Continued.)



PRELUDE TO SOIL EROSION

R. Snow

THE consolidation of Australia as a unified economy took place in the early part of this century. A series of Liberal Federal Governments together with already firmly established financial monopoly carried forward the industrial development of Australia. Capital for public works was imported from England and this assisted industrial development. The cost of the war and the phenomenal increase of secondary industry during the war resulted in increased overseas debts.

The finance capitalists of Australia, the junior partners of British imperialists, as the watch-dogs of British interests and anxious to preserve their own domination in Australia, had to increase exports in order to pay interest on British and other foreign loans. The importance of increased wheat production was early realised and the closer settlement of Mallee lands had already commenced before the war. Other factors determining this course were the demand, by the people, for the opening up of farming land and the problem of placating a large number of returned soldiers.

The determination to increase Australian primary production in order to enable the further importation of capital into Australia must have been of prime importance to British and Australian capitalists. Not only then, but to the present

day also, the condition of primary production has been the first consideration of such organs of bourgeois finance economy as the monthly circulars of the Australian trading banks, newspaper articles by Professor Copland, and the deliberations of leaders of industry.

An interesting and disastrous example of this relation between agricultural production and foreign debts is provided by the never-to-be-forgotten "Grow More Wheat" campaign, of 1930. Heralded by messages from the Prime Minister and State Premiers, this campaign was quite evidently launched in an attempt to stem the advance of the economic crisis by increasing exports to the world market and so bolster up our foreign trade. Agricultural experts prostituted their science in furthering this campaign and helped to win the dislike of the farmers. The result of the 1930 campaign was a record wheat acreage in Australia and bumper crops crashed on to an already shaky market.

For many farmers this was the beginning of the end. Redoubling their efforts, they endeavored to win a losing battle by cutting down on their cropping rotations, in order to grow still more wheat in the hope of a good crop at a profitable price.

Australian capitalists were doing all in their power to safeguard their own interests, by placing the bur-

den of the crisis on the backs of workers and small farmers. Farmers were driven to increase production in order to bring the return of Australian prosperity which was "just around the corner." Workers' wages were cut and the standard of living was considered high enough to withstand severe lopping.

In their efforts to win through the crisis, farmers plunged further into debt. In practice this meant that farmers were endeavoring to get more and more from the soil while, due to their debt burden, they were putting less and less fertilizer into the soil. These were conditions which could only lead to diminished soil fertility.

A survey of the cropping competition in the Chandos district (S. Australian Mallee), South Australia, showed that fertiliser rates per acre dropped during the depression.

Year	Average Amount used per acre, in lbs.
1924	99
1925	108
1926	118
1927	106
1928	106
1929	101
1930	99
1931	80
1932	90
1933	90
1934	90
1935	93
1936	105

The remarks of the writer, R. L. Griffiths, are of considerable interest. "It can be seen that during the early years of the competition phos-

phate amounts were very satisfactory, individual amounts up to 190 lbs. being used and averages between 99 and 118 lbs. per acre. During this period not only did crops improve, but pastures also, and it was not unusual to see a good growth of naturalised clovers even on top of the sandhills. These clovers were providing an excellent tonic, and improving soil productivity. Unfortunately, economic conditions then upset the regular programme of many farmers; lower rainfall years, and later disastrous low prices for wheat made the financing of superphosphate more difficult . . . the effect being the exploitation of soil phosphate reserves in an attempt to carry over the lean period, but it was usually continued for too long, and both crops and pastures suffered."

If this was not good enough evidence of the drain of soil fertility, the deterioration on crop rotation practices was of greater significance. Between 1923 and 1929, the percentage of wheat to the total of all crops and pastures, on farms entered in this competition, was between 38 and 51 per cent. During 1930 all competitors sowed all their land in wheat and from 1931 and 1936 the corresponding percentage of wheat cropped ranged between 55 and 96 per cent. Griffiths remarks that from 1924 to 1929, each year more farmers were using a long rotation of four years and over, while from 1930 the position was very different. During none of the recent years has the number

of long rotations exceeded the shorter ones. "There is something wrong in Chandos when rotations are getting shorter instead of longer. The two-year rotation (i.e. wheat-fallow R.S.) is quite impossible of course; there is no area in Australia which a system of fallow-wheat rotation could continue permanently, and on most Mallee land it would be practised for only a very short time before the land showed signs of sterility."

This article, which thoroughly substantiates the claim of Marxists in regard to soil erosion, goes on: "There must be a reason for this, and it is not hard to find, being chiefly that because of low rainfall years, yields were lighter than usual, and because of low wheat prices farm returns were much below normal, and so farmers tried to make up the deficiency by sowing a larger proportion of their area with wheat. In a period of such financial stringency many were compelled to try any possible means of increasing farm income and cannot be blamed for it."

While this was written in 1936 it is interesting to note that even in 1924 the present Director of Agriculture in South Australia, Mr. Spafford, had written about this country: "The time soon arrives when these sandy soils show signs of being over-cropped, and they drift badly. . . . This latter stage has been reached with much of the sandy land of the county of Chandos, and the time has arrived when owners of such land should wake up to the fact."

Agricultural scientists consider that overcropping has been a principal cause of soil drift in Mallee areas; as soil humus is decreased there is less organic matter to prevent light sandy soils from drifting when they are fallowed. Control measures include the use of wide (i.e. long) crop rotation systems with a maximum of cereals or pasture for livestock and a minimum of cereal growing as a cash crop.

Publicity has been given to the problem of sand-dunes in Mallee areas, particularly as they affect irrigation systems, roads and railways. This problem was the concern of a Victorian Sand Drift Committee in 1933. This Committee recommended that special legislative measures be taken to prevent a farmer from allowing sand to accumulate. While certain careless practices by farmers may be the cause of some sand-dunes, their accumulation is a fairly general feature of the Mallee and is generally due to extensive wind erosion from land which has been rendered less fertile by over-cropping.

Another government committee was appointed in 1937 in Victoria to investigate soil erosion and, with regard to wind erosion, it made no advances on the 1933 recommendations. Again it was principally concerned, not with the serious decrease of land fertility and its liability, therefore, to blow away, but with the effect on public utilities because of increased expenditure in keeping them free from sand. As an instance of this, the Victorian State Rivers and Water Commis-

sion spends, annually, at least £40,000 in scooping drift sand from stock and domestic water channels in the Mallee. It is estimated that the cost for 1939 will be £100,000, following on the effect of last year's drought.

It would appear that Victorian authorities believe that, above all, the Mallee must continue to produce large amounts of exportable wheat. Indeed the main emphasis of agricultural research in Victoria is placed on wheat-growing and the breeding of wheats which will give higher yields. Such little work as is being done to control soil drift in the Mallee is dominated and hampered by this emphasis on wheat growing.

In South Australia, a Soil Erosion Committee reported in 1938. This committee paid more attention to the economic causes of wind erosion and made recommendations as to the control of such erosion, which occurs mainly in Mallee areas. These control measures are to a certain extent practicable, but their successful operation depends on the economic, rather than technical aspects of farming.

In Victoria, wind erosion is probably the best-known example of lowered soil fertility, although decreased fertility and erosion are connected: the lowered fertility assisting erosion and vice versa. It must not be thought, however, that only the Mallee is in danger. Water erosion also menaces agricultural land and may actually cause greater loss than does wind erosion. At least

this is so in America, where wind erosion is also common: Soil erosion is on the march throughout Victoria, assisted by a definitely lowered soil fertility which is primarily due to economic reasons.

Dr. H. C. Forster, of the Victorian Department of Agriculture, showed, at the recent Science Congress at Canberra, the effect of certain common rotational practices on soil fertility, as judged by crop yields. "It is evident," he said, "that under rotational practices such as wheat-fallow or wheat-oat-fallow, the yields of the wheat crops are barely maintaining themselves, despite the introduction of higher yielding varieties, greater applications of manure and improved methods of cultivation. Oat yields in similar rotations are showing a material decline in yield at the rate of 2/3 a bushel per acre per year. Thus we are forced to the conclusion that the fertility of the soil is declining under these rotational systems."

"Although it is apparent from the economic point of view that it may be desirable in years of high wheat prices to concentrate on more wheat, it must be recognised that the continued practice of these rotations will tend to impoverish the soil. In times such as the present, when wheat prices are low, it is advisable from the economic as well as the fertility angle to include as much grazing as possible in order to make good the loss in fertility occasioned by former years of intensive cropping."

Now it is suggested that more emphasis be placed on sheep grazing, and to a certain extent this advice is being followed in some parts of the Mallee. But it should be understood that a development of grazing implies larger holdings and more capital than is usually at the disposal of the small wheat farmer. Even the Bank of New South Wales, in its monthly circular of January 1939, points this out when it argues against subdivision of large holdings. While large holdings previously in a position to make adjustments to meet the erosion problem, are being weakened (by sub-division R.S.). There is developing, particularly among the big financial interests, the concrete justification of large wealthy estates, simply because they are in a better position to control soil erosion, although there is no evidence that they do so. It is yet possible that the control of soil erosion will be made the excuse for the eviction of many more small farmers and the leasing of their land to pastoral companies for an extension of the

wool industry. This would certainly be a most reactionary and retrograde step and one which threatens the welfare of hundreds of small farmers.

Soil erosion can be controlled. The best means of control is on the basis of a socialist agriculture, as in the Soviet Union which is able to combat soil erosion on a large scale, simply because all agriculture can be planned and co-ordinated. Collective farms would be equivalent to some of our large estates in their ability to control soil erosion. Even in the temporary absence of socialism in Australia, much can be done to control soil erosion by placing the economic cost of soil erosion control on the backs of the rich.

In their drive for profits and the stability of foreign trade to the mutual benefit of British and Australian finance capital, these people have placed farmers in a vicious circle of debt and overcropping. They are to be held responsible for soil erosion, it is now their duty to bear the cost.

On the Results of the 1939 Census of the U.S.S.R.

H. Voznesensky

Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

THE population in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on January 17, 1939, totalled 170,467,186 people. The census was carried through in accordance with the directives of the government and the demands of the science of statistics.

Compared with the data of the All-Union census of December 17, 1926, the U.S.S.R.'s population has increased by 23,439,271, or 15.9 per cent. in 12 years.

The population of all the capitalist countries in Europe, the united States and Japan at the end of 1926 amounted to 545,000,000 people. At the beginning of 1939 the population of these countries had increased up to 602 million people. The increase constituted 57 million people, or 10.4 per cent. Thus, the rate of increase of the population of the U.S.S.R. for these years is one and a half times greater than the average rate of increase of the population in the capitalist countries.

During the same period the population of Europe increased not more than by 32,000,000 people, or by 8.7 per cent.

The rate of the annual natural increase of the population of the U.S.S.R. between 1926 and 1939

equalled 1.23 per cent. The rate of natural increase of the population in the U.S.A. constitutes only 0.67 per cent., or 1.8 times less than in the U.S.S.R. An even lower rate of annual natural increase of the population for this same period is that of Great Britain, which registered 0.36 per cent., and in Germany, 0.62 per cent., not to speak of France, where it dropped to 0.08 per cent.

The following figures are in this respect significant: In Germany in 1910, children up to six years of age comprised 14.3 per cent. of the population; in 1925, 11.5 per cent., and in 1933, 9 per cent. In the fascist concentration camp, which the present-day Germany has been turned into, the birth-rate is further decreasing, while the death-rate, especially infant mortality, is increasing from year to year.

The fascist countries consider it more convenient to increase the population by enslaving foreign nations and incorporating them into their territory. It is known that it was precisely in this manner that Austria was "incorporated." The population of Austria in 1936 constituted 6,700,000 people. Thus, the net increase of the population of the U.S.S.R. for the past 12

years exceeds Austria's population by 3.5 times. As can be seen, the methods used for increasing the population of the U.S.S.R. and those used by the fascist countries differ in principle.

In the country of Socialism where there is no exploitation of man by man, where there are no crises and poverty, where for all working people—workers, collective farmers, intellectuals—a stable and ever-rising standard of material well-being has been secured, the population increases steadily and rapidly.

The national income of the U.S.S.R. in 1926 constituted 21,700,000,000 roubles. In 1938 it grew to 105 billion roubles, i.e., increased by 4.8 times. To whom the income belonged 10 years ago is seen from the class composition of the population of the U.S.S.R. at that time. Below is a table of the social composition of the population of the U.S.S.R. in 1928:

	In %
Workers and employees	17.3
Collective farm peasantry (together with handicraftsmen in co-operatives)	2.9
Individual peasants and handicraftsmen not in co-operatives	72.9
Capitalist elements (Nepmen and kulaks)	4.5
Miscellaneous population (students, the army, pensioners)	2.4
	100.

Since then Soviet society has become a Socialist society. The social composition of the population in the U.S.S.R. in 1937 was already different:

	In %
Workers and employees	34.9
Collective farm peasantry (together with handicraftsmen	

In co-operatives)	55.3
Individual farmers and handicraftsmen not in co-operatives	5.6
Miscellaneous population (students, the army, pensioners, etc.)	4.2
Capitalist elements	—
	100.

Thus, the Soviet people has become a people of creators, a people that is building Communism. In the last 12 years its numerical strength grew by almost 16 per cent., and its wealth (national income) during the same period grew by 380 per cent.

The gross industrial production of the U.S.S.R. amounted to 15.9 billion roubles in 1926, and in 1938 it increased to 106 billion roubles, i.e., by 6.7 times. The metal industry increased during the same period from 1,487 million roubles to 32,460 million roubles, i.e., by 21.7 times.

This is how Socialist wealth has grown, such is the scope of industrialisation in the U.S.S.R. Indeed, there is what to defend in the Soviet land and this census has once more proven that the Socialist fatherland has the forces that can defend it.

Socialist industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. has led to a considerable growth in the urban population. The urban population, according to the data of the 1926 census, constituted 26,314,114 people. The urban population already constitutes 55,909,908 people according to the data of the 1939 census. Thus, the urban population of the U.S.S.R. in 1939 in comparison with 1926 has numerically increased by 112 per

cent. The percentage of urban population, which in 1926 constituted 17.9 per cent., increased in 1939 to 32.8 per cent.

There are altogether 174 cities and towns in the U.S.S.R. with a population above 50,000 people each; of these, 82 cities and towns with a population of more than 100,000 people each and 11 cities with a population of more than half a million. The following table shows how these biggest cities and towns of the U.S.S.R. have grown:

	Population in 1926 in Thous.	Population in 1939 in Thous.	1939 as compared in % to 1926.
Moscow	2029	4137	204
Leningrad	1690	3191	189
Kiev	514	846	165
Kharkov	417	833	200
Baku	453	810	179
Gorki	222	644	290
Odessa	421	604	144
Tashkent	324	585	181
Tbilisi	294	519	177
Rostov - on - Don	308	510	166
Dnepropetrovsk	237	501	211

The growth of the urban population of the U.S.S.R. for the past twelve years took place on the following basis:

Firstly, because of the organised drawing in of people from the villages to work in industry, in construction, in transport and in other branches of economy in the towns. The workers came to the towns together with their families. Thus, from 1926 to 1939, 18,500,000 people moved from the rural districts into the towns.

Secondly, the growth of the urban population took place as a result of the natural increase of the popula-

tion which constituted 5,300,000 people during the last 12 years. The following table illustrates the natural growth of the population of four cities in the U.S.S.R. as compared with that of the pre-revolutionary period:

	Ratio of Births to Deaths, in %
Moscow:	
1913	130
1938	195
Leningrad:	
1913	124
1938	169
Kharkov:	
1913	131
1938	217
Minsk:	
1913	165
1938	252

For comparison it is worth mentioning that the corresponding figures for Berlin for 1936 were 107 per cent., and for London 110 per cent.

The death rate in the U.S.S.R. as compared with Tsarist Russia has decreased by more than 40 per cent. The following figures show the birth-rate in the U.S.S.R. as compared with capitalist countries:

	Total Births Average in Thous. per 1000
Moscow (1938)	117.2
Leningrad (1938)	83.8
Kiev (1938)	22.5
Kharkov (1938)	22.4
Baku (1938)	26.9
Berlin (1936)	59.5
London (1936)	56.3
Paris (1936)	32.5
New York (1936)	99.4
	28.5
	27.4
	27.4
	27.7
	33.9
	14.1
	13.6
	11.5
	13.5

Among the largest cities of the world, Moscow with its population of 4,137,000 occupies first place according to birth-rate.

Thirdly, as a result of Socialist industrialisation, a number of settlements, former villages, have grown into large industrial centres and

have become towns in the course of the Five-Year Plans. The population inhabiting the towns, which in 1926 were villages, today constitutes 9,800,000 people. The increase in the urban population between 1926 and 1939 census as a result of the transformation of settlements into towns constitutes 5,800,000 people.

Thus the U.S.S.R.'s urban population for the past twelve years has grown by 2.1 times. Industrial production has increased for the same period by 6.7 times. These comparative figures show the tremendous growth in the productive forces of the urban population achieved on the basis of the Socialist industrialisation of the U.S.S.R.

During the last twelve years the natural increase of the rural population of the U.S.S.R. amounted to approximately 18,100,000 people, whereas the figure for the urban districts, including the former rural points, exceeds 24,100,000 people. In view of this, the rural population of the U.S.S.R. which was 120,713,801 people in 1926, decreased to 114,557,278 people, or by 5.1 per cent.

The process of capitalist industrialisation in the bourgeois countries during the 18th and 19th centuries led to the mass ruination of the small landowners, to pauperisation in the village and to chronic unemployment in the towns. In the U.S.S.R. on the contrary, the drawing of the village population into the towns was accomplished by the liquidation of unemployment in the towns and the liquidation of pauper-

ism in the village on the basis of the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

According to the census data of 1926 there were in the U.S.S.R. 1,166,607 unemployed and their dependents. It is known that unemployment in the U.S.S.R. has already been liquidated during the First Five-Year Plan period, on the basis of the Socialist industrialisation of the country.

For the past 12 years a radical change has taken place in the rural population. In 1926 only 1.7 per cent. of the peasant households were in collective farms, whereas in 1938 93.5 per cent. of the peasant households were embraced in collective farms. The Soviet village has become collectivised. The victory of Socialist agriculture has raised the productive forces of the village population. The village population of 120,700,000 in 1926 produced 14.8 billion roubles worth of agricultural products, whereas 114,500,000 village population of the U.S.S.R. in 1938 produced 18.5 billion roubles worth of agricultural products (in comparative prices). In 1926-7, the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. produced 630 million poods of marketable grain of which 37,800,000 poods were produced by Soviet State farms and collective farms, 126 million poods by the kulaks and 466 million poods by the middle and poor peasants. (A pood equals 36 pounds.) As a result of the victory of Socialism in the village, the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. has, in 1938-39, produced 2,230,000,000 poods of marketable

grain, of which 245 million poods were produced by Soviet State farms, 1,980 million poods by collective farms and 5,000,000 poods by the individual peasants. The gross cotton yield for 1926 amounted to 5,377,000 centners and in 1938, on the basis of collective farm production, the cotton yield in the U.S.S.R. increased to 26,870,000 centners.

Thus, the rural population of the U.S.S.R. has somewhat decreased during the last 12 years in favor of the urban population. At the same time, the production of marketable grain increased by 3.7 times and the cotton yield by almost five times. In this manner the productive capacity of the rural population in the U.S.S.R. has increased tremendously on the basis of Socialist production in agriculture.

The comparison of the results of the census of 1939 and 1926 shows the growth of Socialist industrialisation in the National Republics of the U.S.S.R.

The following Union Republics show the biggest increase in population as compared with 1926:

Kirghiz S.S.R.	46%
Armenian S.S.R.	45
Tadjik S.S.R.	44
Azerbaijan S.S.R.	39
Uzbek S.S.R.	38
Georgian S.S.R.	32
Turkmen S.S.R.	26

The population in the East—in the Urals, in Siberia, in the Far East, has grown considerably. The population of the Sverdlovsk region has increased by 53 per cent., that of Novosibirsk by 53 per cent., Irkutsk by 49 per cent., Chita, 73 per cent., Buryat-Mongolian

U.S.S.R. by 39 per cent., the Khabarovsk territory by 136 per cent., the Maritime Provinces by 42 per cent.

For the period from 1926 to 1939 the population of the Urals, Siberia and the Far East increased by 5,924,000 people, i.e., by 33 per cent. This growth is connected with the rapid industrialisation of the eastern districts of the U.S.S.R. and greatly outstrips the All-Union rate of increase in the population. More than 3,000,000 people from other parts of the country came to the above-mentioned districts.

The population of the Uzbek, Tadjik, Turkmen and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics has increased for this same period by 2,883,000 people, or by 38 per cent. Approximately 1,700,000 people from other districts have come to these Republics.

A considerable increase has taken place in the population of the Autonomous Republics and Districts. During the period from 1926 to 1939 the population of the Autonomous Republics of the R.S.F.S.R. has increased by 23 per cent. and the population of the Autonomous Regions of the R.S.F.S.R. by 58 per cent.

The rapid growth of the population in the National Republics and Regions which graphically reflects the success of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, is an indication of the flourishing of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. census has demonstrated the results of the victory of Socialism, the triumph of the cause of the Party of Lenin-Stalin.

INDIA and the WAR

G. K. Peel

In an article in the October REVIEW, written before the outbreak of war, I wrote: "While the needs of war drive Imperialism into conflict with Indian national interests, this very need also forces it to make gestures of conciliation which are, however, empty gestures because British Imperialism cannot afford today to make any vital concession."



Peasants march to Congress singing "Red Army Marches" and shouting "Long Live the Revolution!" Leading them is Comrade Bukhari, a well-known Communist.

IT is this inability of British Imperialism to make vital concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie, coupled with the very real hatred of foreign English rule felt by rich and poor alike in India, which is the factor making for unity in struggle against Imperialism. The factor making for disunity is the fear of the Indian bourgeoisie that revolutionary action against Imperialism if successful will also mean the over-

throw of capitalism in India.

War broke out in Europe at a time when the class struggle in India was reaching a climax, manifesting itself in the form of strike action in nearly all industries all over India. The right-wing of the Congress was to some extent cooperating in the savage repression with which British Imperialism was attempting to suppress the working-class movement. There had been

wholesale arrests of the militant trade union and peasant leaders. The right-wing having manoeuvred itself into control of the Congress executive was autocratically taking disciplinary action against the left-wing and the followers of the ex-President Bose. This apparent setback for the Left was accompanied, however, by an ever-growing discontent among the rank and file of the Congress against the right-wing policy of drift.

A day or two before the outbreak of war the Communists published a manifesto under the heading "India must resist war," (published in "National Front," September 3). This manifesto called on the Working Committee of the Congress to give a stirring call to the people to forget all differences and get ready for the fray. India-wide hartal against the war, it said, must be the first step in the co-ordination of the anti-war resistance.

"The Congress has repeatedly declared its opposition and hostility to war," stated this manifesto. "The resolutions of the Congress are unambiguous and mean only one thing. India will strike and strike hard if war is forced on her; she will not bargain but settle her accounts with British Imperialism once and for all. That is the only interpretation that can be put on the Congress resolutions on war. The time has come to act in the spirit of these resolutions."

"India," continues the manifesto, "does not trust Britain. The British government has betrayed Abyssinia. It has betrayed Spain. It

sold Czechoslovakia to Hitler. It is betraying China every day. It encouraged Nazi aggression and is responsible for the outrages of the Fascist Powers. The Working Committee must tear to pieces the hypocritical plea of Imperialism that it is fighting in the cause of democracy. A government which holds India in bondage cannot be trusted to fight for the liberties of any people: such must be the clear verdict of the Working Committee."

The manifesto demands active resistance against the war, anti-recruitment and anti-war campaigns, campaigns against the export of war material. It demands unity and that the "fire against the Left" within the Congress must cease.

The Congress Socialists also took a firm stand against the war. "As a reply to the overseas broadcast by Mr. Arthur Greenwood, explaining the British Labour Party's support to war," states the Associated Press of India, Bombay, September 22, "Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Socialist Party, has sent a cable to Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Labour Party, in the course of which he refers to the British Labour Party's anxiety for democracy and invites its attention to India. He adds that the Defence of India Ordinance suppresses all liberty and the first duty of British Socialists is to destroy their own Imperialism."

Mr. Gandhi did not, however, demand struggle against Imperialism during the war. In the Italian paper "La Stampa," this message from Gandhi is published. "Congress does

not expect constitutional change during the war. It has merely demanded a declaration of Britain's aims, among which the independence of India is essential." The policy here expressed of demanding only a declaration of aims, and, on receiving a promise of future independence, submitting to slavery for the duration, caused fervent protest from the majority of Congress members as also did Mr. Gandhi's expression of sympathy for Britain, made to the Viceroy. However, not even this vague promise or declaration of war aims was forthcoming from the British Government.

Meanwhile Jawaharlal Nehru was recalled from China, and the Working Committee of the Congress passed unanimously at Wardhu on September 14, a manifesto drawn up by him, of which the following are extracts.

"The Working Committee has given their earnest consideration to the crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress, and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step to dissociate themselves from this policy of the British Government, the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session. Since then the British Government

has declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated ordinances and passed the Government of India Amending Bill, and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally and circumscribe and limit the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments. This has been done without the consent of the Indian people, whose declared wishes in such matters have been deliberately ignored by the British Government. The Working Committee must take the gravest view of these developments.

"The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of fascism and Nazism. . . . It has seen in fascism Nazism the intensification of the principle of Imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must therefore unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland. . . .

"The Congress further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people. . . . Any imposed decision or attempt to use Indian resources, for purposes not approved by them, will necessarily have to be opposed by them. . . .

"India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom as she possesses is taken away from her.

"The Committee are aware that the governments of Great Britain

and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression. But the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken word, the ideals proclaimed, and the real motives and objectives. . . . again and again the ideals and sentiments of the people and of those who have sacrificed themselves in the struggle have been ignored and faith has not been kept with them.

"If the war is to defend the *Statu quo*, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee is convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy.

. . . If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions, establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation.

"The crisis that has overtaken

Europe . . . is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last great war, and it will not be finally resolved until these conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium established. That equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another . . . India is the crux of the problem, for India has been the outstanding example of modern imperialism, and no re-fashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem . . . Freedom today is indivisible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to fresh disaster."

"The Working Committee has noted that many Rulers of Indian States have offered their service and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe. . . . The Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme. The British Government in India is more responsible for this autocracy than even the Rulers themselves, as has been made painfully evident during the past year. This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the new world order for which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe. . .

"The true measure of democracy is the ending of imperialism and fascism alike and the aggression that

has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up. . . .

"The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy and, in this grave hour of peril, to keep in readiness and hold together as a united nation, calm of purpose and determined to achieve the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world."

Although Mr. Gandhi, commenting on the manifesto in his paper, "Harijan," September 23, writes:—"I was sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally," he also states: "I hope that the statement will receive the unanimous support of all parties among the Congressmen . . . at this supreme hour in the history of the nation the Congress should believe that there will be no lack of strength in action, if action becomes necessary. . . . Recognition of India, and for that matter of all those who are under the British Crown, as free and independent nations seems to me to be the natural corollary of British professions about democracy."

The result of the demand for a statement of war aims as they referred to India was a statement by the Viceroy which didn't promise any change in policy. In all the provinces where Congress is in a majority the governments are resigning. "By 153 votes to 22," reports the Sydney "Sun" of October 27, "the Legislative Assembly at Madras adopted a resolution of disapproval

with the declaration of British policy in India, made recently by the Viceroy."

The British Government can claim support only from its reactionary puppet communal leaders, who don't represent even their own minority communities, and its toadies the so-called Liberals who have no mass backing whatsoever. Even these communal parties give in most cases only conditional support. The Indian Princes who pretend to speak for India represent nobody. Owners of racehorses who have no connection with India except through their bank book, rulers of states whose inhabitants do not total 100, and autocratic tyrants who owe their position only to British bayonets are quoted in pretence that India is behind Britain in the imperialist war. The real voice of the Indian people is the voice of the Congress.

Although there is still need for great vigilance, although the compromisers are by no means a spent force, the stand taken in the manifesto by the Working Committee is a tremendous advance and has only to be compared with the situation at the beginning of the last war to show that things will not run so smoothly in India this time. Events are justifying the policy of the Communists, a policy based on the analysis that British imperialism could not afford to give vital concessions, a policy based on the experiences of China. This policy was the policy of moving the Congress as a whole, the policy of unity in struggle, the policy of the *National Front*, as against the pol-

ic; of some other leftist groups which proposed *alternative leadership* and which was a policy of disruption.

The united will of the Indian people, as expressed in the Congress with the mass backing of the trade union movement and the mighty peasant movement which has committees in villages all over India, the organisational forms to take over government of the country without severe dislocation whenever the opportunity arises. Military defeat of the German imperialists is not the only outcome of this war which would have revolutionary consequences.

sequences. Defeat or severe weakening of British Imperialism in the war would certainly mean revolution in India. Even in 1931 Hindu soldiers refused to fire on Mahomedan anti-imperialists when they thought home rule was at hand. Nor would, as sometimes believed, defeat of the allies mean the handing-over of India to Germany or Japan. India has a big army of Indian troops with a fine military tradition. Strategically India is difficult to conquer. An Indian movement strong enough to defeat British Imperialism could defend India from all aggressors.



PAGES FROM THE PAST

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.

SOME EUREKA DOCUMENTS

As we celebrate this month the 85th anniversary of the Eureka Stockade, we interrupt our series of documents in order to present some others of the period of Eureka. Most of these documents have never been published, I think, since they first appeared in print eighty-five years ago.

A DIGGER POET

Charles R. Thatcher was the Diggers' poet. As a singer and an elocutionist—of his own verses—he was always certain of a hearty welcome by miners' audiences in Ballarat and Bendigo. This was largely due to the fact that he spoke for the Diggers. He merely echoed their thoughts. Several examples follow:

WHERE'S YOUR LICENSE

A NEW PARODY ON THE GAY CAVALIER

Sung with deafening applause by Mr. Thatcher at the Bendigo Theatre.

(Tune: *The Cavalier*.)

The morning was fine,
The sun brightly did shine,
The diggers were working away;
When the inspector of traps,
Said now my fine chaps,
We'll go licence-hunting to-day.
Some went this way, some that,
Some to Bendigo Flat,
And a lot to the White Hills did tramp;
Whilst others did bear,
Up towards Golden Square,
And the rest of them kept round the
camp.

Each turned his eye
To the holes close by,
Expecting on some down to drop;
But not one could they nail,
For they'd give 'em leg ball—
Diggers ain't often caught on the hop.
The little word Joe,
Which most of you know,
Is a signal the traps are quite near;
Made them all cut their sticks,
And they hooked it like bricks,
I believe you my boys, no fear.

Now a tall, ugly trap,
He espied a young chap,
Up the gully a cutting like fun;
So he quickly gave chase,
But 'twas a hard race,
For, mind you, the digger could run.
Down the hole he did pop,
While the bobby up top,
Says: "Just come up," shaking his staff—
"Young man of the crown,
If yer wants me, come down,
For I'm not to be caught with such
chaff."

Of course you'd have thought,
The sly fox he'd have caught,
By lugging him out of the hole;
But this crusher, no fear,
Quite scorned the idea,
Of burrowing the earth like a mole;
But wiser by half,
He put by his staff,
And as onward he went sung he:
"When a cove's down a drive,
Whether dead or alive,
He may stay there till doomsday for me."

THE NEW ARISTOCRACY

(Tune: *The Muslin.*)

Australia's a very queer place,
Folks in England perhaps may deny it,
If they do so, why, all I can say
Is, they better come out here and try it.
When the Regent-street Swell arrives
here,
It puts him quite into a panic,
To see that the class that's best off
Is the hard-working man and
mechanic.

He goes to the "diggings," but finds
That gold-seeking all is a bubble,
The labour tremendously hard,
And 'tis not to be got without trouble;
The pick does not suit his white hands,
For the skin all peels off in great blisters,
And he wishes again and again
He was home with his mothers and
sisters.

He finds that gold digging's no go,
Quite unsuited to his former station,
So he comes into town with the hope
Of getting a good situation;
But here he is done brown again,
And his courage seems terribly daunted,
For he sees that fine gentlemen here
Ain't exactly the class that are wanted.

A lawyer from Chancery Lane
You may see on the bridge, near the
Yarra,
With gingerbread, nuts, lemonade
Laid tastefully out on a barrow;
By the bye, there's a Bishop as well
Who has crossed the wild turbulent
sea,

LONDON AND THE DIGGINGS

A new, original song, written and sung by Thatcher, with great applause.

What a difference exists between London
and here,
For there things are cheap, but here
they are dear;
A shilling goes further in value, though
small,
Than a sovereign out here, which goes
no way at all.
At home aristocracy seems all the go.
On the diggings we're all on a level you
know;
The poor man out here ain't oppressed
by the rich,

And you will find him ensconced in a
tent
Selling chocolate, coffee, and tea,
Sir Noudleucums Phipps you will find
At the Post Office ready and willing
To clean both your boots black as jet,
But, mind you, he charges a shilling;
And a corn merchant, known in Mark
Lane,
His golden schemes finding all fail,
Is getting his eight bob a day
By breaking stones up by the jail.

Lord Frizzleby's nephew who went
And spent every summer at Nice,
Says, "Now boys, you'd better move on,"
In short he is in the police;
And the Reverend Frederick Spout,
Who in the church very high stood
And split hairs in divinity once,
Gets his living now splitting up wood.

There's also Sir Christopher Brown
Who on 'change was so noted a man,
He has now got a horse and a dray,
And is carting in wood from Prahran;
And Tom Johnson, the noted bank clerk,
Who at Notting-Hill once had a villa,
On the wharf now invites you to try
The American Sarsaparilla.

I might still mention several more
Men of standing and former renown.
Who are turning in money like dirt
By different means in the town;
Young men, take a leaf from their books,
Throw away pride, and though it seem
funny,
Never mind what you work at out here
So long as it brings in the money,

But dressed in blue shirts you can't tell
which is which,
And this is the country with rich
golden soil,
To reward any poor man's industri-
ous toil;
There's no masters here to oppress a
poor devil,
But out in Australia we're all on a
level.
The swell that in London rides through
Rotten-row

Is admired and bowed to by many, you
know;
But if he were to ride down the Ballarat-
road,
I rather think he would be jolly well
"joed."
Lucky diggers in cabs you may frequently
meet

In blue shirts, being driven in Great
Collins-street;
If they dressed so in London, and drove
about there,
Good gracious! How all the cockneys
would stare.
And this is the country, &c.

There are six more stanzas of a similar character. One, for example, states:
"And the fellows that frequently hang round hotels, out here are called loafers,
at home are called swells."

LINES UPON A SQUATTER

Oh, you stupid, grumbling chap,
At you I means to have a rap;
For you always are complaining
Of your bad luck here, and feigning
That by the discovery of gold,
You fellows are completely sold;
But had not gold been found out here,

You all might then have, p'raps, looked
queer.
And found no customers, I fear,
For that had scabby mutton,
And now you sell your crops like fun;
Hay at an awful price per ton;
And that's the way we coves are done,
You avaricious glutton.

LINES ON THE REMOVAL FROM BALLARAT OF
INSPECTOR LOBBS TO MELBOURNE

(After the style of "The Soldier's Tear.")

Up on the hill he turned,
To take a fast long look
Of the diggers who were washing up,
Near the bridge, there, at the brook,
He heard the cradles rock,
So familiar to his ear;
And th'inspector leaned against the
fence,
And wiped away a tear.

Around the blessed creek,
Some diggers took a sight
At the inspector standing there,
And joed with all their might.

But he was too far off
Their insolence to hear;
And he still kept leaning 'gainst the
fence,
And brushed away a tear.

He turned and left the spot—
Oh, do not deem him weak,
For new were the inspector's togs,
And quite plump was his cheek.
Go watch the jolly style,
These coves live in up here;
Be sure that those who have to leave
Will wipe away a tear.

HURRAH FOR AUSTRALIA

New original song, on the Land Question, as written and sung by Thatcher, with immense applause.

(Air: *Original.*)

Hurrah for Australia the golden,
Where men of all nations now toil,
To none will we e'er be beholden
Whilst we've strength to turn up the
soil;
There's no poverty here to distress us,
'Tis the country of true liberty,
No proud lords can ever oppress us,
But here we're untrammelled and free.
Then hurrah for Australia the
golden,

Where men of all nations now toil,
To none will we e'er be beholden
Whilst we're able to turn up the
soil.

Oh, government, hear our petition,
Find work for the strong willing hand,
Our dearest and greatest ambition
Is to settle and cultivate the land;
Australia's thousands are crying
For a home in the vast wilderness,

Whilst millions of acres are lying
In their primitive wild uselessness.
Then hurrah, &c.

Upset squatterdom domination,
Give every poor man a home,

Encourage our great population,
And like wanderers no more we'll roam;
Give, in mercy, a free scope to labor,
Uphold honest bold industry,
Then no-one will envy his neighbour,
But contented and happy we'll be.
Then hurrah, &c.

THE WIDOW

To the Editor of the
Ballarat "Times,"

Sir,—The 40th is gone, and I, a poor, lone woman, am left on the waves of the world. The 40th murdered my husband, while I was sleeping by his side, and discussing the prospects of the future. My children's were young and fair before their father's death, they are now houseless, homeless, shirtless and miserable. We had a fair and pleasant prospect of succeeding, with my husband, in realising an honest independence; but the soldiers killed him and left me a widow! I am homeless and friend-

less! Is there vengeance from Heaven; or is that vengeance merely a name? Is it sinful to cry for vengeance, or is every tear of my children for their unfortunate father to be considered a sacrilege? It cannot, for murder cries to Heaven for vengeance! Then, oh, may my curses and those of my fatherless children ascend to the great God, and oh, may the maledictions of Heaven pursue the evil-doers, may the murderous machines wither under the ban of an unfortunate

WIDOW.

—Ballarat "Times," 10.3.55.

THE BALAARAT REFORM LEAGUE

Here we reprint in full what is deservedly of moment in Australian democratic development: the Manifesto of the Balaarat Reform League, founded in November, 1854. The Diggers who made the stand on Eureka the following month were members of that League.

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTS OF THE BALAARAT REFORM LEAGUE

That it is the inalienable right of every citizen to have a voice in making the laws he is called upon to obey. That taxation without representation is tyranny.

That being, as the people have hitherto been, unrepresented in the Legislative Council of the Colony of Victoria, they have been tyrannised over, and it becomes their duty as well as their interest to resist and, if necessary, to remove the irrespon-

sible government which so tyrannises over them. That this Colony has hitherto been governed by paid officials upon the false assumption that law is greater than justice, because, forsooth, it was made by them or their friends, and admirably suits their selfish ends and narrow-minded views. That it is the object of the League to place the power in the hands of responsible representatives of the people; to frame wholesome

laws and carry on an honest government.

That it is not the wish of the League to effect the immediate separation of the Colony from the parent country, if equal laws and equal rights are dealt out to the whole free community; but that, if Queen Victoria continues to act upon the ill advice of dishonest ministers, and insists upon indirectly dictating obnoxious laws for this Colony, under the assumed authority of Royal Prerogative, the Reform League will endeavor to supersede such Royal Prerogative by asserting that of the people, it being the most Royal of all Royal Prerogatives, as the people are the only legitimate source of all political power.

The political changes contemplated by the League are:

(1) A full and fair representation.

The above Prospectus was adopted by over 7000 Diggers on November 11, 1854, at Ballaarat, "with but few exceptions." The Geelong Advertiser's correspondent sent to his paper the following report of the meeting. It was reprinted in the Melbourne Age, from which it is here copied. (Age, 16/11/54.)

THE DIGGERS ADOPT THE MANIFESTO

November 12th.

Yesterday we had our monster meeting on Bakery Hill. The proceedings began soon after 3 o'clock. The usual accompaniments of flags and music were not wanting to be added to the effect of the affair. The chair was occupied by Mr. Hayes, and Messrs. Holyoake, A. Black, Humfray, G. Black, Kennedy, Knew, Burke, Reynolds and Spong submitted and supported the following resolutions which were carried unanimously and enthusiastically:

- (2) Manhood suffrage.
- (3) No property qualification of members for the Legislative Council.
- (4) Payment of members.
- (5) Short duration of Parliament.

The immediate objects of the League are—a complete change in the management of the gold-fields by disbanding the Gold Commission; the total abolition of the diggers' and storekeepers' license-tax, and a thorough agitation of the gold-fields and the towns. That, to carry out the foregoing objects, there should be a large tent erected, in which to meet and conduct the business of the Reform League. Cards of membership are to be issued in a few days, and Ballaarat is to be divided into districts.

—Age," 16/11/54 (reprinting from the Geelong "Advertiser")

(1) That this meeting demands the immediate dismissal of Sgt.-Major Milne, because he is a dangerous and disreputable scoundrel, and one who is a disgrace to any government that employs him, and further, that the authorities who continue to employ such a knave are unworthy of either the confidence or respect of the inhabitants of Ballaarat, and that a committee be appointed to make known the demand of the meeting.

(2) That this meeting condemns the insolent language used by the Colonial Secretary, the Surveyor-General, the Chief Commissioner for the Gold Fields, and the Chairman of Committees, in their unwarrantable assertions respecting the veracity of the diggers, and the respectability of the representatives of the public press on the goldfields, and their sneering contempt at an appeal for an

investigation into the mal-practices of the corrupt Camp at Ballarat.

(3) That this meeting, having heard read the draft prospectus of "The Ballarat Reform League," approves and adopts the same, and pledges itself to support the committee, in carrying out its principles and attaining its objects—which are the obtaining the full poll rights of the people; and

(4) That this meeting expresses its

The Geelong Advertiser's Correspondent closes his report thus: "The Camp sentries are as usual, calling the hours. 'Tis now Monday morning, for I hear, 'Past two—all's well.' Perhaps it is so—perhaps not." He evidently had a foreboding of coming events.

THE BALLARAT "TIMES" ON THE LEAGUE THE REFORM LEAGUE

There is something strange, and, to the government of this country, something not quite comprehensible in this League. For the first time in the Southern Hemisphere, a Reform League is to be inaugurated. There is something ominous in this; the word "League," in a time of such feverish excitement as the present, is big with immense purport. Indeed it would ill become the *Times* to mince in matter of such weighty importance. This League is nothing more nor less than the germ of Australian independence. The die is cast, and fate has stamped upon the movement its indelible signature. No power on earth can restrain the united might and headlong strides for freedom of the people of this country, and we are lost in amazement while contemplating the dazzling panorama of the Australian future. We salute the League, and tender our hopes and prayers for its prosperity. The League has undertaken a mighty task, fit only for a great people—that of changing the dynasty of the country. The League does not exactly propose, nor adopt such a scheme, but knows what it means, the principles it would inculcate, and that eventually it will resolve itself into an Australian Congress.

It is not for us to say how much we have been instrumental in rousing of the people to a sense of their own wrongs, we leave that to the public and the world. The Ballarat Press has been stigmatised by the government and the Board of Enquiry in particular, as corrupt. We appeal to the country for its Imperial opinion. Certain changes have been made against officials in our police reports, and our police reporter substantiated to the Board of Enquiry the truthfulness of his reports upon his solemn oath. Does this, we ask that immaculate Board, and this unimpeachable government, look like rabid and groundless statements? Ours indeed has been a painful task throughout, for baring our arm, we have hurled defiance in the teeth of the government in our espousal of the people's cause. We have done so on public grounds, based our allegations on public justice, and the result of our continuous appeal to the people on their own behalf, is the formation

utter want of confidence in the political honesty of the Government officials in the Legislative Council, and pledges itself to use every means to have them removed from the offices they disgrace. That this meeting also expresses its disapprobation of the mode in which the Board of Enquiry was appointed—that it ought to have been composed of independent gentlemen, and not of paid government officials.

of a Reform League. What now says the government of the Ballarat Press? Would the potent voice of a high-minded intelligent people echo the loud thundering of the Press, if that Press were, as the government would represent it, truthless and corrupt? Would the people stultify themselves by lending a responsive ear to the printed record of their grievances if these did not indeed exist? Will any honest man, referring to our columns for sometime past, be rash enough to deny that a league, or some other defensiv ecombination of an injured people, was not imperatively demanded? It has never been our desire to embarrass the government of this country, but when the government involves itself, it is our duty, as an independent journalist, to make clear statements of facts, without fear, favor, or partiality. This we have hitherto done, and though the government should foam with rage and fret themselves into a passion, this, it is our intention, to continue to do.

The League will henceforth investigate into the grievances of the people, and no Board of Enquiry will be any more needed for such a purpose. Did the government imagine, indeed, that the so called Board could, in the short space of eight days, hear the million grievances and wrongs of this most injured, but strangely patient people? What could have been the object of that Board? What was the meaning of incurring so much expense, defrayed from the public purse, to appease the curiosity of Sir Charles Hathan? Perhaps the League will, at some future day, solve these knotty problems.

Ballarat "Times" (quoted by the "Age," 23/11/'54).

VICTORIAN REFORM LEAGUE

Late events have not quite damped our public spirit. On Tuesday next a meeting is to be held to protest against the treatment which the State prisoners are now receiving at the hands of the government, and to inaugurate the "Victorian Reform League," which professes to be more general in its organisation than its predecessor and to be under the sanction of the principal goldfields; in this respect, differing from the former one which was partly local. The objects of both Leagues appear identical—in the new prospectus they are stated to be:

First.—The full representation of the people on the basis of Manhood Suffrage; believing that the people have sufficient to value the franchise, and knowledge to use it wisely.

Second.—Vote by ballot, so that those who may, by their social position, be placed in the power of the unscrupulous and tyrannical shall be able to protect themselves.

Third.—No Property Qualification, believing that moral worth and intelligence are far higher qualifications for statesmen than any wealth can confer.

Fourth.—Payment of Members, believing that those who are worthy to be representatives of the people are entitled to sufficient means of subsistence whilst working for the people.

Fifth.—Triennial Parliaments, the evils of parliaments of longer duration being fully proved.

Sixth.—Equal Electoral Districts, on the basis of population, as the people should be represented in proportion to their numbers and intelligence.

Seventh.—The Unlocking of the Lands of this Colony in the manner best suited to meet the requirements of the people. The practical opening of the lands of this colony, in the vicinity of the goldfields, will go far to convert a population into a permanent and settled one; to develop the resources of the country, and give a common interest to the people of Victoria.

—The Times, Ballarat, 10/3/1955.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

J. Stalin

(Written on the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, and published in Pravda, No. 255, November 6-7, 1939.)

THE October Revolution is not merely a revolution "within national bounds." It is, above all, a revolution of an international, "world-embracing" order, for it denotes a radical turn in the universal history of mankind, away from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world.

Revolutions in the past usually ended in changing one group of exploiters at the helm of the ship of state for another such group. The exploiters would change, while exploitation remained. Such was the case during the emancipatory movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the period of the rebellions of the serfs. Such was the case during the period of the well-known "great" revolutions in England, France and Germany. I do not refer to the Paris Commune which was the first glorious, heroic and yet unsuccessful attempt on the part of the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions in point of principle. It sets as its aim not the replacement of one form of exploita-

tion by another form of exploitation, of one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the abolition of any and every exploiting group, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the power of the most revolutionary class of all oppressed classes hitherto existing, the organization of a new, classless, socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the victory of the October Revolution means a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destinies of world capitalism, a radical change in the movement for the emancipation of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organisation, in the everyday life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of exploited masses throughout the world.

Upon this is based the fact that the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, universal order.

This constitutes also the root

cause of that profound sympathy which the oppressed classes of all countries cherish for the October Revolution, since they regard it as a pledge of their own deliverance.

It would be possible to note a number of fundamental questions indicating the line along which the October Revolution exercises its influence over the development of the revolutionary movements throughout the world.

1. The October Revolution is remarkable, first of all, for having broken through the front of world imperialism, deposed the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and put the socialist proletariat in power.

The class of the wage workers, the class of the driven, the oppressed and exploited, has risen for the first time in the history of mankind to the position of a ruling class, setting a contagious example to the proletarians of all countries.

This means that the October Revolution has opened up a new epoch, an epoch of proletarian revolutions in the countries of imperialism.

It took the tools and means of production away from the landlords and capitalists and turned them into collective property, thus opposing socialist property to bourgeois property. It thereby exposed the lie of the capitalists that bourgeois property is inviolable, sacred, eternal.

It has wrested the power from the bourgeoisie, deprived the bourgeoisie of political rights, destroyed the bourgeois state machinery and transferred the power to the soviets, thus

opposing the socialist rule of the soviets, as a proletarian democracy, to bourgeois parliamentaryism, as capitalist democracy. Lafargue was right when he stated, as far back as 1887, that the very next day after the revolution "all former capitalists would be deprived of the elective franchise." By that very means the October Revolution has exposed the lie of the Social-Democrats about the possibility of a peaceful transition now to socialism through bourgeois parliamentaryism.

However, the October Revolution did not, and could not, stop there. Having destroyed the old, the bourgeois world, it began to build a new, a socialist world. The ten years of October Revolution are years of construction of the Party, the trade unions, the soviets, the co-operatives, cultural organisations, transport, industry, the Red Army. The undoubted successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the construction front have visibly shown that the proletariat can successfully govern the country without the bourgeois and against the bourgeoisie, that it can successfully build industry without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, that it can successfully guide the whole of the national economy without the bourgeois and against the bourgeoisie, that it can successfully build socialism in spite of the capitalist encirclement. The old "theory" to the effect that the exploited cannot do without the exploiters, just as the head or other parts of the body cannot get along without a stomach, is not only the idea of Menenius Agrippa, the

famous Roman senator of ancient history. This "theory" is now the cornerstone of the political "philosophy" of social-democracy in general, of the social-democratic policy of coalition with the imperialist bourgeoisie—in particular. This "theory" which has acquired the character of a prejudice, now presents one of the greatest obstacles on the path of the revolutionisation of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it dealt that false "theory" a mortal blow.

Is there still any need to prove that such and similar results of the October Revolution could not, and cannot, remain without serious effect on the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries?

Such generally known facts as the progressive growth of communism in the capitalist countries, the growth of the sympathy of the proletarians of all countries with the working class of the U.S.S.R.; finally, the influx of the workers' delegations into the Land of the Soviets, prove beyond a doubt that the seeds sown by the October Revolution already begin to bear fruit.

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the "mother countries." It also dealt blows at the rears of imperialism, its periphery, by having undermined the domination of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Having overthrown the landlords

and the capitalists, the October Revolution has broken the chains of national-colonial oppression and freed from it without exception all the oppressed nations of a vast state. The proletariat cannot free itself without liberating the oppressed nations. It is a characteristic trait of the October Revolution that it carried out these national-colonial revolutions in the U.S.S.R. not under the flag of national animosities and international conflicts, but under the flag of mutual trust and fraternal *rapprochement* between the workers and peasants of the various nationalities in the U.S.S.R.; not in the name of *nationalism*, but in the name of *internationalism*.

It is precisely because the national-colonial revolution took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism, that the pariah nations, the slave nations, for the first time in the history of mankind have risen to the position of nations which are *really free* and *really equal*, thereby setting a contagious example to the nations of the whole world.

This means that the October Revolution has ushered in a new epoch, an epoch of *colonial* revolutions, which are carried out in the *oppressed countries* of the world in *alliance* with the proletariat and *under the leadership of the proletariat*.

Formerly it was the "accepted idea" that from time immemorial the world has been divided into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, that the former are incapable of assimilating civilisation

and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, and that the latter are the only exponents of civilisation, whose mission it is to exploit the former. Now this legend must be regarded as shattered to pieces and rejected. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, having shown in practice that the liberated non-European nations, drawn into the channel of Soviet progress, are capable of promoting a *really progressive* culture and a *really progressive* civilisation no less than the European nations.

Formerly it was the "accepted idea" that the only method of liberating the oppressed nations was the method of *bourgeois nationalism*, a method of nations seceding one from the other, a method of disuniting them, a method of intensifying national animosities between the toiling masses of various nations. Now this legend must be regarded as disproved. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, having shown in practice the possibility and expediency of the *proletarian, international* method of liberating the oppressed nations as the only correct method, having shown in practice the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal alliance* between the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations on the principles of *voluntariness and internationalism*. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future amalgamation of the toilers of all countries

in a single world economy, cannot but serve as direct proof of this.

Beyond question these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot remain without serious effect on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Facts like the growth of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations, in China, in Indonesia, in India, etc., and the growth of sympathy with the U.S.S.R. among these nations undoubtedly bear this out.

The era of undisturbed exploitation and oppression of the colonies and dependent countries is gone.

The era of emancipatory revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the *proletariat* in these countries, the era of its *hegemony* in the revolution, *has begun*.

3. By sowing the seeds of revolution, both in the centres of imperialism and in its rear, by weakening the power of imperialism in the "mother countries" and undermining its domination in the colonies, the October Revolution has jeopardised the very existence of world capitalism as a whole.

While the spontaneous development of capitalism in the conditions of imperialism has grown over—owing to its unevenness, owing to the inevitability of conflicts and armed clashes, owing, finally, to the unprecedented imperialist slaughter—into the process of the "decay" and the "withering away" of capitalism, the October Revolution and the resultant secession of an enormous country from the world sys-

tem of capitalism could not but accelerate this process, washing away, bit by bit, the very foundations of world imperialism.

More than that. In undermining imperialism, the October Revolution concomitantly established a powerful and open base for the world revolutionary movement, represented by the first proletarian dictatorship, a base which it *never had before* and on which it can now rely. It created that powerful and open centre of the world revolutionary movement which it *never possessed before* and around which it now can rally and organise a *united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations of all countries against imperialism.*

This means, first of all, that the October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on world capitalism, a wound from which it will never recover. It is precisely for this reason that capitalism will never recover the "equilibrium," the "stability" that it possessed prior to October. Capitalism may become partly stabilised, it may rationalise its production, turn over the administration of the country to fascism, hold the working class down for a while, but it will never recover the "tranquility," the "assurance," the "equilibrium" and the "stability" that it flaunted before, for the crisis of world capitalism has reached the stage of development where the flames of revolution are bound to break through, now in the centres of imperialism, now in the periphery, reducing to naught the capitalist patchwork and daily bringing

the fall of capitalism nearer. Exactly as we find it in the famous fable "Pull the donkeys tail out of the mire and his nose will be stuck in it, pull out the nose and his tail will be in it."

This means, in the second place, that the October Revolution raised the force, the relative importance, the courage and the preparedness to fight of the oppressed classes of the whole world to a certain level, forcing the ruling classes to reckon with them as a *new*, an important factor. Now it is no longer possible to look upon the toiling masses of the world as a "blind mob," groping in the dark, devoid of all prospects, for the October Revolution raised a beacon for them which illumines their path and gives them prospects. Whereas formerly there was no world-embracing open forum where the aspirations and ambitions of the oppressed classes could be expounded and formulated, now such a forum exists in the form of the first proletarian dictatorship.

There is hardly room for doubt that the destruction of this forum would cast the gloom of unbridled dark reaction for a long time to come over the social and political life of the "progressive countries." It is impossible to deny that the mere fact of the existence of a "Bolshevik state" exercises a restraining influence on the dark forces of reaction, thus facilitating the struggle of the oppressed classes for their liberation. This, properly speaking, explains the brutal hatred which the exploiters of all countries feel for the Bolsheviks. History repeats it-

self, though on a new basis. Just as formerly, during the period of the fall of *feudalism* the word "Jacobin" evoked horror and loathing among the aristocrats of all countries, so now in the period of the fall of *capitalism*, the word "Bolshevik" evokes horror and loathing in bourgeois countries. And *vice versa*, just as formerly Paris was a place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *bourgeoisie*, so now Moscow is the place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *proletariat*. Hatred for the Jacobins did not save feudalism from foundering. Can there be any doubt that hatred for the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from inevitable perdition?

The era of the "stabilisation" of capitalism *has gone*, taking along with it the legend of the unshakable character of the bourgeois order.

The era of the downfall of capitalism *has begun*.

The October Revolution is not only a revolution in the domain of economic and social-political relations. It is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October Revolution was born and strengthened under the flag of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the flag of Leninism, which is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions. It marks, therefore, the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over social-democracy, the victory of the

Third International over the Second International.

The October Revolution erected an impassable barrier between Marxism and social-democracy, between the policy of Leninism and the policy of social-democracy. Formerly, *prior to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, social-democracy could disport the flag of Marxism without openly repudiating the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but at the same time without doing anything whatsoever to bring the realisation of this idea nearer, for such behaviour on the part of social-democracy did not jeopardise capitalism in the least. Then, in that period, social-democracy was formally merged, or almost merged, with Marxism. Now *after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, when it became patent to all *whither* Marxism leads, *what* its victory could mean, social-democracy was no longer able to disport the flag of Marxism, could no longer flirt with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without putting capitalism in jeopardy to a certain extent. Having long ago broken with the spirit of Marxism, it found itself forced to break also with the flag of Marxism, it openly and unambiguously took the stand against the October Revolution, the offspring of Marxism, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. Now it had to, and really did, dissociate itself from Marxism, for under present conditions it is impossible to call oneself a Marxist without openly and self-sacrificingly supporting the

first proletarian dictatorship in the world, without conducting a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, without creating the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country. A chasm opened up between social-democracy and Marxism. Henceforth, the only exponent and bulwark of Marxism will be Leninism, communism.

However, matters did not rest there. After dissociating social-democracy from Marxism, the October Revolution went further, by throwing off social-democracy into the camp of the outright defenders of capitalism, against the first proletarian dictatorship in the world. When the Adlers and Bauers, the Welsh and Levys, the Longuets and Blums abuse the "Soviet regime" and extol parliamentary "democracy," these gentlemen mean by this that they fight and will fight for the re-establishment of the capitalist order in the U.S.S.R. for the preservation of capitalist slavery in the "civilised" states. The present social-democracy is the ideological

prop of capitalism. Lenin was absolutely right when he said that the present social-democratic politicians are "real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class," that in the "civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" they will inevitably range themselves "on the side of the Versailles people against the Communards." *It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social-democracy in the labour movement.* Therefore, the era of the dying off of capitalism is at the same time the era of the dying off of social-democracy in the labour movement. The great importance of the October Revolution lies, incidentally, in the fact that it marks the inevitable victory of Leninism over social-democracy in the world labour movement.

The era of the domination of the Second International and of social-democracy in the labour movement has come to an end.

The era of the domination of Leninism and of the Third International has begun.

They are the Spanish People "Scene Shifter"

CHARACTERS: Jaime [an old, dying man]
Juan [a Republican soldier]
Pedro [another Republican soldier]
Rosa [daughter of Jaime]
A young woman
A French soldier
A priest
Several men and women off-stage.

SCENE: A Spanish Refugee Camp in France.

THE CURTAIN RISES: A barbed wire fence reaches diagonally across the stage—behind it, two figures, JUAN and PEDRO, are hunched on boxes. Between them, on a rough bed, lies old JAIME. The lights are very dim; what little illumination there is should be directed on the Spaniards. Silence. FRENCH SENTRY enters and crosses slowly from left to right.

YOUNG WOMAN: [off] Jose Maria Largo!

[She enters; young, pitifully anxious, dressed in shabby black, from left.]

Jose Maria Largo!

[She stares hard at the three men, calls again, more anxiously:]

Jose Maria Largo!

[The men do not move. She hesitates, and goes off right.]

JAIME: [very faintly—he is too ill to raise his head, and speaks weakly] We ought to have told her the truth.

JUAN: I should have told her—but I hadn't the heart to do it.

PEDRO: [acidly] And why speak? Better the question than the answer. Better to hope than to know . . .

[Silence falls again. Full pause.]

[The wan light increases in the pause, so that the three shabby men are isolated in the light which falls from immediately above them. Only their hands, the tops of their heads and noses shine from the gloom. JAIME has gleaming white hair, JUAN is bald, PEDRO wears a red cap. As the lights are changing, a number of voices off-stage, quavering voices, women's voices and the shrill cry of a child, are heard:]

THE VOICES:

[*fraught with anxiety, urgent, despairing*]

Jesu Christobal Gama!

Jose Maria Largo!

Antonio Bustamente!

Miguel—Miguel Carli Samonez!

Jose Maria Gomara!

[*voices dies into silence*]

PEDRO:

Calling! Always calling to their men! [*acidly*]
Are you hungry, Number One hundred and sixty-four thousand five hundred and sixty-one?

JUAN:

[*with quiet firmness*] Ah camarero, don't be sarcastic. If we were fat and full of food, if we had beds to sleep in, our minds wouldn't be as clear as they are, and we shouldn't be grieving for these widows and old men who are calling out the names of dead soldiers. I wonder if it's an advantage to be fat and well-fed, camarero? Comfortable people don't seem to be able to think, they don't seem to be able to feel such sufferings as these. [*He indicates the camp with his hand.*] It's a comfort to me that I'm not such a fool as I used to be.

PEDRO:

You flatter yourself, Number One hundred and sixty-four thousand five hundred and sixty-one. You've simply exchanged your old folly of believing in freedom for your new folly of believing in forgiveness. You forgive the English for not helping us to freedom. You forgive the French, the Americans, the South Africans, the Australians . . . all these comfortable people of yours who don't realise that this may soon happen to them, since they have allowed it to happen to us. Maybe they don't believe in freedom any more, so they don't need your forgiveness!

JUAN:

No camarero. Lots of people in those countries are ashamed. Instinct tells me that they *must* be ashamed. But each person, very naturally, is busy with his own affairs. Each person has quite enough to do with his own work, his children, or his mother-in-law, without bothering about people whom he never sees. Only a few people . . .

PEDRO:

Aaah, words, words, words! It's not for myself that I want their help now, but for all my friends, all these widows and little children whose fathers are lost or dead. But as for myself, why shouldn't I be allowed half an acre of ground somewhere, and a shed to sleep in? I can work, and I want to work. The same with you. But the monotony of this confinement, the monotony, the useless monotony!

[*His voice rises, his hands wave, and his bony face looks martyred. He calms himself quickly, and says very gently after a pause:*]

Is the old one asleep? He smells of death already, camarero. Did you say he was your friend in the old days?

JUAN:

I knew him slightly. He was the head man of his village. Jaime Bernal Rodriguez.

ROSA'S VOICE:

[*approaching*] Jaime Bernal Rodriguez!

JAIME:

[*stirring in his sleep*] No!

ROSA:

[*nearer*] Jaime Bernal Rodriguez!

JAIME:

Rosa! [*He tosses, and painfully raises his head staring about him, demanding feebly:*] Ro
Whose voice was that? Ah, I've been—[*shakes his head*—I seem to be dreaming . . .

ROSA:

[*much more loudly*] Jaime Bernal
Father! It's Rosa calling.

JAIME:

She? She musn't see me like t

I died a long time ago. Tell her to look after herself. Send her away. Tell her to stop looking for me. Anything . . .

[ROSA enters, dressed shabbily in black. JAIME subsides at once, pulling a rough blanket over his head. JUAN and PEDRO mutter, but then are abruptly silent as ROSA approaches them. She looks about undecidedly.]

[THE FRENCH SENTRY enters from the left, pacing slowly across the stage to the right. She goes up to him.]

ROSA: Please, señor, do you know of a refugee by the name of Jaime Bernal Rodriguez? A tall old man with snowy white hair and beautiful dark eyes?

[SENTRY continues to walk, ignoring her. She follows him.]

ROSA: I was told that I might find him in this part of the camp. A man with white hair . . .

[Still ignoring her, the SENTRY goes off right. She stares after him despairingly.]

PEDRO: [sourly] The sentry on duty is not permitted to answer questions, Senorita.

ROSA: Not—permitted? [Looking off stage after the soldier, speaks impatiently.] Oh, you men! So obedient, so inhuman! [Turning to PEDRO and JUAN] I'm looking for my father. I've been to every camp, and this is the end. I can't find him. If I could go inside the wire fences I'd be able to look into the faces of the sick men who are lying there on the ground, wrapped up in blankets or old capes. But I can't look into their faces. [Abruptly] Who is that man lying between you and your friend? Is he an old man with white hair? Pull the blanket back and let me have a look at his face . . .

[hastily—after an awkward pause] Oh, you wouldn't want to disturb him while he is sleeping, Senorita . . .

ROSA: Let me look at that man!

JUAN. If your father was old, Senorita, he may have—well—you know what I mean. Besides [with forced jauntiness] if he's in one of the camps you can be sure that he'll be looked after. The authorities do what they can. Lots of people are sending us blankets and food now. Things are still a bit confused, of course, and it's wrong to exhaust yourself in this way. Surely your father would have wanted you to take care of yourself. Maybe the generous Australians will invite us all to go and work for them in their wonderful empty country. Why don't you try to go away to another country, Senorita?

ROSA: I've seen you before. You used to call at our village with a lorry to fetch the boxes of sardines. You knew my father . . .

JUAN. No, Senorita, you must be mistaking me for somebody else . . .

ROSA: [wildly] Let me look at that man's face! His! You're hiding something from me. Father!

JUAN and PEDRO: Senorita! Senorita! [endeavoring to calm her]

[ROSA leans forward, crouching, shaking the fence, staring at the old man, and calling in an intense, appealing whisper:]

ROSA: Father, father, father, father! [Conviction grows in her voice and manner until she is rattling the fence violently and speaking in a hoarse scream] It's him! I've found him. I want to get through. Father, look at me. Father, it's Rosa. I've come to take care of you. I'll try to get you out—Father!

JAIME has been lying on his back, but now rises slowly to a sitting posture. Death is in his face as the blanket falls away from it. He manages to hold out his arms towards ROSA, trying to speak, but he can only gape inarticulately. The effort exhausts him, and he falls back dead.]

[Just as he falls, a trumpet sounds in the distance. ROSA gives a wild cry of grief, realising that her father is dead. She sinks further into a crouching position, clinging to the wires of the fence and heaving with sobs. DEAD SILENCE as JUAN covers the old man's face with the blanket.]

[The trumpet blares again, much nearer. The lights change so that the back of the stage is thrown full into prominence, and the crouching and

seated figures of ROSA and the soldiers are in the gloom. There is a quick thud of feet, and the French soldier marches in at the rear of the stage, plants a white cross expeditiously, blows the trumpet, and steps aside with a click of the heels. A white-robed and very fat priest toddles on to the stage, waves his hands over the grave, going through the usual funeral procedure in a very perfunctory yet grotesque manner. The whole dumb show is repeated in the opposite corner of the stage. Soldier and Priest then exit, and the trumpet again sounds in the distance. Gradually the lights on the two new crosses fade. In the dimness, the voices can be heard:]

PEDRO: [with infinite bitterness] You see, Senorita. They do what they can. The authorities do what they can.

ROSA: [who has grown quite quiet] Oh, what are we going to do? What are we going to do?

JUAN: Keep on waiting, Senorita, keep on waiting.

ROSA: Waiting? Waiting for what?

PEDRO: [slowly and bitterly, as the lights fade out]
Waiting for time to pass!

BLACKOUT.

[In the midst of the ensuing applause—if any—a fierce spotlight picks out PEDRO alone, who has risen to his feet in the middle of the stage, but who is still behind the wires. The other characters have disappeared. PEDRO speaks very quietly, and in as man-to-man a fashion as possible.]

PEDRO: Well, friends, now can't you do something about it? My people were proud once, but now they have to beg for your help. But their sores are real, their wounds are real. They've not dressed themselves up in the appearance of defeat and hunger, as professional beggars do. They are [with more emphasis] the Spanish people who fought for their elected government according to their rights by national and international law. They are in need of food, clothing and shelter. Above all, they are in need of some place, any place, in this wide and fertile world, where they can work and be useful. Give them your help!

QUICK CURTAIN.