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# COMMUNIST

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## HOW THEY STOPPED THE ANTI-SOVIET WAR

A thrilling account of how intervention  
was defeated in 1918-20, which bears a  
moral for today. See page 232.

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APRIL

1940

# COMMUNIST REVIEW

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

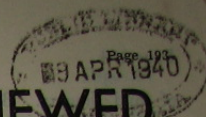
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## Contents

THE NEWS REVIEWED .....	E. W. Campbell .....	193
MARXIST-LENINIST PHILOSOPHY. V.—The Struggle of Opposites		199
AUSTRALIAN BLOOD and RUSSIAN OIL "Vic" .....		203
FATHER COUGHLIN AND THE NAZIS John L. Spivak .....		209
STATE ELECTION IN VICTORIA .....	E. Rowe .....	220
A BOOM IN RENTS (Story) .....	"Gordon" .....	224
ANGLO-AMERICAN CONTRADICTIONS IN THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR E. Varga .....		228
HOW THEY STOPPED THE ANTI- SOVIET WAR .....	L. Harry Gould .....	232
THE SOCIALIST SIXTH OF THE WORLD Hewlett Johnson .....		237
RIVAL IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDISTS L. Sharkey .....		241
STALIN AND THE WORLD PROLE- TARIAT .....	G. Dimitrov .....	246
HANDS OF RUSSIA! .....	J. B. Miles .....	252



# THE NEWS REVIEWED

E. W. Campbell

## Car Crash in Corio

*"In a democratic republic wealth wields its power indirectly but all the more effectively, first, by means of the direct corruption of the officials; second, by means of the alliance between the government and the Stock Exchange." (Engels: Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.)*

*"At the present time, imperialism and the domination of the banks have 'developed' both these methods of defending and asserting the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions to an unusually fine art." (Lenin: State and Revolution.)*

THE three Waterloo (Sydney) aldermen who were gaoled last month for taking a £50 bribe were obviously not masters of their graft.

Mere tyros in venality their venture lacked the imaginative touch which marks the work of greater artists in this field.

Why, instead of accepting the reward for their apostasy in notes which are so easily traced, did they not take the lease of a champion racehorse, or, if this be deemed above the means of suburban aldermen, a racing greyhound?

Had they done so they might have escaped retribution and remained at liberty to prosper from their nefarious practices.

That is the conclusion reached after studying the transactions between Mr. Lawson (ex-Minister for Trade and Customs) and Mr. Smith (of Australian Consolidated Industries).

Mr. Lawson was entrusted by the

government to enter into negotiations with Mr. Smith re the A.C.I. establishing a car manufacturing industry in Australia.

Agreement was reached on terms highly favorable to A.C.I. and was on the eve of ratification by Cabinet when Mr. Curtin dropped a bombshell by disclosing that Mr. Lawson had leased a racehorse from Mr. Smith which within a few days had won a race worth £300.

The Corio by-election campaign was in full swing when this exposure was made. The Prime Minister tried unsuccessfully for a time to whitewash his colleague but public pressure forced a belated resignation of Mr. Lawson from the Cabinet—but not from Parliament.

Thus the government's car policy came to vie with its war policy as the main issue in Corio.

The Labor Party converted Mr. Lawson's peccadillo into political capital and indulged in a great deal

of mud slinging. But a close examination of the facts creates a suspicion that their own hands were not entirely clean.

#### SOME EARLY HISTORY

The first step towards the establishment of a car manufacturing industry in Australia was taken in 1936 when Mr. Lyons was Prime Minister.

The government decided on a bounty to encourage the new industry. An import tax of .7d. per lb. on all chassis entering the country was imposed to raise funds for this purpose.

Prolonged investigations, including an inquiry by the Tariff Board, and negotiations followed this measure of the Lyons government.

But, in the words of Mr. Lawson, "There was on the part of those companies which might have been expected to undertake manufacture a perhaps understandable reluctance to accept the government's offer. The profits of some of the companies were high and it appeared that they preferred to conduct the industry on the basis of the importation of chassis." (*Hansard*, No. 27, 6th-7th Dec., 1939, p. 2210.)

Amongst the companies referred to by Mr. Lawson were General Motors-Holdens Ltd. and the Ford Motor Company of Australia Pty. Ltd.

These interests were not only reluctant, vide Mr. Lawson, to accept the government's offer, but were determined to prevent others from accepting it.

Mr. Hartnett, of General Motors, and Mr. French the general

manager of the Ford Company, were the chief witnesses to appear before the Tariff Board, and it was mainly upon their evidence that the Board reported unfavorably towards the establishment of the new industry.

For the time being the project was dropped by the government, causing Sir Henry Gullet to remark: "If the government will not establish this industry, then there is some sinister and mysterious influence stopping it . . ." (*Hansard*, November 16, 1937.

One doesn't need to be gifted with occult powers to know what these sinister and mysterious influences were.

#### MORE RECENT HISTORY

But equally sinister influences were at work in an opposite direction.

Certain capitalist interests who had already benefited from the protection extended by a benevolent government scented rich profits in this new field.

Australian Consolidated Industries Limited entered the arena.

A.C.I. is one of Australia's wealthiest monopolies and ranks almost equal to the B.H.P. and C.S.R.

Until February last year the company was known as Australian Glass Manufacturers Co. Ltd. The change to the present title accompanied a plan for the formation of a number of new subsidiaries and the sale to them of the Glass Co.'s assets. Thus the A.C.I. is now a holding company controlling fourteen subsidiaries. It's nominal

capital is £5,000,000 and paid up capital £3,664,292.

Lenin, in "Imperialism," makes a very interesting comment on this form of company organisation. "The holding system," he wrote, "not only serves to increase enormously the power of the monopolists; it also enables them to resort with impunity to all sorts of shady tricks to cheat the public, for the directors of the parent company are not legally responsible for the subsidiary companies, which are supposed to be 'independent,' and through the medium of which they can 'pull off anything.'"

There is evidence to prove that the A.C.I. was in touch with the government long before the Engine Bounty Bill was introduced in December 1939.

This evidence also supports the remarks of Engels re the alliance between the government and the Stock Exchange which is quoted at the head of this article.

In June, 1939, "Rydgcs" (a monthly business and financial journal) reported, under the heading, "Spectacular Rise in A.C.I.," that "Canny investors bought the scrip at 32/3 on the 1st May. Three weeks later in Melbourne the shares touched 37/-."

It would be interesting to know who were these "canny investors" who knew so much more than the general public.

In July another little ramp was worked. It was announced that the Tariff Board would begin an inquiry into A.C.I. under Section 15 (h). Under this section an inquiry

can be ordered on complaint that a manufacturer is getting undue advantage of tariff protection.

This announcement caused the price of A.C.I. shares to drop to 32/9. By August, however, when it was apparent that nothing would come of the inquiry, they rose again to 38/-. Once again those in the know pocketed a nice little rake off.

In December 1939, Mr. Lawson introduced the Motor Vehicle Engine Bounty Bill into Parliament.

Briefly the terms of the Bill provide for payment of bounty on engine units of 15 horse-power or over of—

For the first 20,000 engine units, £30 a unit.

For the second 20,000 engine units, £25 a unit.

For the third 20,000 engine units, £20 a unit.

It is most interesting to note how this Bill was received by the Labor Party, especially in view of subsequent developments.

The Deputy Leader of the Labor Party, Mr. Forde, greeted it as follows: "This is a bill to provide for the payment of a bounty on the production of motor vehicle engines built in Australia. In the opinion of the Opposition this measure is long overdue."

Mr. Forde waxed wrath against the sinister and mysterious influences which were hampering the establishment of the new industry.

"I believe," he said, "that vested interests engaged in the distribution of imported motor vehicles in Australia . . . were busily engaged in using influence with the government.

I believe that it does not suit overseas organisations like General Motors-Holdens and the Ford Company . . . to go to the expense of establishing factories in Australia for the manufacture of motor car engines . . ."

He concluded by stating that "the Labor Party would support the Bill." (*Hansard*, 7th and 8th Dec., 1939. No. 28, p. 2454/9.)

After this everything appeared to be plain sailing for the government. Certainly the Country Party was opposed to the legislation and tried unsuccessfully to have the question re-submitted to the Tariff Board which squashed it in 1936. But with the assurance of Labor Party support the government could afford to thumb its nose at Cameron and Co.

The A.C.I. must have been confident that it had things in the bag.

"Rydgcs," of January, 1940, reported, under the heading, "Enthusiasm for A.C.I.," that "along with such shares as the B.H.P., the A.C.I. has led the market for months.

"The enthusiasm for this stock increased in the closing weeks of 1939. At the beginning of December the fully paid were at 36/6 and the contributing shares (4/- paid) at 14/-. Those holding the shares proved stubborn when buyers came along, but the latter, not to be disappointed, raised their bids substantially. Trading on the 11th of the month closed with the fully paid at 39/1½ and the contributing at 17/-.

"A hint of some major expansion appeared in the daily press a fort-

night ago when it was reported that A.C.I. was keenly interested in the manufacture of motor cars in Australia . . . W. J. Smith, director of A.C.I., has booked his passage to the United States to purchase car engine and assembly plant."

Then came the Corio by-election and a startling reversal of form on the part of the Labor Party.

Mr. Curtin set the ball rolling with his telling exposure of Mr. Lawson's racing transactions with Mr. Smith.

It rolled to such advantage that the government candidate was flattened and Menzies was forced to concede to the terms of the agreement with the A.C.I. being debated by Parliament when it reassembles.

What caused the Labor Party to somersault on this issue?

Unless one is a political simpleton one must conclude that the "sinister influences" which worked through the U.A.P. in 1936 to defeat the proposals were outbid by their rivals and turned towards the Labor Party for succour.

Since no balance sheets disclosing the source of Party Funds are published we must remain in ignorance of what this cost the Ford Company.

#### THE AFTERMATH

Unless it turns coat again the Labor Party must oppose the ratification of the agreement with A.C.I. when it comes before Parliament.

The Country Party has already opposed the measure all along the line.

If these two parties made common cause on the issue it would mean good-bye Menzies.

But Mr. Menzies has no intentions of bidding farewell to office at this juncture if it can be avoided.

He prefers to sink his pride and make his peace with Mr. Cameron, whom he previously shunned as though he had the plague.

The latter has availed himself of Mr. Menzies dilemma to impose the harshest of peace terms.

In return for the promise to make

## Finland Signs Peace

THE morning newspapers of March 13 came out with streamer headlines announcing that 50,000 Allied troops were ready to embark for Finland.

At the very moment when these papers were on sale in Australia the representatives of the Finnish government were putting their signatures to a peace treaty in Moscow.

The conclusion of peace between Russia and Finland has dealt a major blow to the war plans of the anti-Soviet imperialists, who right up to the last minute were working to extend the conflict.

The treaty concedes to Russia all that she asked in November, plus some additional territory which the experience of the war proved to be necessary to the realisation of her aim of making her borders in the north invulnerable.

The Finnish ruling class have reaped a bitter harvest from the crop which they allowed Britain and France to sow on their soil.

The peace treaty in no way weak-

ens, but on the contrary strengthens those forces in Finland which are genuinely working for the independence of their country.

The people will see for themselves that the demands of Russia were not incompatible with Finland's independence as maintained by Mannerheim and Co.

They will want to know why these people did not meet Russia half way in November instead of heeding the promptings of Britain and France and plunging the country into war.

They will want to know why thousands of Finnish lives were sacrificed and millions of pounds wasted in such a senseless venture.

It is extremely unlikely that Mannerheim and Ryti will succeed in finding satisfactory answers to these queries.

The peace will also add to the problems confronting Chamberlain and Daladier.

Right to the last these gentlemen urged the Finns to continue their resistance, even when it became ob-

vious that their position was hopeless.

Right to the last they maintained pressure on Sweden and Norway, trying to involve them in the fray.

But with memories of what happened to Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, who put their trust in Allied promises, and confronted with a practical demonstration of the Red Army's fighting capacities in Finland, the ruling classes of these small nations had the good sense not to allow their countries to become theatres of war in the reactionary interests of Britain and France.

The rebuff met with in Scandinavia, however, will not divert Britain and France from their anti-Soviet war path.

Each reverse only serves to make them more bitter and intensifies their hatred of the land of socialism and

strengthens their determination to deal it a mortal blow.

Without a doubt the centre of gravity will now shift to South-East Europe and the imperialists will speed-up their efforts to fan the flames of war in this quarter.

Such developments will bring the Australian troops abroad into the front line of hostilities.

The menace of an anti-Soviet war looms nearer than ever, and the danger of Australian workers being pitted against their comrades of the U.S.S.R. becomes greater.

Therefore the agitation for the recall of the A.I.F. should be intensified, the struggle against conscription raised to a higher level, and demands made upon the government for an assurance that Australian soldiers will never be used in an anti-Soviet war.

## Imperialist War and Peace

The peace concluded between the Soviet Union and Finland was democratic because the U.S.S.R. is a socialist country which does not pursue an imperialist predatory policy.

What of a possible peace between Chamberlain and Hitler, could it be concluded on the same basis?

Here is what Lenin wrote in June 1916:—

"As long as the foundations of present, i.e., bourgeois, social relations remain intact, imperialist war can lead only to an imperialist peace, i.e., to the consolidation, expansion and intensification of the oppression of weak nations and countries by finance capital . . ."

" . . . To assume that it is possible for a democratic peace to emerge from an imperialist war means, in theory, substituting vulgar phrases for a historical study of the politics that were conducted before and during the war. In practice, it means deceiving the masses of the people by obscuring their political consciousness, by covering up and embellishing the actual policies conducted by the ruling classes which are preparing the ground for the coming peace, by concealing from the masses the main thing, namely, that a democratic peace is impossible without a series of revolutions."—Proposals submitted by the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party to the Second Socialist Conference. Held at Kienthal, Switzerland, April, 1916.

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

# Marxist-Leninist Philosophy

## V.—The Struggle of Opposites

*Last month's article dealt with development as a qualitative and quantitative process. This month we deal with the source of development which is to be found within matter itself.*

**M**ETAPHYSICS regards all things and phenomena as identical, i.e., as being devoid of inner differences and contradictions. From the point of view of metaphysics, things and phenomena are identical because—it is alleged—they do not contain within themselves anything that is other than, and that contradicts, the basic features of the given thing. This is an abstract, lifeless, unscientific view of things and phenomena.

In reality a contradictory development is inherent in all the phenomena of the objective world. The contradictory character of the development is the form of the transition from the old to a new content. Lenin regarded dialectics as the science "of comprehensive historical development, which is full of contradictions." The contradictory character of things and phenomena is the basis of all development.

Whereas in metaphysics, prior to the 18th century, nature was viewed as something absolutely immobile, something given once and for all, the French materialist metaphysicians (Holbach, Lamettrie) regarded nature as something in motion. Nature is in a process of motion. But how

did they understand the motion of matter, the only form of it which they admitted was mechanical motion.

Even though the metaphysical materialism of the 18th century recognised motion as a property of matter, yet it considered motion as purely external in relation to the phenomenon, and limited the very concept of motion merely to its form—mechanical motion.

This type of motion only characterises the outer changes—and only the quantitative ones at that—in things, in natural phenomena.

A body begins to move, to change only on being set into motion, on being given an impulse, from without, from another body. This other body in its turn received an impulse from a third body, etc. Consequently what takes place is the circle-like, eternally homogeneous, constantly repeated motion of all natural bodies, motion which is passed on from one body to another. Thus, this motion takes place in a closed circle. That is how the materialistic metaphysicians conceived the movement of nature. But if we take nature as a whole, then where did motion come from? What

is the cause of the motion of nature as a whole? Where did nature receive the first impulse?

The metaphysicians, with their one-sided approach could find only one conclusion, namely, that the material world, nature, received its motion from without. Newton (1643-1727) who lived before the French materialists, arrived at the idea of the "first impulse." According to Newton, absolute space is inhabited by a certain deity who brought nature into motion.

To reduce the concept of the motion of matter merely to a form of motion, to mechanical motion is a one-sided metaphysical approach to the analysis of natural phenomena.

Dialectical materialism teaches us of the diversity of the forms of the motion of matter, of the transitions of certain forms of moving matter into others. Mechanical motion is only one of the forms of the motion of matter. To examine mechanical motion in isolation, separate from other forms of motion of matter (light, electricity, heat, etc.), to examine mechanical motion as the fundamental and only form of the motion of matter inevitably leads the science of nature into a cul-de-sac, leads to the necessity of turning to the "first impulse," to mysticism.

Lenin has said that "the dialectical materialist not only considers motion to be an indissoluble attribute of matter, but also rejects the vulgar view on motion, etc." (Lenin, *Collective Works*, Vol. XIII, p. 221, Russ. Ed.).

Dialectical materialism finds the

source of the development of matter within matter itself. Every natural phenomenon contains the source of motion within itself. Inherent in each natural phenomenon is the struggle of the opposite parts of its mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies. It is this struggle which is the source of development. In Lenin's work "On Dialectics," examples are quoted of these opposite tendencies (see Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIII, International Publishers, 1927 Ed., p. 321).

In the same work Lenin formulates the distinction between the two conceptions of development—the metaphysical and the dialectical.

"Development is 'struggle' of opposites. Two fundamental (or is it the two possible? or is it two historically observed?) conceptions of development (evolution) are: development as decrease and increase, as repetition; and development as a unity of opposites (the division of the one into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal correlation . . .)

"On the first conception of movement, self-movement, its impelling force, its source, and its motive still remain in the shadow (or that source is transferred outside, becomes God, subject, etc.). On the second conception, chief attention is directed precisely toward knowledge of the source of the 'self-movement.'" (Ibid, pp. 323-324.)

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine regarding motion as internally inherent in all the phenomena of the world is a theoretical instrument of

tremendous power. We have no need to seek for a first impulse, to turn to mysticism, as metaphysics does. To the dialectical-materialist it is clear that the source of development is the inner-contrariety of things. Consequently the task is to discover, to find these contradictions in the very life of phenomena.

It is the struggle of opposites that constitutes the source of all development.

The doctrine of Marxist dialectics regarding the contrariety of the development of all the phenomena of the objective world is of tremendous practical and political significance.

The Bolshevik Party, throughout the whole of its history, had to conduct a struggle against the numerous anti-Marxist groups that had penetrated the ranks of the working class.

The Bolshevik Party, armed with Marxist dialectics, armed with the knowledge of the laws of social development, routed the Narodniks, the Anarchists, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, routed those who stood for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., namely the Trotskyite-Bukharinite gang of fascists.

The principles of proletarian policy, based on Marx's philosophical materialism, were alien things to all these enemies of Marxism.

They were hostile to the basic problems of Marxism: the proletarian Socialist Revolution, the dictatorship on the working class, the building of socialism in one country, etc., etc.

The Bolshevik Party pursued an irreconcilable class, proletarian pol-

icy, and in this policy makes its starting point the fact that:

" . . . if development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

"Hence we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.

"Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromisers' policy of 'the growing of capitalism into Socialism.'" (Short Course of the History of the History of the C.P.S.U. [B] p. 111.)

The inveterate enemies of Marxism, the Russian Mensheviks, working hand in glove with the whole gang of the Second International, did much harm to the Labor movement. These frantic hirelings of the bourgeoisie made their starting point the anti-Marxist, reformist path of development, strove to bring about the reconciliation of class contradictions, the reconciliation of the interests of the proletariat with those of the bourgeoisie.

In their policy they did not set out to give rein to the contradictions of capitalism and to carry the class

struggle of the proletariat to the end, but to gloss over the contradictions of capitalism and thereby to hinder the development of the class struggle of the proletariat. Such an approach to the analysis of social life is not materialistic, but metaphysical and idealistic.

Comrade Stalin, in his work "Foundations of Leninism," exposed the dogmas of the Second International and showed the anti-dialectical and metaphysical character of the method employed by these renegades from socialism.

"Instead of a coherent revolutionary theory, they propounded contradictory theoretical postulates, fragments of theory isolated from the actual revolutionary struggle of the masses, and which had become transformed into threadbare dogmas. For the sake of appearances, they always, of course, referred to the theory of Marx, but only in order to rob it of its living revolutionary spirit.

"Instead of a revolutionary policy there was effete philistinism, practical politics, parliamentary diplomacy and parliamentary scheming. For the sake of appearances, of course, 'revolutionary' resolutions and slogans were passed only to be pigeon-holed.

"Instead of educating and teaching the Party true revolutionary tactics from a study of its own mistakes, we find a studied evasion of thorny questions, which were glossed over and veiled. In order to

keep up appearances they were not averse to talking about these awkward questions, only to wind up with some sort of 'elastic' resolution.

"Such were the features, the methods of work and the armoury of the Second International." (Stalin, "Leninism," Vol. I, p. 21.)

Only Marxist dialectics, which arm us with a correct method of knowing objective reality, with the doctrine of the contrariety of the development of all the phenomena of the world, renders it possible to make an objectively true analysis of reality, enables us to get our correct bearings in all our theoretical and practical activity.

Such are the basic features of the Marxist dialectical method.

Only Marxist dialectics gives a really scientific, objective analysis of the phenomena of nature and of social life. The task is to master this revolutionary instrument of knowing and changing the world, to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism. All the significance, all the majesty of this theory, which changes the world, is shown in the "History of the C.P.S.U. (B) — Short Course," drawn up with the direct participation of the leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin. We shall draw strength and a clear orientation in our practical activity from this splendid book which opens up before us the inner connection of the events that surround us.

(Concluded.)

## AUSTRALIAN BLOOD AND RUSSIAN OIL

"Vic"

CENTURIES ago, they say, pilgrims used to come from the tribes of Asia to a settlement on the Caspian Sea to adore the eternal flame of the Temple of Sourahkani. This fire, it had been prophesied by Zoroaster, would one day set fire to the world.

That settlement on the Caspian is now the town of Baku, capital of the Constituent Republic of Azerbaijan, and centre of the Soviet oil industry, a city of 800,000 people—a city threatened, if we can believe our newspapers, by the presence of an Allied Army including Australian troops in the Middle East. Is the prophecy of Zoroaster to be verified? Will the oil of Baku set fire to the world? Thousands of Australian lives are involved in the answer.

From time immemorial, says the *Lamp* (monthly paper of Standard Oil of New Jersey) Baku has been "the door in the wall between Europe and Asia, and thus so coveted that Russians, Arabs, Persians, Tartars and Byzantine Greeks have all fought for it, and given it as cruel and bloody a past as is possessed by any spot on earth."

"In 1722," continues the *Lamp*, "Peter the Great of Russia, who had long coveted Baku for its strategic position as the gateway to Asia and for its oilfields, sent an expedition

from Astrakhan to Derbent. The next year the Russians entered Baku. In 1863, the first refinery at Baku was founded by the Armenian, Melikoff. Eight years later the first well was drilled in the valley of the River Kondake, and two years after that the first gusher was struck."

The Baku oilfields are reputed to be the most prolific in the world, with underground stocks surpassed by those of no other country. Local and foreign capitalists were quick to invest, and the fields were subdivided into a maze of concessions.

The conditions of the workers are revealed by no less important a paper than the London "Times." In its Russian supplement of July 27, 1914, it referred thus to the Baku oil strike: "It cannot be denied that many of the demands were quite justified, and, furthermore, in view of the prevailing anxiety as to an outbreak of plague, it was highly desirable that the companies should proceed to take urgent measures. At the Balakhani fields, for instance, the soil is so befouled that it is considered by specialists to be the most insanitary in the world. In spite of all this the companies refused to comply with even the most elementary demands, and are doing everything in their power to break up the strike. In this they have been

strongly assisted by the local authorities. Wholesale evictions and other violent measures have been applied."

The "Times" hastens to assure its readers that "the strike has driven up the price of oil 45 kopeks per barrel, which will enable the companies to present their shareholders with reports as brilliant as those of last year."

Profits were high. The capitalists and the shareholders were not worrying. The illegal activity of a worker known as Stalin, who had been organising the workers in Tiflis and Batum since 1898, and the workers of Baku since 1907, did not worry them greatly. Stalin's party, the Bolsheviks, had a small membership only, and the political police were keeping them worried. Stalin himself had been arrested and exiled time after time.

However, the Russian workers knew the value of the efforts of the Baku Bolsheviks. The successful Baku strike of December 1904 was remembered, not only as a victory for the workers, but also as "the signal for the glorious actions in January and February all over Russia."

A few days after the "Times" had written of the "brilliant" reports of the Russian oil companies, war broke out.

In two different senses, Australian blood was spilt for oil in the First World War. Firstly, because one of the aims of the Gallipoli adventure was to enable Russia to resume exports through the Black Sea. Churchill mentions specifically wheat, but Frank C. Hanighen

writes that "Australians died on the slopes of Gallipoli to free Russian oil." (The Secret War, pp. 76-7.)

Secondly, there was the Secret Treaty signed on March 20, 1915, between the British and Tsarist governments. This treaty, signed a few weeks before the Gallipoli landing, gave Constantinople to the Tsar. Britain in return was promised the central part of Iran (Persia). *The Anzacs believed they were dying for freedom. But they were dying to win Constantinople for the Tsar, and Persian oil country for the British oil kings.*

The Tsar's fond dreams of Constantinople were rudely shattered in 1917 by the marching feet of the Russian people. Before those marching feet had stopped, the whole system of Tsarist slavery had been trampled underfoot. Socialist Russia arose on the ruins of Tsarist Russia. The Russian oilfields were nationalised. Production was to be for the use of the common people, not for the profits of the idle few.

A few months later intervention began. It is interesting to find that one of the reasons given was that the Allies had to prevent Russian oil from getting to Germany. Lloyd George still naively gives this as a reason on page 3163 of his War Memoirs. It may have sounded plausible at the time. But after Germany had been defeated, intervention became more vigorous than ever, *proving that the question of oil supplies to Germany was not the reason for intervention. This is worth remembering today.*

Australians enter the picture once again. In January, 1918, a small force was organised in Mesopotamia under the command of General Dunsterforce (one of the schoolboys of Kipling's "Stalky and Co." grown up in true Kipling style to be a British imperialist). This "Dunsterforce" set out on a secret mission. The wily Lloyd George declares in his Memoirs that its job was to "carry out famine relief and keep open the route between Baghdad and the Caspian." The place that it chose for its "famine relief" was—have you guessed it?—Baku.

The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18 contains some photos of the Dunsterforce, which included, according to the caption attached to photograph 691, 20 officers and 20 N.C.O.'s of the Australian Forces.

In Baku the Dunsterforce appears to have devoted more time to military organisation than to "famine relief." The Turks had occupied Batum in April, and in June the Menshevik Government of Georgia had signed an agreement with Turkey and Germany. (German troops had landed near Batum in May.) The Bolsheviks held Baku, but at the end of July a revolt was engineered (evidently by British agents), and the new administration appealed to the Dunsterforce for aid. British and Australians entered Baku, but were forced to evacuate in September. After the Armistice the British came back. Their ships, according to Louis Fischer, flew the flags of Great Britain, France, the U.S.A., and the Tsar. Were the Russian

people pleased to see the old Tsarist flag flying from the masthead? But the imperialists were not worrying about the feelings of the Russian workers. Workers shouldn't have feelings.

"The British," says Louis Fischer, "treated Baku as a new addition to the Empire."

The meaning of this phrase was shown when 26 leading members of the Baku Bolsheviks were taken by the British forces out into the desert and shot—a crime that the Russian people have never forgotten.

It was perhaps with this murder in mind that the chairman of a British oil combine with wells in Russia referred in December, 1918, to the British forces in the Caucasus as "liberators from the Turkish yoke and the yoke of Bolshevism." He went on to declare that "Never in the history of these islands was there such an opportunity for the peaceful penetration of British influence and British trade, for the creation of a second India or a second Egypt." (Louis Fischer, "Oil Imperialism," 1926, p. 31.)

Unfortunately for the chairmen and shareholders of the oil companies, the Russian people objected to their country becoming "a second India or a second Egypt." The resistance of the Russian workers and peasants, and the militancy of the workers in the capitalist countries, smashed the plans of the oil kings and the imperialist statesmen. The British forces had to evacuate Baku. In place of the maze of capitalist concessions, there has grown a socialist planned oil industry, an



industry that the Russian people can well be proud of.

The oil kings and the capitalist diplomats were temporarily defeated. But they have never given up their plans for the seizure of the Soviet oilfields.

At the Genoa Conference in May, 1922, the key question was Soviet oil. Louis Fischer states that the Soviets, "exhausted by famine, civil war and blockade, were ready in 1922 to conclude almost any bargain." It would be more correct to say "conclude any bargain favorable to the Soviets." (It appears that an agreement was reached between the Soviet diplomats and the representatives of Shell Oil. But Standard Oil blocked the agreement. The Conference showed the close interlocking between governments and oil kings. Royal Dutch Shell was backed by the British Government, Standard Oil by the United States Government, and French shareholders by the French Government.

The conference ended in failure, and in a resolve by the oil kings to carry on a blockade of Soviet oil. Before long, however, the blockade broke down. Such are the contradictions of capitalism! By 1923, Royal Dutch-Shell was buying Soviet kerosene, and by 1926, according to Louis Fischer, Soviet oil was supplying the navies of Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece! Standard Oil also bought Soviet petroleum. The reasons for the breakdown of the blockade are the rivalry between the British and American oil combines, the superior

quality of Soviet oil, its low price, and its proximity to the European market.

Sir Henri Deterding, king of Shell oil, did not abandon his plans to recover the Russian oil wells. He began a price-cutting campaign. His big trust, that had crushed so many small concerns with this weapon, set out to crush Russian oil—and failed! Russian oil had the backing of a workers' state, and it refused to be crushed.

Deterding then (according to Hanighen) organised a revolt in Georgia in 1924. Documents were seized showing that British and French warships would land reinforcements in Batum.

In May, 1927, Deterding struck again. The Midland Bank was about to negotiate a £10,000,000 loan with the Soviet. At the critical moment the Home Office raided Arcos (the Soviet Trade Headquarters in London), diplomatic relations were broken off, and the loan cancelled. Delaisi declares that the whole thing was "inspired, and perhaps commanded by certain large-scale oil interests" (Foreign Affairs, London, Oct., 1937).

"Large-scale oil interests" means Deterding. According to the Sydney "Sun" of March 3, 1940, Deterding "sat behind £270,000,000 capital" and declared: "If I were as certain of getting to Heaven as I am of getting back those confiscated oilfields, I would feel even happier than I do at present." He was certain of the oilfields, and uncertain of Heaven. He was wrong.

He has got to Heaven. He hasn't got the oilfields. He liked to be called the "Petrol Napoleon." It was a fitting name. They both tried to conquer the world. And they both had to retreat from Moscow.

Soviet oil production advanced by leaps and bounds. "U.S.S.R. IN CONSTRUCTION" for May, 1935, gave the following figures for the Baku district: Oil production had dropped from 7,400,000 tons in 1913 to 2,896,000 tons in 1921-2. By 1927-8 it was up to 7,480,000 tons; by 1934 it had increased to 18,962,000 tons. The population of Baku district has doubled since 1917. The Soviet Government has spent over 100 million roubles on improving the living conditions of the workers. Six new big hospitals have been built, eight palaces of culture, and four factory-kitchens. Azneft (the Azerbaijan oil industry) is now the biggest oil enterprise in the world.

Deterding has gone—but the oil trusts remain. And with the outbreak of the Second World War, armed intervention comes once again to the top of the agenda paper of world capitalism. The Turkish press "believes that toward the end of March events may precipitate Allied-Turkish action against the Russian oilfields." Rumanians "also speculate on the possibility of a drive against Russia's oilfields." And the Australian dailies swell the chorus. The leading articles of the Sydney "Sun" of February 29 and of the Melbourne "Argus" of February 16 both talk openly of an

Allied attack on Soviet oil.

Once again, our rulers want to spill Australian blood for oil.

Soviet oil is not the only issue. The difficulties facing the organisation of intervention are considerable. The Anzacs may therefore be used in a struggle for control of Rumanian oil, or more probably, the oil of Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Iran (Persia).

Iraq and Iran are both nominally independent. But Britain retains Military control of Iraq, which is virtually a British colony, just as Palestine is. The British imperialists also have been exerting pressure for years against the rising nationalist movement in Persia. A Melbourne "Herald" article on January 29, wrote of the Persian oilfields: "Those oilfields are of vital importance to us. We cannot risk their falling into what would be enemy hands. Failing appeal from Iran for assistance, some formula meeting international law conditions would have to be evolved to enable us to take the necessary measures on Iran territory to protect this vital point from Russian attack." According to this writer, Persian oil is to be held for Britain at all costs, even against the wishes of the Persians. This brings us to the vital point. *The imperialist struggle for oil and communications in the Middle East is inseparably bound with the struggle against the rising democratic movement of the people of the Middle East.*

Support for the sending of troops abroad (on the ground of support-

ing a "war against fascism") means in practice supporting the use by British imperialism of Australian troops not only against a business rival, but probably also against the Socialist Sixth of the World or against the democratic struggles of the Middle Eastern people.

*The Labor movement needs to raise its voice in protest against any use of the Australian forces in "police action" against the national-revolutionary and democratic struggles of the Arabian and Allied peoples.*

This article has viewed the Middle East by the light of oil. But oil is not the only issue. We have to beware of the mistake made by Louis Fischer, Frank C. Hanighen and other writers who over-simplify the issue and write of oil as the only imperialist issue, who give to oil some magic power over the affairs of men.

There is nothing magic about oil. Oil can be, under socialist control, a useful product serving the needs of men. Under capitalist control it is a major prize in the imperialist conflict, and the question of its control involves millions of lives. It is not oil that plays with these lives. It is the imperialist groups.

Nor is oil the only prize in the imperialist conflict. It is not the only issue. The oil kings are linked not only with the politicians but also with the magnates of iron and steel,

chemicals, armaments, banking and other monopolies.

The policy of this class is not dominated solely by the factor of oil, any more than it is dominated by any other single factor. The main factor in their policy today, overshadowing all others, is the desire to destroy socialism, whose continuing successful growth is the main force aimed at their power and their profits. This mad desire, and not the need to cut off oil supplies from Germany, is the reason for the anti-Soviet drive.

Our rulers want to spill our blood not only for oil, not only to crush the colonial peoples, but, above all, to destroy socialism and drive the Russian people back to slavery. The madness and criminal stupidity of such an adventure do not deter them. The lessons of intervention in the years 1918-1920 are forgotten—the mutinies in their armies, the threat of direct action from the whole of the British Labour Movement, the long series of military defeats.

Nothing, it seems, will stop them. Their plans for using the armed forces of German fascism as the spearhead broke down. Their plans for using the Finnish forces failed. The Swedish people refused to fight the battle of British imperialism. But the lords of British Big Business still have hope—in the forces of the bribed Turkish Government, and in the "loyal people of the British Dominions."

The recent news from Finland will not encourage the Turks to "fight to the last pound sterling." And it has been made quite clear that the Australian workers will refuse to be used in an anti-Soviet war, that they will throw their whole weight against such a criminal undertaking.

The lords of Big Business still have hope—they still have power—they still have their plans. The fact that they are desperate makes them all the more dangerous. But if they attempt to fulfil the prophecy of Zoroaster, and set fire to the world with the oil of Baku, it will not be the world of socialism that will be devoured in the flames. The flames will destroy the privileges and hypocrisies and brutalities of capitalism. And on the ashes the workers will build a new world—a world of socialism.

## FATHER COUGHLIN AND THE NAZIS

John L. Spivak

AMERICA'S ACE REPORTER AND INVESTIGATOR  
UNCOVERS A FEW MORE FACTS CONCERNING THE  
RADIO PRIEST AND HIS RACKETEERING ACTIVITIES.

DETROIT spreads over a vast area, with the towns and villages on its outskirts almost a part of the industrial centre. The stranger finds it difficult to tell where Detroit ends and a suburb begins, as with Royal Oak, where the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin holds forth from the Shrine of the Little Flower, twelve miles from the heart of Detroit, on what is known as 12-Mile Road and Woodward Ave.

Scattered homes and roadside stands line the wide and spacious highway which runs by the Shrine. As you approach Woodward Ave. by bus or car you suddenly see the high, imposing tower of the Shrine. A steady stream of cars is always parking in front of the Shrine to discharge passengers, who enter the church on tiptoe, speaking in hushed voices. The auto licenses show that visitors are from all parts of the country, with Michigan and its bordering states predominating.

### THE SACRED SLOGANEER

The Shrine itself was built with an eye to attracting attention. Powerful lights, arranged with the skill of a Broadway advertiser, play

upon the marble and granite tower at night, with its enormous frieze of Christ crucified and the single word carved at His feet: Charity. The blocks of stone of which the church is built are carved with inscriptions, some Biblical and some just good slogans, for the radio priest is as staunch a believer in slogans as any advertising man.

Both the Shrine and the tower, rising out of a picturesque sea of green lawn, flowers, and trees, are beautiful examples of church architecture. The agonised face of the Christ figure looks down upon the highway with its teeming traffic and the Broadwayish lights below, and across the street to the church-controlled grounds with the huge sign "Shrine Super-Service" over the gasoline station built there as a little side venture. "Visitors Welcome," "Shrine Inn," "Hot Dogs," face the Christ. You leave the "Hot Dogs" and the pepped-up "Shrine Super-Service," cross the street, and walk up the path to the massive doors of the church only to be confronted with a sign stuck in the emerald lawn: "Souvenirs." A fin-

ger points to a building on the lawn where the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin sells mementoes ranging from his own pictures to anti-Semitic books and newspapers. You breathe a sigh of relief once you pass through the church doors. Hot dogs and souvenirs have been left behind. Here at last you are in God's House, tranquil and still, cloistered and secluded from the money-changers of the outside world. But as the heavy doors close silently, you stare at another sign with the figure pointing towards the chapel: "Souvenirs." It's just another shop within the church itself where, in the shadow of the altar, the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin sells the cross, the Bible, picture postcards of himself, the same anti-Semitic books, and the Brooklyn "Tablet," which is also carrying on an anti-Semitic campaign.

This shop opens upon the chapel. Through the open door, in the presence of the patron saint of the Shrine, you see a desk with a sign: "Enrol here for the Radio League of the Little Flower." The application blanks on the desk, laid out neatly for the visitor's attention, state that it is a "non-political organisation." This assurance is signed "Father Coughlin." It is this same "non-political organisation" which has taken in about 1,000,000 dollars from the public, and used almost 100,000 dollars of this money to help launch the National Union for Social Justice, a political organisation, founded by the priest. The monies taken in by

this League and what is done with them are not reported to the priest's ecclesiastical superiors, whose tax-exempt property it uses.

Underneath this shop and chapel are the offices out of which the various corporations organised by Silver Charlie solicit funds from the public. None of these privately controlled money-raising outfits makes any report on income and expenditures to the church upon whose property they operate without paying rent or taxes. Here are the offices of the privately owned "Social Justice" magazine which bluntly told the archbishop of Detroit that it is not and never was an organ of the Catholic Church and consequently didn't intend to submit to editing by the priest's ecclesiastical superior, who was acting upon papal instructions. Here, Silver Charlie himself busily directs the thriving business of raking in the shekels, while directly overhead his employees sell the cross to whoever will buy.

#### PIETISTIC RACKET

I had some letters which showed how Silver Charlie worked the religious angle in a little advertising scheme in which he used a "relic of the True Cross," as a "come on," as it's called in the advertising world, to solicit subscriptions to his privately owned "Social Justice" magazine. In comparison with some of his other activities it was trifling: it interested me only because it showed the way he uses the most solemn articles of his faith to plug his publishing venture.

Coughlin had put in some whole-

sale orders for little chrome-plated crosses, each of them stamped "Radio League of the Little Flower," which he is even now distributing with a circulation plugging letter. The recipient is told that this gift cross has touched a "relic of the True Cross" and ends with a "P.S." as if Coughlin had just thought of it: "Will you please do me a personal favor and secure one more subscription to 'Social Justice' magazine this week or next? It expresses the suppressed truth. The enclosed card is for your convenience. God bless you!" Below that: "P.P.S. If some friend wants a crucifix let me know. C.E.C."

I asked the hostess in the church souvenir shop if I could have a cross which had touched a relic of the True Cross.

"I'm so sorry," she smiled apologetically, "but we're all out. There has been such a demand for them. We wired three times for additional supplies, and we've already sent out thousands — oh, thousands and thousands of them. But you know, it takes a little time to manufacture and stamp them. I'm expecting a new batch this week and I'll send you one."

"Perhaps I could get one back East," I said anxiously.

"Oh," she shook her head disapprovingly. "I suppose so, but it wouldn't be blessed. Father gets them, blesses the whole lot, and then we ship them out."

"They come here direct from the manufacturer?"

"Oh, yes," she said cheerfully,

and added impressively: "We have already ordered them three times, each time in larger shipments."

There is no relic of the True Cross at the Shrine of the Little Flower. The wholesale manufacturer hasn't got a relic of the True Cross. The railroads carrying the shipments haven't got a relic of the True Cross. Just where, in the course of the manufacture, shipment, and distribution of these little advertising crosses they touched a relic of the True Cross is a mystery. After looking into it a little while, I concluded it's a gag played upon the deep religious emotions of his contributors so they'll subscribe to Coughlin's magazine, a gag as phoney as using the non-existent "Ben Marcin" to disseminate anti-Semitic propaganda in his magazine.

#### WHAT THE CHANCELLOR SAID

I was a bit curious about where he got the authority to say definitely that the advertising crosses touched a relic of the True Cross and I decided to ask at the Archdiocese of Detroit. There were several questions I wanted to ask the priest's ecclesiastical superiors, anyway — whether the Archdiocese knew of its priest's strange financial manipulations, whether he used any of the monies collected for church work and whether the Archdiocese was given detailed accountings of what happened to the money collected. I called upon the Rev. Edward J. Hickey, chancellor of the Archdiocese of Detroit. When I told

him that I was from "New Masses" and what I wanted to know, his first reaction was to excuse himself. I explained that, since apparently many of the priest's activities were exceedingly sharp practice and some even appeared to be illegal, the church's refusal to explain its knowledge or lack of knowledge of these acts might be misconstrued as approval of them.

The chancellor thought it over, and finally said, "Just what is it you wish to ask?"

"There's a minor question I'd like to ask first. Are there any relics of the True Cross in the United States?"

He seemed surprised at the question. "Those claiming to be relics of the True Cross can be numbered in hundreds," he smiled. "If a person is willing to believe and finds solace in that belief, it is one thing. I am not saying there is no True Cross relic in the country."

"Could a Catholic priest give people definite assurances that something is a relic of the True Cross?"

"Only if he had documents which stand the test of the closest examination and it has been approved by the Archbishop; otherwise he can use it only for personal veneration."

"Could a priest of the Catholic Church tell people that something has touched a relic of the True Cross and use that flat statement for commercial advertising purposes?"

He dropped his eyes for a moment. I had a feeling that he

knew about Silver Charlie's advertising scheme.

"I don't think that question is considered in canon law," he said cautiously. "I don't believe canon law ever thought of it."

"I see," I said. "Suppose we get on to his finances. What control has the church over Father Coughlin's finances?"

"The pastor controls the finances of his parish. He sends in an annual report which states what his church property is—its income and disbursements. It is all itemised."

"Do you ever audit his books?"

"We don't audit the books of any church in the whole diocese."

"Then you have no way of knowing if his reports are accurate?"

"The archbishop has authority to supervise the finances and make regulations regarding the finances of his church, but only of church property and monies. If he has a Radio League of the Little Flower or a 'Social Justice' magazine, that is not under my supervision."

"What about the monies taken in by the Radio League and the magazine?"

"They are not included in the reports and are not under my supervision."

"Has any money from the Radio League or 'Social Justice' magazine gone to his church?"

The chancellor thought this over carefully. "I don't think he could have built the buildings and the school just with contributions made during his sermons," he said slowly. "He must have taken some of the

money for his parish and church activities."

"Does the church exercise any control over the non-profit-making corporations organised by her priests?"

"WHAT POOR SOCIETY?"

"The only ones I'm familiar with are those like orphanages, etc., of which, very often, the archbishop is president . . ."

"I mean non-profit-making corporations which get control of profit-making corporations, as in the case of the Social Justice Poor Society. . ."

"The what?" said the chancellor. "The Social Justice Poor Society."

"I never heard of that one," he smiled.

"He organised it ostensibly to aid the poor. Actually its sole function has been to serve as a holding company for Social Justice magazine stock. The Radio League of the Little Flower is collecting money from the public with assurances that it's a non-political organisation. Some of this Radio League money, and parish money entrusted to his care, has been loaned to a political organisation he organised and controlled. So far as his parish money is concerned, I understand that he acts simply as treasurer or trustee for the church. It's my understanding that when the treasurer of a company holds a firm's money in the firm's name but can't write a cheque for it, and then loans the firm's money without the firm's authorisation, it's called larceny.

What I want to know is: did the church authorise the loaning of parish money entrusted to his care to a political organisation?"

The chancellor seemed startled. "He is supposed to keep parish funds in the name of the parish and it's supposed to be separate from his personal account," he said definitely.

"In relation to the church and the state: What is the church's attitude when money is raised by a priest for church activities and that money is used to build a political organisation?"

"I don't believe the use of parish funds for such a purpose is permitted under canon law."

"What control has the church over Father Coughlin?"

"I can only say what the archbishop said: permission to speak or print does not necessarily mean approval."

"If what a priest says is proved to be false and after evidence of its falsity is placed before him he deliberately repeats these false assertions, what can the church do?"

"If it affects our morals or doctrine, it's the duty of the church to take it up. If it is politics, economics, and social conditions, then it does not come within the scope of the church."

"If it is proved that a priest has violated state and federal laws?"

MUSN'T CAUSE SCANDAL

The chancellor looked worried and sat thoughtfully for a long time. "That's a vague question," he said finally. "If it's a law like speeding, the church does nothing.

but if it's a serious violation which might degrade a person, he would not be allowed to practice the sacred duties of a priest."

"What is the church's attitude towards the priests gambling on the stockmarket?"

"The church cannot condone the use of church funds for gambling."

"Suppose money was raised ostensibly for church purposes and that money used for stockmarket gambling . . ."

"Wouldn't it be better if you left me out of this?" he interrupted gently.

"But I must quote a church authority," I explained. "I can't just say 'the church said' or something equally vague. These questions concern a priest of the Catholic Church who is wielding great influence in this country. Most people with whom I talked think he is speaking and acting for the church. I've got to have someone in high authority whom I can quote directly."

The perturbed look on his face deepened. "But wasn't that money in the hands of the secretary and raised by the League of the Little Flower?" he asked.

"Yes. That's correct."

"Then it wasn't parish funds . . ."

"The League of the Little Flower was incorporated to raise money for the specific purpose of maintaining his church and to build a new one."

"Oh," he said. "I didn't know that. I didn't know anything about that."

Since the Archdiocese did not get

an itemised or any other accounting of the monies collected and what was done with them, there was no use asking the chancellor how Silver Charlie met "Social Justice's" heavy annual deficits or how the difference was made up between the sums collected for his broadcasts and the sums actually expended.

Coughlin's anti-Semitic activities, his dissemination of Nazi propaganda emanating from Germany, and his intense anti-union efforts coincided strangely with some of Henry Ford's interests. I have no direct evidence that Ford ever gave Silver Charlie a nickel, but the Ford-Coughlin interests coincided so many times that what might have been an isolated coincidence or two seemed to be habitual. Coincidences occurred too often and they made me wonder if those isolated incidents of which I knew and had evidence, might not offer a solution as to where Silver Charlie got a lot of his support. Let me list a few as I jotted them down in the effort to find a solution to the mystery.

#### "INDEPENDENT" TO "SOCIAL JUSTICE"

The Dearborn "Independent," owned by Henry Ford and edited by William J. Cameron, published the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which had been repeatedly exposed as a forgery. This anti-Semitic propaganda, disseminated by one of America's richest men, shocked and horrified all religious and racial groups. Ford was denounced and his automobiles boycotted until the effect was pro-

foundly felt by the Ford Motor Co. To end this boycott and the denunciations against him Ford finally issued a public apology to the Jews and sold the Dearborn "Independent."

After this public apology Ford made W. J. Cameron, editor of the newspaper, his private secretary. Cameron never left Ford's employ and is today the company's official spokesman over the air and to the press.

In 1933, when Hitler got control over Germany he sent swarms of propaganda agents to the United States, one of their chief activities being the dissemination of racial and religious hatred. This was developed to a high point of efficiency by the German-American Bund, formerly the Friends of New Germany. The leader of the Bund was Fritz Kuhn, recently sentenced to prison as a common thief. Kuhn worked as a chemist at the Ford plant and was the local fuhrer of the Friends of New Germany until he was designated national fuhrer in 1936. In that year the name was changed to German-American Bund. While Kuhn was on the Ford payroll he travelled around the United States organising various branches of the Nazi organisation, with Henry Ford's full knowledge. When Kuhn was sent to Sing Sing recently, Henry Ford "coincidentally" was in the crowd that saw the "fuhrer" off to gaol. All New York newspapers published this strange fact.

Shortly after Fritz Kuhn went to

work at the Ford plant William J. Cameron, under whose editorship the "Protocols" were published, organised the Anglo-Saxon Federation, with headquarters in Chicago and Detroit. Cameron writes editorials for "Destiny," its official magazine, which is anti-Catholic as well as anti-Semitic. This Federation promptly put an unscrupulous collection of anti-Semitic speakers before groups and started to disseminate the "Protocols." I say "unscrupulous" because Cameron used as his emissaries a pretty collection of thieves and crooks masquerading as ministers of the cloth. To name just a few samples: the "Reverend" Joe Jeffers, picked up by the Los Angeles police, charged with sex perversion; Peter Armstrong, alias Peter AnfanasiEFF, alias Prince Peter Kushubue, who did a little time for forging a U.S. Treasury cheque; Jimmy Nielser, ex-convict from Minneapolis; the "Reverend" Dawson McCullough, picked up in Sandusky, Mich., for walking off with twelve silver fox furs which didn't belong to him.

When public opinion was again aroused at Cameron's activities the Anglo-Saxon Federation headquarters were moved to the residence of Dr. Howard Rand at Haverhill, Mass., so that Ford wouldn't be publicly tied up with the organisation. Rand flies regularly to Detroit to confer with Cameron.

Gerald Winrod, another phoney "minister" who is one of the chief Nazi agents and propagandists in the United States, raised money to

launch a Nazi propaganda "news service." One of the persons from whom he got money was William J. Cameron.

The Nazi government, through its Bund in this country, did its utmost to defeat Roosevelt in the 1936 election. One of the richest men also fighting Roosevelt was Ford. And the opposition of Coughlin, formerly a supporter of the President, was frenzied. The Nazis, Ford, and Coughlin all wanted a more reactionary, pro-fascist administration.

#### "SOCIAL JUSTICE" LOSSES

In preparation for this anti-Roosevelt campaign Coughlin launched "Social Justice" magazine, with an initial investment of 1,000 dollars. It costs around half a million dollars a year to run the magazine. Since it was founded the publication has run up a healthy deficit. The loss now averages between 60,000 dollars and 75,000 dollars a year. Obviously somebody helped to meet the initial outlay and is footing the annual losses.

Simultaneously with launching this paper Coughlin extended his time on the air, seeking more and more radio stations. (I shall show, when I deal with his Radio League of the Little Flower, that the contributions from his listeners are far from enough to meet the cost of the stations over which he broadcasts.

The carefully chosen director of the Coughlin-Lemke Union Party was Newton Jenkins, who met secretly with Nazi agents and pro-

pagandists.

In 1937 the C.I.O. launched a drive to organise the Ford plant. Coughlin promptly denounced the C.I.O. as "Communist."

Coughlin actively attempted to split the C.I.O. by persuading Homer Martin, now an A.F.L. labor "leader," to leave the C.I.O. In my last article I showed that a few months after his several sessions with the radio priest, Martin was getting fat sums from Harry Bennett, head of the Ford labor spy organisation. Ford district agents disseminate Coughlin's radio propaganda.

#### THE "PROTOCOLS"

In 1938 Coughlin began to publish the "Protocols," launched an intensive anti-Semitic campaign, and started to spread propaganda emanating from the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda.

About the same time Henry Ford received a medal from Hitler—the highest honor which any foreigner can be given by the Nazi state. No explanation of what Ford ever did to merit this Nazi honor has ever come from Germany or from Henry Ford.

All of these, of course, may be just coincidences but—and this isn't the complete list by any means—it seems to me that there are too damn many coincidences.

That Silver Charlie has few scruples about how or from whom he gets his money, I have already shown by documentary evidence that he collected money "to build a new church" and used it to gamble on the stock market, that he collected

money from the public upon his solemn assurance that it was for a "non-political organisation" and then used it to build a political organisation; that he took even his own parish's money in violation of the Roman Catholic canon law to build his political organisation. This same unscrupulousness is found in his deliberate dissemination of falsehoods. I describe it as "deliberate" because, after he issued some of his anti-Semitic propaganda, perturbed Jews and Catholics, who did not realise that it was part of a campaign, laid evidence before him that his "facts" were inaccurate, but the radio priest ignored the evidence and continued repeating the same falsehoods. Let me illustrate with one of the books Silver Charlie is peddling at this very moment. This book spreads anti-Semitic propaganda whose falsity has been denounced by United States government officials, high Catholic dignitaries, statesmen, and scholars. One of its assertions is that twenty-four out of twenty-five names it lists were "quasi-cabinet members" in Lenin's government in 1917, the purpose being to show that the twenty-four were Jews and that the Russian Revolution was a Jewish-Communist plot to dominate the world.

Much of Coughlin's anti-Semitic propaganda spread to millions over his radio hook-up and through the pages of "Social Justice" has been taken word for word, without even a comma being changed, from propaganda issued by the Nazi minister of propaganda. Let me offer just

a few publicly proved instances:

GOEBBELS: In November, 1934, the Chinese Marshal Chiang Kai-shek made public the information that in the province of Kiangsi one million people were murdered by the Communists and six million robbed of their possessions.

COUGHLIN: In November, 1934, the Chinese Marshal Chiang Kai-shek made public the information that in the province of Kiangsi one million people were murdered by the Communists and six million robbed of their possessions.

GOEBBELS: The Soviet statistician Oganowsky estimates the number of persons who died of hunger in the years 1921-22 at 5,200,000.

COUGHLIN: The Soviet statistician Oganowsky estimates the number of persons who died of hunger in the years 1921-22 at 5,200,000.

GOEBBELS: The Austrian cardinal archbishop, Monsignor Innitzer, said in his appeal of July, 1934, that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union.

COUGHLIN: The Austrian cardinal archbishop, Monsignor Innitzer, said in his appeal of July, 1934, that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union.

This could be repeated over and over, showing that Silver Charlie didn't even change a comma in spreading, as his own, propaganda issued by the Nazi minister of propaganda.

While the priest was thus disseminating Nazi propaganda he was

secretly communicating with Nazi agents and propagandists active in this country, one of his choice contacts being William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts. The Dies committee has in its files telegrams and a record of telephone calls exchanged between Pelley and Coughlin. Don't ask me why, in his zeal to expose "un-American activities," Dies suppressed this evidence. Ask him.

Pelley, during this period, was meeting with Fritz Kuhn and Hermann Schwinn, West Coast Nazi leader, and it was during this period, too, that Oscar C. Pfaus, director of the American section of the Fichte Bund, which issues much of the propaganda disseminated throughout the world by Nazi Germany, planned to organize the various pro-Nazi and anti-democratic groups into one powerful force. Among those whom Pfaus listed for this united fascist body were the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, William Dudley Pelley, James True of Washington, D.C., who on February 23, 1938, wrote to a Nazi agent offering to get him U.S. army guns in any quantity, and Gerald B. Winrod, who got money from Cameron.

Nor is Silver Charlie averse, according to an affidavit in my possession, to a little pogrom against the Jews. Let me tell about the recent conference he had with the Nazi Bund leader for the mid-west whom he invited to Royal Oak.

William Wernecke, the Nazi leader, lives at 6250 Wayne Ave., Chicago, but is usually found at 30

North La Salle St., Chicago, where he poses as a "broker." Most of his time is spent in the office of Newton Jenkins, who directed the Coughlin-Lemke campaign. Incidentally, Jenkins made a hurried trip to Germany in January of this year for a conference with Goebbels—but that's another story.

The affidavit I have is signed by a person still very close to the Nazi Bund leaders. At this time I should prefer not to disclose my informant's identity. I can produce this witness before any governmental body which really wishes to get to the bottom of the Coughlin-Nazi tie up. Pending such disclosure, let me tell the story as contained in the affidavit:

On Wednesday night, Feb. 8, 1939, the German-American Bund had a meeting in its headquarters at 3855 North Western Ave., Chicago. After the meeting Wernecke took my informant aside and gleefully said that he had just come back from a very satisfactory conference with the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin at Royal Oak, Mic. My informant commented that it seemed unlikely that Father Coughlin would meet with known Nazi representatives, whereupon Wernecke displayed a letter on Father Coughlin's personal stationery, setting the date and time of the conference.

"What did you take up with him?" Wernecke was asked.

The Nazi Bund leader laughed. "A number of things, but I myself was somewhat surprised at the lengths to which Father Coughlin

went during our talk, which lasted over two hours. We met in his office in the basement of the Shrine of the Little Flower. A man whose name sounded like Richards was with Father Coughlin. In the course of our talk this man asked me when we were going to kill off three hundred or four hundred Chicago Jews. I told him that I hadn't thought of doing that just yet. Father Cough-

lin laughed and said, 'It needs doing.'

This would sound incredible coming from a gentle priest had not Silver Charlie organized his own "stormtroopers" and threatened to show the country "the Franco way." Oddly enough, these plug-uglies are closely tied up with Nazi agents operating in this country.

—"New Masses," Dec. 19, 1939.

LOOK FOR ANOTHER INSTALLMENT NEXT MONTH



SILVER CHARLIE is not averse to a little pogrom against the Jews.

## STATE ELECTION IN VICTORIA

E. Rowe

THIS article was written when Victoria was in the throes of an election campaign precipitated by the Dunstan Government. Before it is printed the election will be over. Despite the hurried circumstances in which it took place this election has important implications for the Victorian people.

We are assured by Dunstan that the election is due to a "family squabble," "a struggle for democracy" within the Country Party itself. This theme has been enthusiastically adopted and popularised by Labor leader Cain, and Sir Stanley Argyle for the U.A.P. and, indeed, has provided all three parties with a "heaven sent" smoke screen behind which they are avoiding any real discussion of, or attempts to solve, the burning problems of the Victorian people.

But the real reasons for the election go much deeper than this and exist in the steadily worsening economic conditions of the workers and farmers, in their growing demand for redress, and in the very wide antagonism to the measures imposed on account of the war situation.

The U.C.P. and A.L.P., now largely under right-wing leadership and steadily shedding any progressive tendencies, had very definite objectives in springing this election.

In the farming areas resentment at the wheat acquisition, smallness of initial payments; the breakdown in the silo and bulk handling due to war interference with shipping space; uncertainty around the disposal of the surplus wheat and consequent bad position for next season, is becoming vocal. Dunstan is faced with a demand to substitute concrete assistance for the demagoguery he used in recent mass meetings of the farmers.

In the fruit areas the acquisition scheme has the growers seething. Huge amounts of their fruit must rot upon the ground while they receive an utterly inadequate return for what is compulsorily acquired.

Dunstan's avoidance of these and attendant problems is leading to a realisation that he and the present parliamentary leadership can never become a channel through which the antagonism to the war regimentation of Menzies and his Australian Country Party allies can be given expression.

Among the workers rising prices, rents, etc., are giving rise to demands for better wages and conditions, for action against profiteering; demands for better housing conditions, educational and social services, more work for the unemployed; consistent individual cam-

paigns such as that of the railmen for sick pay all are developing the basis for a powerful movement. The A.L.P. leaders feel this increasing pressure and sense that it will become greater. Workers and farmers are moving together.

To intercept this movement, to impede its development, and to seat themselves firmly in the saddle to meet it, are the government's real motives for the present elections.

They desire, too, as Dunstan plainly showed in his "win the war first" policy speech, to complete the elections early in order that they could avoid, through them, the expression of antagonism to war sacrifices that are inevitable later. In effect, to be free to become an integral part of the capitalist war machine.

An important, though secondary, reason is a desire to present the progressive wings of the U.C.P. and Labor parties with an accomplished fact at the forthcoming conferences, to stifle any attempts to give expression in Parliament to the mass demands.

But what of the United Aust. Party here in Victoria? Sir Stanley Argyle has joined in the game of "fooling the people" and has blandly asserted that "no important changes can or will take place in such a short election." A sentiment unfortunately largely true, but nevertheless revealing the real outlook of all three leaders. It reveals, too, the fact that in the latter period particularly, the Dunstan government has functioned precisely as the

U.C.P.-U.A.P. alliance would have functioned. Sir Stanley, like Mr. Cain, "finds much to commend in the work of the Dunstan Government." The U.A.P. then, real representative of reaction in Victoria as elsewhere, plainly regards itself as "in reserve" and enters the elections to preserve its identity and work off some political grudges as in Mornington and Brighton.

In this situation the main responsibility for bringing forward the real demands of the Victorian people rests with the Communist Party. It is obvious that all the other parties will avoid these issues, a fact becoming clearer as the election progresses.

But before considering the role of the Communist Party a specific examination of the present Labor-Country Party "alliance" is necessary.

Despite right-wing distortions I believe this alliance in Parliament has had definite advantages in relation to the broader political problem of unity between farmer and worker and has assisted, in a situation where both have been restive, in bringing unity a little closer. It did certainly facilitate the recent conference between the Wheatgrowers' Union Executive and the Executive of the Provincial Trades Hall Councils Association, at which joint action for certain demands were agreed to.

But the alliance, as such, has been criminally misused by Cain and Dunstan. Instead of using it to force through measures to assist the



workers and farmers these people have used the three-party position in the house to stall off any demands on the ground that the other "partner" will not agree, and, if forced, will break the alliance and "let the U.A.P. in," a procedure that must be halted by the workers and farmers.

The Communist Party then, while agreeing that this alliance is preferable to a U.C.P.-U.A.P. coalition, is faced with certain tasks, viz., to develop the mass movements of the people around a solution to their problems; a movement which will wrest the initiative from the right-wing leadership, develop forces capable of challenging them, finally defeating and driving them from the leadership of both parties. Such a movement would finally emerge under the leadership of the workers and develop the present alliance in its "reverse," and more correct form. Such a campaign would draw into action the progressive elements in both the U.C.P. and A.L.P. and would lead to the "unity in action from below" so urgently stressed by Com. Dimitrov.

In the A.L.P., revolt against the right-wing and its refusal to assume an independent role is growing. The Central Executive after "a stormy meeting lasting till 2 a.m." decided not to oppose Hogan and Bailey (U.C.P. ministers and Labor "rats") and rejected nominations from Bendigo Labor organisations against Dunstan in Korong-Eaglehawk. At the same time it is attempting to drive A.L.P. supporters in behind

Dunstan candidates in such centres as Mildura and Lowan.

All this has aroused intense resentment in the areas mentioned and has visibly effected the fighting efficiency of the A.L.P. branches. The absence of pre-selection ballots, too, has led to the President of Fitzroy A.L.P. opposing Tunnecliffe (of milk inquiry fame) as an Ind. A.L.P. candidate.

In the Country Party, too, candidates from areas where the farmers are moving and who, consequently have been pushing Dunstan are being opposed by Dunstan nominees under the pretext that they are supporting Hocking.

Since we are told that the elections are being held because Hocking is out to "smash the Premier," after being removed from the State Savings Bank Board, an examination of Mr. Hocking may prove profitable.

Hocking belongs to a rentier group of finance capitalists and holds seats on the Boards of several finance companies, some of whose cash is undoubtedly invested in farming areas. To argue that this person is carrying the banner of the small farmers is to add to the gaiety of the nation. Ironically, in his attempt to enter Parliament, he is opposing Denigan, sitting A.L.P. member in Allandale and, significantly, the U.A.P., for the first time has not contested the seat, for many years a "blue ribbon" one for them. Indeed the natural affinity of Mr. Hocking is towards the U.A.P. Neither Hocking then, nor Mr.

Dunstan really represent the struggling rural population and are virtually fighting over their prostrate bodies. The progressive wing of the U.C.P. is solely represented by certain delegates upon the Central Council but these elements are as yet neither organised nor vocal.

The Communist Party, therefore, enters these elections in order to sharply separate the real demands of the people from this political huckstering, to explain the role of the various groups to the people, and to put forward its own independent program for the Victorian people; to demonstrate that the Communist Party alone has a policy in the interests of the people, against big business. Comrades Blake and Gibson will contest Collingwood and Carlton seats respectively and a state-wide campaign, including a tour of the country with loud speaker and propaganda van are being organised. Radio talks, meetings and wide literature distribution is planned. This will popularise the following program.

An increase in basic wage to £5 per week.

A 40-hour working week.

State assistance to give decent prices to farmers. Revaluation of their land, debt adjustment in accordance with existing land values and yields. Government credit at low rates of interest.

Full-time work at award rates for the unemployed.

Energetic slum abolition and rehousing policies.

Improvements in educational, hospital and other social services.

Reduction of taxation on lower, more taxation on higher incomes.

Against the war and for a refusal by the Victorian Government to participate in Menzies' "national effort" for war.

It will demand State action against profiteering; against war prices for the peoples' food. For the repeal of the Victorian National Security Act and its power to oppress.

Around this programme the Victorian Communists will rally the people, will fight to secure the election of Communist Members of Parliament. Will expose the slavish acceptance of Menzies' war policy by Dunstan; the discredit the right-wing has brought upon the Labor Party by its Milk and Money-lenders' Bill inquiries, and above all, will rally the people against the U.A.P., the reactionary party of big business in Victoria.

It will demonstrate, both now and for the future, that the voice of the Communist Party will be raised throughout Victoria on behalf of the workers and farmers, in opposition to the parties of capitalism, and for a wide, all-embracing movement of the people in action towards a better life, towards security for themselves.

# A BOOM IN RENTS

AN ELEMENTARY LESSON IN ONE OF THE  
GENTLER ARTS

"Gordon"

MY Dear Deluded Son, I have received the anticipated letter in which are set out some reasons for your recent extraordinary behavior, and in which you intimate, with characteristic clarity, your readiness to take the consequences. This letter is convenient, because I had already decided that this time the consequences would be fully worthy of the act. My first impulse, I must admit, was to burn the letter and banish you from my thoughts for whatever further time my Maker sees fit to delay me in this Vale of Tears. Mature reflection, however, constrains me to offer a final kindness—in the way of advice—before abandoning you to a world which has methods of education rather more vigorous than those of your disillusioned father.

You have, apparently, decided to your own satisfaction that this latest escapade is merely another eruption of what you have been pleased to call your "democratic spirit," or, alternately, the "proletarian instinct." Do you know that the dictionary defines a proletarian as "one who is dependent on daily labour"? God only knows where you got this damnable instinct from, but I intend to restrain it no longer. As you will have gathered, one of the purposes of this letter is to create you a pro-

letarian in real fact.

All this, however, is beside the point. What I am vitally concerned with is that in return for my final indulgence you came near to breaking one of the best links in a chain of businesses which has sustained the name of our family in high places for three generations. The fact that the title "Machiavelli Bros., Estate Agents," ornaments the facades of 24 premises scattered throughout the cities of Victoria evidently means nothing to you. It is simply your father's name, coupled with that of your departed uncle, painted on the fronts of 24 shops where people pay their rents, and where various transactions in land and property take place. Let that go. I am not, in this moment of farewell, going to appeal to you on the basis of business or family tradition. I merely wish to remind you of our last interview when, with that deceptive hope which is said to spring eternal in the breast of man, I tried to fortify you for what I had already decided would be your final opportunity.

I sent you to Slumwoops as manager of one of my best agencies, and with instructions to improve—discreetly, mark you—the rentals of the smaller houses in Measles Road, Consumption Crescent, and

Diphtheria Avenue. Everything, as usual, was in your favor, even to the lesson in false tactics bequeathed by your immediate predecessor. Of this latter, let me emphasise, you were particularly well informed. Mr. James also had been making his debut as manager, a fact which does not in the least mitigate his guilt. As you know, his instruction was to raise the rents in Lum-bago Lane. And what did he do? He forthwith served simultaneous notices of increase on all the fifteen tenants! The result, as any fool might have foreseen, was one of those modern abominations known as a "rent-strike," and we had to retreat.

I think I recollect seeing a lurking smile on your face when I was recounting this episode, but let me tell you that I prefer the blundering directness of James to the spineless "humanitarianism" of my unfortunate son.

Phrases in your letter exasperate me. You "didn't have the heart." "Mrs. Welch is going to have a baby." You "felt like an extortionist." "The Carters don't seem to be getting enough to eat." God in Heaven, boy, what has all this got to do with me? Am I responsible for Mrs. Welch's interesting condition. Do I fix the Carter's income? Am I an extortionist because you must feel like one in serving my interests? Where in Creation did you imagine your food and clothes were coming from all these years? Your university fees? Your dubious personal expenses? Let me tell you.

Early on the morning of last Tuesday fortnight, a matter of 24 hours after receiving your deplorable epistle, I boarded the train for Slumwoops. Arriving there about noon, I had lunch at the Quandong and immediately made my way to our — ahem, MY — premises in Ricketts Street. Taylor, the youth to whom you so exuberantly abandoned the custodianship of my agency, was at his post, and WORKING—a demonstration of conscientiousness and devotion to duty which deeply impressed me. Although he is only seventeen I have seriously considered raising his wage; he would be well worth 15/ per week.

To proceed. Two hours' study of the books served not only to inform me of the precise state of affairs, but to equip me with a plan of action. A plan of action which began to move towards fruition shortly after we opened our doors on the following morning. Our first caller was a woman, obviously, from her sartorial appointments, belonging to the lowest order of the working class. She desired to rent a cottage at not more than £1 per week. This, I informed her, was impossible, adding that only with the greatest good fortune would she succeed in getting one for 22/6. No doubt you had many a similar experience yourself during the few weeks in which you amused yourself in my office. No doubt also on each occasion you were duly sympathetic, and—let the woman go. Did it not occur to you that there are 22 cottages

on these books each let at 17/6 per week, any one of which would have met that woman's requirements? Or is it that you still reject the hereditary formula of our family that the value of any article is precisely the most you can get for it at any given time? Either way you let the woman go.

I didn't. I arrested her departure by asking if she could manage to wait for a week or two, and on receiving an assurance that she could went on to tell her, with the appropriate air of faltering benevolence, that one of my tenants was thinking of moving shortly and that I might be able to accommodate her. The eagerness with which this hint was received encouraged me to remark that the cottage in question was let at 21/- per week. No doubt you will again disagree, but I still maintain that if a woman can pay 20/- per week for a house, she can, with little inconvenience, pay 21/-. This particular individual was a trifle difficult, but on my assuring her that rents were steadily rising and houses getting steadily scarcer she admitted that she supposed she would "just have to find it somehow." Whereupon I proceeded to describe the cottage in view, just such a cottage you probably have anticipated, as those cheaper ones scattered throughout the Lumbago Lane district.

On the following day notices of an increase in rent were served on three selected tenants, one in Measles Road, one in Consumption Crescent, and one in Diphtheria Avenue. No doubt Mr. James, your unlamented

predecessor, would—had he got as far—have served the notices on the terrace of three in Measles Road. Such tactics, you must agree, would be unworthy of a Machiavelli. The three chosen were widely separated, so that anything in the nature of collective resistance was most unlikely. In the case of Measles Road, Randolph, in No. 40, was an obvious choice. It had come to my ears that when Measles Road was canvassed for support in the Lumbago Lane strike Randolph was the only one who refused. For that reason everybody in the street is out of sympathy with him. Moreover, he has made such improvements to the garden that his place looks quite as good as others in the street, for which I have long received 21/-.

The other two were selected for more or less similar reasons. In short I carefully picked those three tenants who would most certainly pay up. That I chose with discrimination is demonstrated by the fact that I was 100 per cent. successful. Not without some difficulty, mark you. Smailes, in Consumption Crescent, was almost abusive, and Melrose, in Diphtheria Avenue, took an hour off work to come round to beg me to be content with 18/6. It appears he has been on short time lately and there has been sickness in the family. However, those are his affairs, and I quietly informed him that, much as I sympathised with him, I was merely the agent and was obliged to carry out the owner's instructions. He paid.

The following week I repeated the

process, serving notices of increase on three more 17/6 tenants. Two came good, if I may borrow one of your verbal abominations. The other consigned me to your own ordained domicile in the hereafter. Next week he moves out and the good woman who is prepared to pay 21/- moves in. In the meantime my waiting list has become most promising. With fifteen people anxious to pay from 22/6 to 35/- per week—well, houses simply cannot be had for less.

Tomorrow I intend to interview my two business rivals in Slumwoops. Their methods are archaic. Neither

has yet copied the notice which has been on display outside my shop since the day of my arrival. It reads: "URGENT. Houses wanted to let. Good tenants waiting." Only in this way can we create the right atmosphere for a boom in rents.

There are possibilities in Slumwoops, my son, but I regret I cannot extend to you a further opportunity to exploit them. In the words of that misguided doggerel-monger who slandered our fair country, I wish you now a long farewell.

Your relieved father,  
JULIUS MACHIAVELLI.

## CAPITALIST'S VAIN EFFORT

"The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it has not itself to thank, but the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory.

"It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents in the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubts and scepticism. If the successes of the working class of our country, in its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our Party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case."

—Stalin: Report to 18th Congress, C.P.S.U.

# Anglo-American Contradictions in the Second Imperialist War

E. Varga

*This fine article by the well-known Marxian economist shows how Wall Street's dreams of colonial conquest bring America into conflict with Britain in every quarter of the globe. These contradictions are not eliminated by the fact that the U.S.A. supports England in her war against Germany.*

*Professor Varga's analysis will assist readers to follow with a much clearer insight into motives the movements of Roosevelt's envoys from country to country.*

THE U.S.A., having lifted the embargo on the export of arms has, in the war now going on, taken the side of England and France—just as it did in the first imperialist war. Utilising the fact that the U.S.A. has taken the side of England, British statesmen are endeavoring to create the impression that there are no contradictions between these two powerful imperialist States. This, of course, is untrue.

American monopoly capital dreams of colonial conquests. In its strivings, however, the U.S.A. invariably clashes everywhere with the interests of Britain's world Empire. A number of formally independent countries like Egypt, Iraq, Portugal, Holland and the Argentine are, to a greater or lesser degree, politically and economically dependent on England. Therefore the expansionist strivings of American monopoly

capital are based everywhere on competition with England. Anglo-American contradictions are, at the present time, if not the most acute, then at any rate the most important contradictions of imperialism.

These contradictions are not eliminated by the fact that the U.S.A. supports England in its war against Germany, and that the U.S.A. concluded an alliance with England in the first imperialist world war. The establishment of a war bloc and the joint conduct of war against other imperialist Powers, by no means do away with the imperialist contradictions between those participating in the bloc.

America's participation in the world war on Britain's side was, in the conditions then existing, the best means for American monopoly capital to get rich at the expense of its competitor—England, to strengthen

its international positions at the latter's expense, and primarily at the expense of Britain's positions on the American continent. American monopoly capital also intends to use the war now taking place in order to strengthen its political positions on the American continent at the expense of England, to drive it, above all, from the countries of the American continent, and then from other parts of the globe, and to complete the policy begun with great success by the U.S.A. in the first imperialist war.

What were the results of the first imperialist war from the point of view of American monopoly capital?

(a) American monopoly capital grew very rich from the war supplies delivered to England and France. The total profits of all American joint-stock companies in 1916-18 were on the average, per year, almost five thousand million dollars more than in the 1912-14 period.

(b) As a result of deliveries of war supplies to the Entente, a big increase took place in America's active trade balance. The excess of exports over imports showed the enormous sum of eighteen thousand million dollars. To cover this excess, the capitalists of Britain were compelled to return to the U.S.A. a considerable part of their American securities, to send a tremendous quantity of gold to America, and finally, to secure big loans in the U.S.A. Thus, whereas formerly the U.S.A. was a debtor dependent to a certain degree on England, after the

war America became England's creditor.

(c) Whereas before the war British capital investments in Canada and Latin-America were more than double those of the U.S.A., in 1929 the total sum of American investments was one and a half times that of British capital investments.

In the struggle for foreign markets, which has assumed a particularly acute character in the countries of the American continent, the U.S.A. has considerably improved its position at the expense of England.

The U.S.A.'s share in the imports of the Latin-American countries has increased from 23.7 per cent. to 33.3 per cent., while Britain's share has dropped from 20.1 per cent. to 13 per cent.

As soon as the European war began, American finance capital began an offensive with a view to driving its European competitors, and primarily England, out of the South American market.

All State departments in the U.S.A. are giving support to the strivings of American finance capital to drive European capital out of South America. Roosevelt has demanded an increase of several hundred million dollars of State credits to the Export-Import Bank, with a view to financing exports to South America. A similar demand is also being put forward by the American Chamber of Commerce. The leading British economic journal, "The Economist," of November 18, 1939,

characterises the situation as follows:

"The war in Europe has opened up favorable possibilities for the U.S.A. to control the Latin-American markets, possibilities which it has immediately made use of." (Re-translated.)

Regarding England's resistance, the "National City Bank" Bulletin writes in its November issue as follows: "It would be a mistake to imagine that England will so easily give up its Latin-American markets . . . Great Britain continues to speed up its textile production, and it is said in British circles that the authorities are ready to place all privileges at the disposal of the export trade as compared with other branches of industry, with the exception of the war industry, so as to secure foreign currency and not completely to lose export markets." (Re-translated.)

So little time has passed as yet since the outbreak of the European war that American capital has not succeeded in employing all its means of struggle. However, in November already the U.S.A.'s exports to South America grew to 33 million dollars as against 23 million dollars last year, which means an increase of more than 40 per cent. Its exports to Canada have grown to a similar degree.

At the same time American capital investments in the Latin-American countries are beginning to drive out British investments.

Thus, for example, the American Steel Trust has managed to secure in Brazil a concession for the work-

ing of iron ore, which 20 years ago was given to a British company, but which was not used by the latter.

In peace time also the U.S.A.'s active trade balance with Great Britain in connection with the war, went still further to the advantage of the U.S.A.

Insofar as Britain has, because of the war, cut down its export of goods, it has been compelled to send every month to the U.S.A. considerable sums in gold or securities.

In the currency war the U.S.A. has already won a big victory over England. The so-called sterling bloc has collapsed. The majority of the States whose currency prior to September was bound up with the pound sterling, have given up their sterling basis and have adapted themselves to the dollar.

As during the first world war, there has begun the flight of valuables—gold and securities—from Great Britain to the U.S.A. The British government has demanded of British capitalists in possession of foreign securities, that they deliver these up to be sent to the U.S.A. American capitalists are already counting up what capital investments they can take from Great Britain in connection with the war.

American monopoly capital is spreading out its tentacles not only towards the gold and the British capital investments in the U.S.A. which remained after the world war, but also to British investments in other American countries. The sale of American valuables in the possession of Britishers has assumed

such proportions that it is not a rare thing to see on the New York stock exchange a heavy fall in the quotations of these securities.

If the European war drags out, U.S.A. monopoly capital will drive British capital out of the positions still held by Britain in the South and Central American countries.

America's struggle against Britain is not limited to the economic sphere. The U.S.A. is endeavoring to drive England out of Latin-America with the aid of political pressure as well. The main instrument for achieving this is so-called Pan-Americanism: The rallying of all the South and Central American States under the actual hegemony of the U.S.A. This process is taking place in the most varied, but as yet still highly inde-

finite, forms—the Monroe Doctrine, Pan-American Conferences, the idea of establishing a neutral naval zone, 500 kilometres broad, around the American continent, the tying of all currencies to the dollar, and other similar efforts.

Besides, as was the case after the first world war, American imperialism is demanding the transfer of British (and French) colonial possessions in Latin-America either as compensation for British debts, or for a corresponding money payment.

To an ever-growing degree the main obstacle preventing American finance capital from finally subordinating Central and South America, is not British imperialism but the resistance of the working masses of these countries.

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of the  
**COMMUNIST PARTY**  
of the  
**SOVIET UNION**  
(Bolsheviks)  
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# HOW THEY STOPPED THE ANTI-SOVIET WAR

L. Harry Gould

*"The realisation that they were wrong and that we were right penetrated the minds of the masses of English soldiers who had come to Archangel, and the minds of the masses of sailors who compelled the British fleet to leave Odessa . . ." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XXV.)*

THE invasion of the newly-founded Soviet Russia by British and allied forces began before the end of the war with Germany, and without any declaration of war. In fact, British intervention in Russia's affairs could be said to have started even prior to the October Revolution in an attempt to head off that event. Kerensky relates that in September, 1917, pamphlets entitled, "Kornilov, the National Hero," were distributed on the streets of Moscow. "These pamphlets were printed at the expense of the British Military Mission and had been brought to Moscow from the British Embassy in Petrograd in the railway carriage of General Knox, British military attache." A British agent "brought to Kornilov a letter from Lord Milner, British war minister, expressing his approval of a military dictatorship in Russia and giving his blessing to the enterprise."

The political aim of the interventionists as it developed in full force in 1918 and later was to destroy Soviet rule, to restore capitalism, and to seize portions of the former ter-

ritories of the Tsar. Japan coveted the maritime provinces in eastern Siberia. "England," wrote Lenin, wanted to partition Russia, to seize Baku oil and to conclude a treaty with the outlying States of Russia." The official pretexts for the invasions were quite different. Allied troops landed at Murmansk "to protect northern Russia from Germany, whose troops were already in occupation of Finland on General von Mannerheim's invitation."

South Russia was attacked "to prevent the rich oilfields of Baku from falling into the hands of the Germans." Today, after a lapse of 22 years, the jingo press says that there is a similar "danger" and that it would be good for the Allies, and presumably for Russia, if Baku were once more returned to imperialist "protection."

Allied intervention was not effected only through their own military and naval forces. The divisions of Kolchak, Wrangel, Denikin, Krasnov and Yudendich, which marched through and devastated the land between 1918 and 1920, and the Polish

army in the latter year, were organized, armed and financed by the capitalist Powers. That is the significance of the Civil War. As early as April 20, 1918, Col. Robins, head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, declared that all internal opposition to the Soviet government was crushed. The granting of peace, land and bread by the Bolsheviks had won the overwhelming support of the population. It is true that conditions were extremely hard, the country had been brought to ruin by the long years of war and the bandit "peace" of Brest-Litovsk. Yet the workers, now in control of their own destinies, could hope for a peaceful period of reconstruction, to create their Socialist society. But capitalism recognised the menace of the new order to their own fabric of power and riches. War against the workers' State was begun!

The nature and significance of the interventionist years possesses vital meaning for the world today, because any moment now the imperialists may unleash, for the second time, a war against working-class Russia as insane, as destructive, as full of incalculable horrors as they began in 1918. In studying the records of the events in Russia in 1918-1920 one recalls Tolstoy's words describing the equally criminal invasion of that country by Napoleon about 100 years before. "The war began, that is, an event took place opposed to human reason and all human nature." There was perpetrated . . . "so great a mass of crime—fraud, swindling, robbery, forgery, issue of

counterfeit money, plunder, incendiarism and murder—that the annals of all the criminal courts of the world could not muster such a sum of wickedness in whole centuries."

Socialism had been won by a section of the world's workers, and from the standpoint of the capitalists no scruple or demand of honor or justice could stand in the way of the "holy war" they were to wage in defence of their wealth. A body of 50,000 Czechoslovakian prisoners of war in Siberia, recruited ostensibly to fight in the west for the liberation of their own country, were used to attack the Soviets. In Vladivostok on June 29, 1918, a large detachment of Japanese troops were landed, and a noble British lord pooh-poohed any suggestion that Japan had selfish motives. The British consul-general in Moscow scattered millions of roubles in organising the counter-revolution. Ludendorff, from the German side—the imperialists were still at one another's throats at the time—helped organise Ukrainian anti-Soviet armies. There was no longer even a pretence that the British expedition to north Russia was directed against the Germans in Finland. It is a mistake to say that the fascists were the first to violate the sanction of the Red Cross; Soviet ambulances, doctors and nurses were pitilessly and on a wholesale scale bombed and shelled by the knights and valiants of capitalist civilisation; orders were expressly issued in all the interventionist armies that the Soviet Red Cross was not to be respected. British military

rule behind the facade of the puppet governments they established was every whit as bad as the worst Tsarist or fascist reaction. Mr. Ralph Albertson, an American Y.M.C.A. secretary who was on the spot, made some graphic revelations in his book "Fighting Without a War." He says:—

*"The execution of suspects made Bolsheviks right and left. . . . Night after night the firing-squad took out its batches of prisoners."*

*"I have heard of many other cases of the shooting of Bolshevik prisoners."*

*"We used gas shells on the Bolsheviks, but that, I understand, is no longer an atrocity."*

The atrocities committed by Denikin are described by a British official in Warsaw: "Wholesale slaughter and violations, drownings and burials alive became not only commonplaces but the order of the day. There were pogroms that lasted a week, and in several towns the diabolic torture and carnage continued for a month." There was no protest by the civilised Powers; there was scarcely any notice allowed to appear in the British press. Denikin received a K.C.B. from the British government. The giving and the taking of that "honour" did credit to both!

\* \* \*

The armies of capitalism were driven off the soil of the workers' republic.

The first cause of the victory was the moral and political unity of the

people under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin!

"The second cause of our victory," said Lenin, "was that the Entente could not throw a sufficient number of loyal troops against Russia because the French soldiers and the English sailors did not want to go and oppress their brothers."

Mutinies occurred in all the interventionist armies. In April, 1919 the whole of the French fleet off Odessa was involved. "The mutiny in the French fleet was suppressed, and its ringleaders were long in prison; but a shock was sustained in Paris which promptly terminated the adventure." (*Winston Churchill: The World Crisis.*) Public exposure in England of what was happening was prevented for a long time, but in the end the truth forced its way through and a tremendous movement against the criminal war was organised. But even before full understanding came there were, as one observer put it, "general sympathy, instinctive solidarity displayed by working people in this country for the land where folk like themselves had taken power and were seeking to lay the foundations of Socialism." The leaders of the labor organisations, then as now, had a dead set against the Bolsheviks, but they couldn't stem the rising tide of sympathy with Soviet Russia. Letters come home from the troops; it was easy to discern "Communist infection," as the brass-hats described it. One letter, from an officer, created a sensation. He said that the troops

were being used "in furtherance of some ambitious plan of campaign, the nature of which we were not allowed to know. . . . I formed the opinion that the puppet-government set up by us rested on no basis of public confidence and support, and would fall to pieces the moment the protection of British bayonets was withdrawn."

The Trade Unions' Congress, at that time representing 8,000,000 men passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all British troops. The government yielded, saving its face by announcing that "General Rawlinson was able to say that the second echelon . . . would not be required to leave England"—that is, no more troops would be sent. One month later all British troops were evacuated from north Russia. The struggle to end the war itself entered a new phase.

Up and down Great Britain militants agitated and organised. It was a period of intense industrial strife. The bosses were launching attack after attack on the workers' living standards. "We were carrying on a strike," said Willie Gallacher afterwards, "when we should have been making a revolution." Pitched battles between strikers and police had taken place in Glasgow, the historic "battle of George's Square." Although a big garrison was stationed in that city, the government considered them unreliable and rushed new and younger troops from the provinces.

The Glasgow Trades Council pro-

posed a 24-hour general strike to stop the war. Big demonstrations paraded the streets of London. On November 7, 1919, the second anniversary of the Revolution, a national "Hands Off Russia!" committee was formed. The test and the decision came early the following year.

Practically all of the Whiteguard generals had been defeated by then, but still the western imperialists were not satisfied. Poland was instigated to attack Russia. Shiploads of munitions left British shores for the Polish armies, and it was around these munitions that the agitation was redoubled. The dockers loading one munition ship, the *Jolly George*, struck work. The coal-trimmers refused to coal the vessel. And the owners had to unload the munitions! "The *Jolly George* incident electrified the whole movement. A week later the conference of the Dockers' Union . . . decided to put a ban on the loading of any munitions for use against Russia." But a still greater sensation was in store.

The Soviet armies had administered a thrashing to the Poles and were advancing upon Warsaw. Lord Curzon despatched a peremptory note to Moscow threatening war if the Soviet army advanced any further. Let the same author just quoted tell the story:

"Six years to the day after the 'War to End War' had begun was the threat of a new war—to end the workers' hope of Socialism. As one man the working-class movement

rose . . . The demonstrations broke all records . . . Strength came because on this fundamental issue there was complete unity . . . A special conference met in London . . . pledged 'to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet government of Russia.' *Councils of Action*, hundreds of them, were formed throughout Britain.

There was no war with Russia!

Lenin commented: The whole of the English bourgeois press wrote that the *Councils of Action* were Soviets. And it was right. They were not called Soviets but in actual fact they were such. It was a simple illustration of the meaning of international solidarity, one vital feature of it, namely, that defence of the workers' Fatherland strengthens the working class at home. Reformist leadership weakened the force and direction of the *Councils*. It was the Arthur Hendersons, J. H. Thomases and their like who were in the saddle, people who were forced by the mass movement to take a progressive stand. Under a different leadership, there were other possibilities!

Still, the war was prevented. The

lessons are clear to every worker today. The same imperialist greed and savagery darken the earth, and millions of men and women may yet be blown to eternity, and hundreds of cities and towns reduced to heaps of smoking debris, unless the workers *act*. Though the forces of evil and destructiveness still exist, and on an even greater scale than in the last war, there are the counter-forces that can vanquish the former. There is the Soviet Union, marvellously prosperous and tremendously powerful. The working class of all capitalist countries are enormously stronger than in 1914 because of Communism. That it is the duty of all workers to defend the Soviet Union needs no argument. The real point is that in defending the Land of Socialism which the imperialists are bent on attacking, the workers of the capitalist countries will advance immeasurably their own cause of peace and Socialism. Let the spirit of the hungry and ragged Soviet workers in 1918-1920, and the fighting zeal of the *Hands off Russia* committees and the *Councils of Action* of those years inspire us for the tasks today!

### BOOK REVIEW

## THE SOCIALIST SIXTH OF THE WORLD

Hewlett Johnson

EVERY so often, though by no means so often as you might suppose, a man who knows what he wants to say does so in unmistakable terms. If, into the bargain, he understands his subject thoroughly and commits his words to writing, the result is likely to be a memorable book. Here is just such a book, by precisely such a man. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, has extraordinary qualifications for the making of it. First, he possesses a literary style which is amazingly simple and agreeable. This may well be mentioned first, for without such a faculty many an author is passed unread, though he may have really important things to communicate. In the Dean's company, however, you may be certain that you will never be bored by dry-as-dust philosophising or tedious reflections. This man has a straightforward tale to tell, and he tells it in forthright fashion.

It is a colossal job that he has undertaken—to present in less than 400 small pages a recognisable picture of the most gigantic edifice ever created by man. In other words, to describe the structure and conditions of the Soviet Union. Clearly, in such a task, far more than mere

lucidity—the gift of the gab, if you like—is required. In what other respects then, is the dignity of the Church so well fitted for its performance? Is he just a sentimentalist, a dreamy but well-meaning elderly cleric? On the contrary, Hewlett Johnson is a highly-certificated professional engineer, and one time manager of a wagon works.

Moreover, he understands capitalism—a branch of knowledge commonly neglected even by engineers and works managers. He saw capitalism on the up-and-up in the days of his youth in a comfortably circumstanced middle-class Lancashire family, for his dad was one of the old-time smaller industrialists, in semi-patriarchal relationship to their employees, who have since fallen before the onset of monopoly-finance. So Hewlett Johnson saw capitalism come to the brow of the hill—and start on the downward slope. He gives at the outset of his book what he calls an "Excursus and Autobiography," and this is far from being the least interesting of the contents. See, for example, this passage: "The family business had met with reverses, and the home felt the pinch. We still lived in the



large house; the facade remained, but worry and anxiety hid behind it. By the time my wage (as an engineer-apprentice reached thirteen shillings a week I determined, despite my parents' wishes, to live on my own earnings." And he explains how he managed.

But: "My work companions were men with families, endeavoring to live on seventeen shillings a week. The poverty in their case was infinitely greater than mine. . . . I asked what right had I, or any other Christian, to live in comfort, as I had done nearly all my life, and as my class did continually, while others suffered constant economic hardship? True, as I tried to argue, they were less competent than men of my class, and on that account earned less. But then again they were less competent because heavily handicapped from the outset of life as to food, quiet, education, and a thousand other amenities. Sophistries failed, and the sense of great injustice grew. Either these men were to be regarded as human personalities and treated as such with equal respect, or they were not. My Christian faith said they were: in practice we denied it. If they were, then we ought to treat them as brothers."

The Dean takes here much the same attitude as that adopted by a local parson whom I once saw sitting next to Lance Sharkey on the platform of a public meeting. His speech followed that of the Communist representative—and clinched

neatly the nails which he had driven. "I stand here," said this man, "not in spite of the fact that I am a Christian but because I am a Christian"—and with that he went for Chamberlain, Menzies and Company hammer-and-tongs. Quite so, says the objector, but I still say that these religious folk are actuated merely by vague feelings of pity or compassion for the less fortunate. Right: I'll take that up. Listen to this, please.

"During the war (of 1914-1918) I studied and worked," says the Dean, "with Mr.—afterwards Sir—Drummond Fraser, manager of the Union Bank of Manchester, and lecturer in Banking at Manchester University, who ultimately became vice-chairman of the Bankers' Institute and financial administrator under the League of Nations. He was especially interested in Austria, the tale of whose misery I told him following a visit there immediately after the war. To him I owe interest in and useful understanding of banking and money. At his own request I interpreted his ideas in extremely simple language for "The Economist," and wrote the speeches he delivered to London, American, and Parisian bankers. In particular, I wrote the paper which led to the 15/6 war bonds, and another on the Ter Meulen Bond Scheme." Well, if Hewlett Johnson could simplify the ideas of a lecturer in banking, it seems quite safe to assume that he could simplify anything else whatsoever. The Dean knows capitalism in its rise,

in its decline, from below, from above.

And what does he say about it? He says: "Private ownership of the means of production has outlived its day. It is doomed. Happily there is an alternative. The instruments of production can be owned publicly; and worked, not for private profit but for public service, the needs of consumers being the controlling factor. . . . This age, marred by the private ownership of the means of life, with all its crippling effects on science and industry, with its immoral emphasis on acquisition, and with its inevitable consequences of wealth and poverty, of class distinctions and class discords, must go. Science, civilisation and Christianity alike demand it." This, then, is the standpoint from which Hewlett Johnson approaches his business of giving to the public at large, an easily readable but entirely authentic survey of that sixth of the world where these sane principles can be seen in action.

Too much space, maybe, has been devoted to making clear just who and what manner of man is the Dean. On the other hand, this may not be so, for there is very little good purpose in attempting to give you a pre-digested version of this book's contents. Here and there, no doubt, a close student of Soviet matters will be heard to protest that these things are already well within his or her knowledge. I take leave to doubt the entire accuracy of such a statement, but, even were it so, the gain to be derived from careful perusal

of Hewlett Johnson's pages is likely to be enormous, particularly so for writers or public speakers. For if ever there was a useful example of direct and orderly presentation it is here. There is no substitute for first-hand examination—and the Dean's powers of description are a treat in themselves. And you will be amazed at the amount of genuine information with which he has packed his book.

Even so, Hewlett Johnson explains in an "Important Foreword, written on November 2, 1939" his "regret that this book was not written and published six months earlier. Had that been the case I might have hoped that it would perhaps have served some part, however small, in helping our own country to understand Russia and, by understanding, to have brought nearer the possibility of Anglo-Russian friendship. With Russian friendship, consummated in a pact for collective security, we should now be spared the terrible tragedy that confronts us. . . . During the enforced delay in its publication, I have re-read it in the light of our present situation. Apart from the Epilogue there is little I would add to or subtract from it, though had it been written today the style would doubtless have been less leisurely. Because, however, of what has happened in the last two months, I would invite the reader to turn to the Epilogue first and familiarise himself with the brief account it contains of the Soviet's struggle for peace during the 22 years of its existence."

For the rest, the book is divided into six main parts, with systematic sub-divisions. There you see the methodical scientific mind. As the Dean remarks drily in reference to some statement of Mr. Eugene Lyons, he "feels more at home" in the company of practical engineers than in that of people of the type he is then discussing. He finds their opinions more valuable, for he is an extremely difficult man to hoodwink, is the Dean of Canterbury. The six main sections comprise Book I: Apology and Excuse; Book II: The Soviet Blueprints of the New Society; Book III: The Socialist Sixth of the World; Book IV: The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number;

Book V: The Plan and the Peoples; and Book VI: Mental and Spiritual Horizons. Every page bristles with brilliantly presented facts, while enlivening anecdotes and personal experiences abound throughout the volume.

The Left Book Club edition comes to members at 4/-. That is the edition before me, from the Anvil Bookshop. No doubt Gollancz has issued a "regular" edition also, though naturally at a higher price. But "The Socialist Sixth of the World" is a book to be read. Buy it if you can, borrow it somehow if you cannot buy it. But read it. It will do you good.

—GEOFFREY CUMINE.

## PARTY LEADERSHIP

"Can the Party impose its leadership on the class by force? No it cannot. At all events such leadership cannot be to any degree lasting. If the Party wishes to remain a party of the proletariat, it must know that it is above all and mainly the guide, the leader, the teacher of the working class.

"Leadership means the ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party policy; the ability to put forward and carry out such slogans as bring the masses to the Party position, and which make it easier for them on the basis of their own experience to realise the correctness of the Party policy; the ability to raise the masses to the level of Party consciousness, and thus to ensure the support of the masses and their readiness for decisive struggle.

"Therefore the method of persuasion is the basic method employed by the Party in its leadership of the class."

—Stalin: Problems of Leninism.

# THE RIVAL IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDISTS

L. Sharkey

*The propagandists of all the warring imperialists are striving to present their imperialism as the defender of culture, of civilisation, of liberty and the independence of small nations.*

to their own harbors.

Given, then, the situation where German imperialism feels that it is fighting for existence; from the viewpoint of imperialism, it is perfectly justified in using submarines for this purpose. Were the positions reversed, that is, had Germany the superior battle fleet, without doubt the Allies would do precisely as the Germans are doing now, i.e., resort to an attack upon the German Navy and overseas shipping by means of submarines, mines and seaplanes.

The submarine is a horrible weapon, say the Allied atrocity mongers. They paint the fearful picture of inoffensive, peaceful seafarers left to struggle and drown in the icy waves. The German submarine, naturally, has to leave the spot instantly, for if it were caught, those hunting it would not allow it to escape because it showed humanity, but would instantly sink it. Imperialist war is imperialist war.

On the other hand, the Allied fleets control the Seven Seas. German merchant shipping has been swept from the seas in this war as in the previous one by means of this naval superiority. This driving of German ships from the Seas is accomplished by means of the application of force; that is to say, any German ship that refused to halt

EACH of them declares that only the victory of his particular capitalist class can ensure progress and a future for the human race.

On the other hand, each propaganda machine strives to present its opponent as a barbarian, a mass murderer and each act of war by the enemy as a gross "infringement of international law."

The British propagandists represent the sinking of merchant shipping by German submarines as barbarism, as an expression of the ruthless savagery of the "Prussian spirit."

The question may be asked: "Why does Germany resort to the sinking of merchant ships by means of submarines whilst the Allies do not use submarines to any appreciable extent for this end? The answer is that submarines and mines are, together with aeroplanes, the only weapons at the disposal of the Germans to wage a war at sea. The Anglo-French navies hold complete command of the seas and confine the German naval forces practically

and allow herself to be captured by Allied warships would be instantly sunk by means of gunfire and torpedoes; in much the same way that the submarine destroys its victims.

It may be true that a warship, in no immediate danger herself, can spend a little more time than a submarine, in picking up the victims. Many German ships who refused to halt and attempted to make an escape have been already sunk in this war by Allied warships.

"The Germans ruthlessly sink neutral ships" cried the British capitalist Press. Perfectly true and agreed that it is horrible.

The British Navy, using its superiority, has set up contraband stations for the control of the shipping of the neutrals. The neutral ships are compelled to submit themselves to this control. If they refused when called upon to do so, they would be immediately sunk by the Allied fleets. From this it is clear that the German methods of sea warfare are not an outcome of the "Prussian spirit," but are determined by the strategical position in which the Germans have been compelled to fight their wars with Britain and France. The weapons and methods are largely determined by the fact that the latter control the seas.

When the reader decides upon suicide, it can be left to him to choose which is the more "humane" death—by a torpedo from a German submarine or gunfire from a British destroyer.

Despite all Winston Churchill's bellowing about the barbarity of the

German war at sea, it is clear that there is little to choose between the methods of sea warfare adopted by either of the belligerents and that both use to the full the weapons to hand.

But then, the aims of the war at sea, one can visualise the question of the followers of Churchill. The aim of the German sea war is to destroy British shipping and by this means cut her off from her overseas food supplies upon which she depends.

The German aim is to create a condition of starvation in Britain and, by this means, force the British bourgeoisie to surrender. It is a horrible thing to starve tens of millions of women and children and peace-loving workers. Undoubtedly,

Ask yourself then, what is the object of the use of the greater force of the British Navy to drive German shipping from the trade routes of the world and to blockade Germany? What other objective is there than the starvation of tens of millions of women and children and peace-loving workers and thereby forcing the surrender of the German bourgeoisie?

It has been pointed out that large numbers of the German population died and many are physically wrecked as a result of the blockade employed by the Allied powers in the first world war, whilst children were greatly affected by rickets. The Soviet union has protested against the cruelty of blockade and declares that the Soviets will prevent, as far as in her power, this ruthless starvation of the German people by the

British capitalist class.

The organisers of the slow murder of millions of babies by means of blockade have no cause to shout out about "baby murderers" and ruthless submarine war.

A favorite theme of the apologists of British and French imperialism is that the Germans violate the integrity of small nations. The over-running of Belgium by the Germans in 1914 was a central point in Allied war propaganda. The propaganda about the German atrocities in Belgium, true and untrue, were used in order to cover the real aims for which the war was fought and which were later embodied in the "peace" of Versailles. In the present war, Poland and the Czechs play the role of the "suffering Belgians."

On the other hand, the British and French imperialists present themselves as the champions of national independence. They did not over-run small nations in the last war and so far have not done so in this one.

That is their claim.

Again, the attitude of Germany and that of the Allies can be traced back to what the military correspondents call "the strategical realities." It is well known that the Allied economic resources are superior to those of Germany. This imposes upon the Germans the necessity of winning, if they can, as quickly as possible.

To do this they take the shortest cut, through Belgium or Holland or elsewhere in order to try and strike a blow at their opponents as

soon as possible. Again, the independent small States, through the centuries, were and are maintained as "buffers," in modern times as buffers against the advance of German imperialism.

At the moment, these buffers appear to be having the opposite effect and preventing a blow by the Allies, causing them to seek for new fronts and methods of involving the small neutrals.

The "poor little Belgium" story was one of the most important propaganda weapons for winning over the neutrals and also inciting the populations to war-like frenzy.

It is because of this propaganda that the Allies are loathe to violate the territory of neutrals.

The tone is rapidly changing, however. Open threats were made to Norway and Sweden during the Finnish war. Since the conclusion of the struggle with the Finnish Whiteguards influential circles of the British and French bourgeoisie are now pressing for the ending of the policy of "waiting for the neutrals to act," and declaring that the Allies are justified in fighting the war on others' territory. This proves that the basis of war propaganda between the imperialisms is not on abstract principle, but determined by strategical, political, economic and military needs of the struggle.

At the moment, the situation is such that any disruption of the economy of a number of small neutrals would be detrimental to the interests of the Nazi government, i.e. Rumania, Sweden etc., as this might interfere for a long time with

supplies of oil, iron and foodstuffs. The new Allied propaganda therefore, in view of this, demands that such States, by hook or by crook, be dragged into the war, by force, if necessary, even if it means losing the "moral weapon."

The imperialists are only interested in "moral weapons" when these "weapons" can be translated into material results; blows at the enemy. Germany, in regard to the invasion of Belgium, in the previous war, pleaded "military necessity." The Allies hold Gibraltar, which logically belongs to Spain, Malta, from Italy, and Cyprus from Greece. The domination of Eire is also largely justified by the British government on this ground of military necessity. It gives these instances of definite examples of where the Western Powers occupy territories of other European powers, for, once outside Europe, it is the western imperialisms, and not Germany, that hold scores of nations, large and small, in bondage equal to that of the Czechs and Poles. And now the bourgeoisie in Britain and France are threatening to violate neutral frontiers in the name of the need to strike a "blow at Hitler." Hitler, in his recent speech, threatened to "free" the Indians, Arabs and Irish. Chamberlain replied by demanding the independence of Poland and the Czechs. Neither offered to "free" the nations under their own imperialist rule.

Chamberlain demanded "freedom" from religious persecution. The Protestant and Catholic religionists who have been persecuted

in Germany have suffered because of political opposition to the Hitler dictatorship and its war policy. The pastors of all churches who support Hitler and Hitler's war are unmo- lested.

The Chamberlain government, at this moment, is attacking religious pacifists and conscientious objectors in Britain who oppose the govern- ment's war policy. Religious people have "freedom" so long as they support the imperialist war in both Germany and Britain.

The Nazis kill Poles. They at- tempt to justify this on the grounds that the Poles assassinate Germans. Recently, two young Irishmen were hanged in Britain. The charge was that they assassinated Britishers. An Indian will be hanged for the as- sasination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

The Indian, the Irishmen, the Czechs and Poles are all being killed by the imperialists because they all object to the subjection of their re- spective countries by the imperialists.

The British propaganda points to the extermination of the Herreros, an African tribe, by the German im- perialists. The German replies by asking "where are the Tasmanian natives?" "What is the condition of the Australian aborigine?"

The British and French talk of a European "Federation," of capita- list States, based on the destruction of German power, "after the war."

This so-called "federation" would be dominated by British finance and French military power. In the event of their victory, the Nazis would also bring about a "European federation," under their control,

even allowing a nominal indepen- dence for some small states, as in the case of the present "republic" of Slovakia. The war is for the domi- nation of Europe, whether concealed under the cry "of European Federa- tion" by the one side, or the amalga- mation of the "Nordic Race" (Switzerland, most of Belgium, Scandinavia, Holland and the "lost German minorities") in a gigantic greater German Reich, on the other. Either federation would be capita- list, anti-working class and im- perialist and preparing for a war with the U.S.S.R.

But, cries the British propagand- ist, especially the Labor Party lead- ers, Liberals and pseudo-radicals and intellectuals, Britain and France are after all "democracies."

Germany was also a democracy, at one time, before Hitler. It may be again!

On the other hand, there is little democracy today in France and the whole trend of events in Britain and the Dominions is towards the liqui- dation of democracy in practice. German democracy was betrayed by the Labor reformists, Liberals and others because they feared the triumph of Socialism in Germany. The "electoral truce" between Attlee and Citrine and Churchill and Chamberlain is a big step to- ward a similar betrayal of what re- mains of democracy in Britain.

German democracy was abolished in a position of acute class antago- nism. As the position grows more acute in Britain and the Dominions, the same drive against "democracy" becomes more apparent daily. The British capitalists were able to toler- ate certain limited freedom to the workers, based, as Lenin and Marx both explained, upon the bribery of the upper strata of the workers out of the plunder of the colonies.

If the German bourgeoisie were to conquer the world and thus be in a position to give some conces- sions, there would be a crop of Sir Walter Citrines, Attlees, Langs and Fallons to tell the workers that the German empire was the best in the world.

The Labor reformists try to de- ceive the masses by prating of the "better morals" of the British bour- geoisie. As we see, by a detailed examination of the claims of British and German propaganda, it is the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. One imperialism is no better than another. One allows slightly better conditions than the other, because it is in control of most of the world and is thus in a better position to do so.

Above all, the Labor traitors use this argument of the superior moral attitude of British Imperialism. It is essential that this hypocrisy be exposed before the masses.

# STALIN AND THE WORLD PROLETARIAT

G. Dimitrov

## I.

MILLIONS of working people in the capitalist countries look upon Stalin as their close friend, wise teacher and great leader. No other person in the world enjoys such unshakable confidence and prestige in the ranks of the working-class movement, in the ranks of the working people of all countries as *our Stalin, the genius who is carrying on the cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin.*

The strength of Stalin's influence lies in his great teaching, which has been tested by the experience of millions, in the justness of his cause, which has been confirmed by immortal deeds. For decades the learned men of the bourgeoisie have asserted that Socialism was a Utopia. Stalin has now demonstrated Socialism to the millions as a living reality. For decades the ideologists of the bourgeoisie asserted that the peasant possesses an "anti-collectivist skull," and that he would never reconcile himself to Socialism. Stalin demonstrated that the peasantry, given the State leadership of the working class, would moor its bark forever to the shore of Socialism. The Social-Democratic frauds asserted that Socialism could be reached through bourgeois democracy. Stalin maintained that the people can reach Socialism

only through the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas bourgeois democracy opens the way to capitalist reaction and unleashes imperialist wars. And it was Comrade Stalin who proved to be right.

The masses can now see that, whereas capitalism dooms them to poverty, starvation and unemployment and flings them into the bloody gulf of devastating war, the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, is not only preventing its population of 183 million from being drawn into the imperialist war, but is erecting a powerful barrier against the conversion of the war into a universal holocaust.

## II.

The working class in the capitalist countries *are learning and will learn from Stalin the Bolshevik art of fighting and vanquishing the class enemy.* His teaching, tested and confirmed by the vast experience of the triumphant struggle for Socialism, furnishes an inexhaustible arsenal of intellectual weapons for the entire world proletariat.

From Stalin, the advanced proletarians are learning, above all, to understand the exclusive importance of *revolutionary theory* in the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Two typical examples will perhaps illustrate better than anything

else the immense importance which Comrade Stalin attaches to theory. On the eve of the first Russian revolution, while fighting for the creation of a Bolshevik party and upholding Lenin's teaching against the attacks of the opportunists, Comrade Stalin explained the vital necessity of linking the working-class movement with socialist theory. In his pamphlet, "*A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party*" (1905) he wrote:

"The spontaneous working-class movement — the movement *without Socialism*, is bound to become petty, assume a craft-unionist hue, and fall under the sway of the bourgeois ideology . . . On the other hand, Socialism divorced from the working-class movement remains nothing but sheer talk and loses all significance, no matter how scientific the foundation on which it rests.

"What is the conclusion? The working-class movement must be linked up with Socialism, practical activity must be closely bound up with theory, and the spontaneous working-class movement thus lent a Social-Democratic meaning and countenance." The other example is a very recent one. Despite his tremendous preoccupation with the task of guiding the Socialist state, Comrade Stalin worked on the compilation of *the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)* and wrote for it the section on dialectical and historical materialism, which represents the summit of Marxist philosophical science.

Thanks to these labors of Comrade Stalin, we now have a remarkable theoretical work, an encyclopaedia of fundamental knowledge in the Marxist-Leninist theory and a sure guide to the world proletariat in its struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish Socialism.

For many decades, Comrade Stalin has been developing, supplementing and enriching the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. His gigantic labors are the *embodiment of creative Marxism*. He is an irreconcilable enemy of all dogmatism.

Himself setting a brilliant example in the combination of Bolshevik fidelity to principle with the utmost flexibility, and applying the Marxian dialectics in a masterly fashion, Comrade Stalin never tires of warning us against mechanically applying the experience of the working-class movement in one country to that of other countries, where conditions are different. He teaches the Communists to base their strategy and tactics on actual realities and to regard theory, not as a collection of abstract dogmas, but as a guide to action.

In the article he wrote on the occasion of Lenin's fiftieth birthday, Comrade Stalin gave a striking description of the difference between creative Marxism and dogmatic Marxism. Comparing the attitude towards Marxism of the opportunists of the pre-war Second International with that of the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, he wrote:

"The second group (i.e., the Bolsheviks—G. D.) on the other hand, attaches prime importance

not to the outward acceptance of Marxism, but to its realisation, its translation into reality. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is to determine the ways and means of realising Marxism that best answer the situation, and to change these ways and means as the situation changes. It does not derive its directions and instructions from historical analogies and parallels, but from a study of surrounding conditions. It does not base its activities on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience, testing every step by experience, learning from its mistakes and teaching others how to build a new life. This, in fact, explains why there is no discrepancy between word and deed in the activities of this group, and why the teachings of Marx completely retain their living, revolutionary force. To this group may be fully applied Marx's saying that the Marxists cannot rest content with interpreting the world, but must go farther and change it. This group is known as the Bolsheviks, the Communists."

Treachery in policy has usually begun with revisionism in theory. Such was the case with the opportunists of the Second International. Such was the case with the Mensheviks. Such was the case with the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the Zinovievites and the other enemies of the Party and of the working class. The fight for the purity of revolutionary theory and irreconcilability towards its vulgarisation and

mutilation are inseparable features of Bolshevism. Lenin and Stalin, the leaders and theoreticians of Bolshevism, attached the highest importance to this struggle and themselves engaged in it unceasingly.

The bourgeoisie has set every means in motion to disarm the working class ideologically. The church, backed by the learned lackeys of the bourgeoisie, has proclaimed a crusade against Marxism, and they are being seconded by the agents of imperialism in the Second International; a vociferous and brainless campaign is being waged against Marxism by the Ministries of Propaganda that have been specially set up; works of Lenin and Stalin are being burnt and destroyed by the brutal shock troops of reaction.

But vain are all the attempts of the bourgeoisie, which, in its anti-Marxist crusade is combining subtle deceit with gross police persecution, coaxing with threats, corruption with courts-martial. They are vain because the advanced workers are learning the Marxist-Leninist theory from Comrade Stalin; they are learning from his how to defend it from the attacks of all its enemies, how to carry it to the broad masses of the working people, how to combine it with the practical class struggle, and how to ensure its undivided supremacy in the international working-class movement.

### III.

The workers of the capitalist countries are furthermore learning from Comrade Stalin to understand the highly important role of the Party of the working class, the art

of forming and consolidating it, of strengthening its fighting efficiency and manoeuvring ability in every way, and of extending its connections with the working masses. They are learning the Bolshevik art of ensuring the leading role of the working class with regard to all other working people. Stalin's splendid account of the glorious and heroic history of the C.P.S.U. (B.) contains a classical description of the importance of the Party to the cause of the working class.

"The history of the Party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and the state power." (*History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)*, p. 337.)

The building, consolidation, moulding and utmost development of this party, of which history knows no equal, was and is Comrade Stalin's chief concern.

Day by day, for decades prior to the October Revolution, living the hard life of a revolutionary operating underground in Tsarist Russia, and later in the new, Soviet conditions, Comrade Stalin worked with Lenin in building, forging and consolidating the Bolshevik Party.

Stalin defeated all the machinations of the enemies, swept them from the victorious path of the working class, upheld the Party, cemented the iron unity of its ranks

and led it to the highest summits of victory. He gathered together all the great historical experience gained in the building of the Bolshevik Party, both in the bourgeois-democratic period and in the period of the Socialist revolution, and armed the world proletariat with these generalisations drawn from this experience. Stalin's "Conclusion" to the *History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)* describes with the utmost clarity, profundity, and precision what the Bolshevik Party was and is, which is a model for the proletarian parties of the capitalist countries.

At the dawn of Bolshevism, Lenin set forth his celebrated thesis regarding the importance of organisation for the working class. "In its struggle for power," he taught, "the proletariat has no other weapon than organisation." And the cardinal embodiment of this organisation of the proletariat is its Party. It is the vanguard, the general staff of the working class, without which it would have been impossible to muster the forces of the proletariat, or create its powerful class organisations, or ensure the alliance between the working class and the other working people in town and country for the attainment of victory. Hence the major and fundamental task, a task of the utmost importance to the working class of the capitalist countries, is to forge genuine revolutionary parties, parties of the new type.

What is needed for the forging of such parties? An unceasing struggle for the bolshevisation of

the Communist parties. Proceeding from the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party, on the one hand, and mindful of the specific conditions in which the Communist movement is developing in the capitalist countries, on the other, Comrade Stalin tells us *what bolshevisation means and how it is to be attained*.

"Bolshevisation," he wrote in 1925, "requires at least certain basic conditions, without which the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties is impossible in general.

"1. The parties must not regard themselves as an appendage of the parliamentary election machine, as the Social-Democratic parties in fact do, and not as a free supplement to the trade unions, as certain anarcho-syndicalists sometimes assert, but as the *highest* form of class combination of the proletariat, designed to *lead* all other forms of proletarian organisation, from the trade unions to the parliamentary groups;

"2. The Party, especially its leading elements, must have fully mastered the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is indissolubly connected with revolutionary practice;

"3. The Party must base its slogans and directions not on formulas and historical parallels learnt by rote, but on a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement at home and abroad, in which the experience of revolu-

tion in all countries must absolutely be taken into account;

"4. The Party must test these slogans and directions in the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the masses;

"5. The whole of the work of the Party, especially if it has not yet rid itself of Social-Democratic traditions, must be reconstructed on a new, revolutionary footing, so designed that every step and every action of the Party should naturally lead to revolutionising the masses, to training and educating the working-class masses in the spirit of revolution;

"6. The Party in its work must be able to combine supreme fidelity to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with maximum connection and contact with the masses (not to be confused with tail-ism!), without which it is impossible for the Party not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, not only to lead the masses and raise them to the level of the Party but also to take heed of the voice of the masses and divine their urgent needs;

"7. The Party must be able in its work to combine an irreconcilable revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with the maximum flexibility and manoeuvring ability (not to be confused with opportunism!), without which it is impossible for the Party to master all forms of struggle and organisation, to link up the day-to-day interests of the proletariat

with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine the legal struggle with the illegal struggle;

"8. The Party must not conceal its mistakes, it must not fear criticism, it must be able to improve and educate its forces using its own mistakes as an example;

"9. The Party must be able to form a basic leading group of the best elements of the foremost fighters, devoted enough to be genuine spokesmen of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and experienced enough to become the real leaders of the proletarian revolution, capable of applying the tactics and strategy of Leninism;

"10. The Party must systematically improve the social composition of its organisations and rid itself of corrupted opportunist elements, with the aim of making its ranks monolithic to the utmost degree;

"11. The Party must establish iron proletarian discipline, based on ideological unanimity, clarity as to the aims of the movement, co-ordination of practical actions and an attitude of clear understanding on the part of the general membership towards the aims of the Party;

"12. The Party must keep a systematic check on the way its decisions and directions are being fulfilled, without which the latter risk becoming empty promises capable only of undermining the confidence of the broad proletarian masses in the Party.

"Without these and similar conditions, bolshevisation is nothing but an empty sound." (*Pravda*, Feb. 3/35.)

The conditions for bolshevisation laid down by Stalin have played and are still playing a tremendous part in the development and consolidation of the international Communist movement. They may be compared in significance with the role of Lenin's celebrated works, *What is to be Done?* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, in the history of the Party.

The importance of these splendid principles, laid down by Comrade Stalin, is immeasurably enhanced by the conditions which prevail today. It is enhanced by the fact that in the midst of the imperialist war and rampant world reaction, profound changes are taking place in the international working-class movement, giving rise to ever new and complex tasks for the Communist Parties. It is enhanced by the fact that owing to the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders, millions of Social-Democratic workers find themselves at the crossroads: the best of them are coming more and more clearly to realise the necessity for a joint struggle with the Communists, and the speedy realisation of the fighting unity of the working class will depend largely on the Bolshevik skill of the Communists.

Learning from Comrade Stalin, the Communist parties in the capitalist countries have considerable achievements in the matter of their own bolshevisation. (*To Be Concluded Next Month.*)

# HANDS OFF RUSSIA!

J. B. Miles

FOR nearly seven months the Allies, Britain and France, have been in a state of war with Germany. The attack on Poland was the reason given for the mobilisation on the western front and for the intensification of war preparations by France and throughout the British Empire. No one knows that anything was done directly to aid Poland although there were five tense months in which to prepare aid between the British-French "guarantees" and the start of the war.

The collapse of the Polish resistance in a few days and the protection of several millions of White Russians and Ukrainians from the Nazi armies by the Socialist Red Army brought an unusual state of war. Except the blockade and actions at sea to cripple German economy and war strength; the sinking of British, French and neutral ships to injure British and French economy and war strength and a few minor air actions by both sides, there is yet no war between these powers. Many people, not willing to become a sacrifice in the wars of rival imperialisms have said, in effect, nothing was done (could be done?) to help Poland and former Poland cannot be restored, why not, then, stop the war before it becomes more warlike?

The continued preparation for war emphasises the fact that the

German attack on Poland was but the excuse, the spark which lighted the flames of war between Britain and France and the Germany they had so greatly strengthened for war in other directions. Hitler is notorious for breaking promises but only one broken promise seriously annoys the British and French rulers, that is, the promise to make war on the Soviet Union. Instead of a German-Soviet war there is a German-Soviet non-aggression pact. Hence the change from Munich friendliness and confidence in the word of Hitler to the bitterness of the former appeasers during the last seven months.

But the main antagonism, the chief conflict in the world today is not between any two capitalist powers or any two groups of such powers, it is the antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class, between socialism and capitalism. This struggle continues to be expressed in all the well-known forms throughout the capitalist world, but for twenty-two years this conflict has had a new form, a struggle between the new society, the working class, socialist state, the Soviet Union, and the capitalist states.

From the first world war there came an entirely new division of territory, one sixth of the world came under socialist control, one sixth of the world was lost to the landlords,

employers and bankers. The future world already exists in the Soviet Union but the old world, the dying world of the few wealthy parasites and millions of poverty-stricken workers, unemployed, ruined farmers and colonial slaves, surrounds the socialist sixth.

It is to this sixth of the world that all the imperialists have directed their attention during 22 years as a possible source of new territory, material, labor and profits. The first years of the revolution were years of war against the revolution by all the large powers and their smaller lackeys. Even before the first world war ended the "enemies" saw a common enemy in the socialist sixth of the world and launched military actions against it.

A new war between any of the imperialist powers turns into a war against the Soviet Union.

Finland, which was a base for anti-Soviet war during the first months of the socialist revolution, has been prepared as a base against the Soviet Union ever since. The Whiteguard enemies of the Finnish workers and the land of socialism remained in control and with foreign capital built fortifications and equipped an army for provocative action and to precipitate a war and hold out till the imperialists came to their aid. Refusing to reach agreement for mutual protection, to prevent Finland from becoming a war front, to enable the Soviet Union to strengthen its defence and lessen the danger of war, the Whiteguard Finns paid their debt to foreign capital and turned Finland

into an anti-Soviet war front.

In the Near and Middle East, while rival imperialist armies sit on the western front for seven months, intense activity and war preparation proceeds. These armies, in Egypt and nearby countries, may be required against a German move into the Balkans but all the speculations, rumors and propaganda point to preparation for another war front against the Soviet Union, a war to destroy Soviet oil supplies, to obtain oil for the Allies war of plunder, and to embroil other countries as well as the Soviet Union in the carnage. It is to this area that Australians have been sent to "fight Nazism," "to defend democracy," "to aid Poland," "to protect small nations."

Since the end of August the propaganda against the Soviet Union has been sharper, louder and more sustained than against the "enemy," Nazi Germany. This propaganda consists mainly of lies, slander and distortion.

The British and French Governments will not reach an agreement with the Soviet Union to prevent war, they encourage Poland to refuse Soviet aid. The Soviet Union sees in this a determination to create a dangerous situation between that country and Germany and the result is the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. This pact, to keep the Soviet Union out of the war, and on the part of Germany, to limit the sphere of her war, is characterised as an alliance, an alliance between fascism and communism, therefore the workers are



called on by their exploiters and the labor imperialists to fight communism, to endorse war on the Soviet Union.

The war against Germany hangs fire while all the "democracies" rush aid to the anti-Soviet war.

Poland, whose rulers refused to prepare modern defence, who were promised aid but not pressed to make up-to-date military preparations, who refused the only possible effective aid and who got no aid from the "guarantees" by the imperialist instigators of war, soon collapsed. The government and military command fled the country. Faced with a situation which could become dangerous for her peace and security and with the possibility to protect millions of national brothers from the horrors of war and Nazi domination, with the certainty that there would follow liberation of these millions from exploitation, the Red Army marched. This is called "stabbing Poland in the back."

The Finn Whiteguards refuse to face the realities, unlike the small Baltic countries they will retain their "independence," they violate the frontier of the Soviet Union, they kill Red Army men, they threaten Leningrad, they are carrying out their obligations to foreign imperialist war makers. The Finnish People's Government comes into being the Red Army acts to safeguard the Soviet Union and to free Finland from the menace by the Whiteguard tools of imperialism. This is characterised as aggression by those who stood by while Abyssinia was subjected by Italian armies, while Spain was

butchered by Nazi and Italian armies, while China was ravaged by Japanese imperialism, by those who did nothing to save Austria and who gave Czechoslovakia to Germany.

Soviet democracy, infinitely superior to the capitalist variety, has always been denied by the imperialists and their reformist friends. Now it may have had some virtues but these cease to exist, we are told, because Soviet-German relations are improved, because the Soviet Union refuses to "pull the chestnuts," because the Soviet Union secures itself, limits the sphere of war and is neutral toward the war between the imperialist powers.

Soviet economy may have been advancing and to the benefit of the people; it was not socialism but maybe it was socialism—so the argument goes. Nothing is changed in Soviet economy, in the relations between Soviet citizens by the pact, but socialism is said to be abandoned because the Soviet Union avoided the war so long prepared by the men of Munich.

The Soviet revolution was part of the socialist world revolution but while still enjoying the hatred of the imperialist packs, we are told that internationalism, the working class, the Communists in other lands have been abandoned.

All this and much more, such as depicting Stalin as a Hitler, is repeated every day in the press, by the warmakers of the Allied governments and their loyal opposition, by the reformist "labor" press, by clerical reaction, by trotskyites and by weaklings and traitors, exposed

by the crisis and cast out of the Communist Parties.

Capitalists, industrial and financial, large and not so large, and their paid servants, politicians, writers, labor renegades, etc., cannot but hate and oppose the working class and their new state which demonstrates the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

"The October Socialist Revolution smashed capitalism, deprived the capitalists of the means of production and converted the mills, factories, land, railways and banks into the property of the whole people, into public property.

"It established the dictatorship of the proletariat and turned over the government of the vast country to the working class, thus making it the ruling class.

"The October Socialist Revolution thereby ushered in a new era in the history of mankind—the era of proletarian revolution." (History, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, page 224.)

The "socialists" of the Labor Party type, the Langs and Fallons, the Attlees and Citrines, the Blums and Tanners hate the Soviet Union no less than their imperial masters whose empires they help to preserve. Such as they were exposed and defeated in the Soviet Union by the Party of Lenin and Stalin and socialism is the result.

The "socialism" of the reformists in no way changes capitalism, not even where they occupy the government benches. They aid capital by resisting, betraying, even by force attacking the real movement of the

workers to socialism. The way of Marx-Engels-Lenin and Stalin, the way of the C.P.S.U., the way being trodden by the Communists in all lands brings socialism and exposes them, turns them into open agents of the system they have pretended to oppose, into open enemies of the society they have pretended to work for. They attack, not capitalism, but socialism; they attack, not the exploiters, but the exploited at home and the emancipated in the Soviet Union; they attack, not the representatives of the capitalist system, but the representatives of socialism, Stalin and Molotov, Dimitrov and the Communists everywhere. They convey all the venom, lies and slander of capital against socialism and the Communists into the working class and other sections of exploited people. They want war for their empires and above all war to destroy socialism, to restore capitalism, to crush the real movement to socialism, the organised working class and its Communist vanguard. The capitalists, labor imperialists and trotskyites will not succeed but they can cause damage, cause much bloodshed and hinder the march to peace and socialism unless they are completely and quickly exposed before the working class and driven out of the Labor movement. This will not be done by mere argument, it will be done in struggle against the offensive of the employers and their governments, for wage increases, for work, for liberty and against the exploiters' wars.

The anti-Soviet, anti-Communist "labor" leaders who want war on

the Soviet Union and war on the Communists at home do not represent the working class. Blum had to instigate Daladier to suppress the Communist Party and split the trade unions because he does not have the support of the workers and does not have the support of all the non-Communist labor leaders in France. Attlee, Greenwood, Citrine and others do not represent the working class, they have not the support of large numbers of non-Communist labor leaders. The London and the Glasgow Trades Union Councils reject the anti-Soviet warmongers and Glasgow calls on the workers to rally behind the Soviet Union.

Mr. Grenfel, British Labor M.P., who came out recently to Australia and New Zealand to whip up the anti-Soviet incitement, lied when he said British labor leaders all want war for "Finland." Anurin Bevan, M.P., says the British workers, including a majority of the Labor Party, do not want to fight the Soviet Union.

In Australia the Labor Councils of Sydney, Newcastle, Brisbane, many unions, A.L.P. branches and N.S.W. Easter Conference demand no war on the Soviet Union, no Australian troops overseas, no conscription.

The Corio by-election is a blow against the Menzies policy of troops for war in the Black Sea area and against Mr. Curtin's pledge to continue to send reinforcements.

The war makers are mad enough

to try anything to save their dying system; knowing they are doomed, they are prepared to revenge themselves at all costs against the new social system and those who, in all countries, point the way to the new.

They will not succeed to destroy socialism or to hold on many more years but they could do much damage.

The Red Army will do its job, backed by a united people. The working class must do its job in all countries, struggling for their own needs, in their own interests, against the war makers and under the slogans: "No War on the Soviet Union," "Hands Off the Land of Socialism."

The so-called experts and the supporters of the Finn Whiteguards try to belittle the Red Army. In some cases their own armies were immobilised behind defence lines and in aerodromes and harbours, while the Red Army was smashing through the Whiteguards' most up-to-date fortifications, built under British and French supervision. This Red Army and the country people behind it is vastly different from the Red Army which defeated all the imperialist bandits in the first years of the revolution. Among the several reasons given for this success, in the "History" quoted above, page 246, is the following:

"The Red Army was victorious because the Soviet Republic was not alone in its struggle against Whiteguard and counter-revolution and foreign intervention, because the struggle of the Soviet Government and its successes enlisted the sympathy and support of the proletarians of the whole world. (For the benefit of smart people this does not mean sabotage.—J.B.M.). The workers of Great Britain, France and other intervening powers called strikes, refused to load munitions consigned to the invaders and the Whiteguard generals, and set up Councils of Action whose work was guided by the slogan—"Hands Off Russia."

The "History" quotes Lenin, who said: "The international bourgeoisie (capitalist class) has only to raise its hand against us to have it seized by its own workers."

That hand must be seized now. It is the anti-Soviet warmongers who are a menace to the people of all nations including Australia. Those who aim to prevent such a war and to stop the war in Europe are the real representatives of the interests of the world's toilers.

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### STILL RISING

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