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EDITORIAL

We, the Editors of "Proletariat," are very modest young men, in that we don't for a moment anticipate that this publication shall disturb by so much as a ripple the immemorial tranquillity of the University mind.

How should it? In the first place, nobody will read it. What normal student would read this serious and portentous stuff while he has his "Shop Soiled"? In the matter of providing fit mind fodder for the student intellect, we cannot hope to compete with our erudite contemporary.

But even supposing a student should be found to read the following articles, he will not, of course, believe a word of them; because any hint of insecurity in the *status quo* breeds fear, and fear breeds that blankness of mind in which belief cannot flourish.

When we were young and foolish and full of holy zeal, we would have set ourselves no less a task than the conversion of the whole of the University to the Cause of the Revolution. We are old and wise now, and, as we have said, modest withal. We know that to convert this University would be a more than Herculean labour. The Plymouth Brother who set himself to convert the College of Cardinals would have had a likelier task.

The University is inconvertible because it is one of the principal buttresses of the *Status Quo*. You can't convert buttresses or any other inanimate thing; you can only convert living organisms. The University, being a buttress, is necessarily dead. Dead, that is, in respect to its ostensible function, which is the pursuit of truth. Having excepted a few genuine scholars in the Science schools, we hold that the University does not concern itself with seeking truth at all, but rather with establishing states of mind in the community which make it easier for the ruling class to rule. Of course, this is not a deliberate and diabolic plot on the part of the Chancellor or the Professorial Board. It may be

THE WORKING CLASS

No student of society will deny the existence of social groups; this is sufficiently indicated by the variety of institutions of a commercial or a cultural character. But the existence of a social *class* is a different matter, and, in fact, the multiplicity of groups is taken by many theorists as a decisive argument against the class theory of society, against the recognition of a struggle between two classes, one dominant and the other rising, as society's outstanding feature.

Now it is obvious that society may be divided in all sorts of ways, but such divisions may be of very small social importance. Any function or acquirement whatever might be taken as the basis for division. For example, we speak of the "educated classes," but it must be admitted that there is no social unity among the persons commonly called "educated," and that they mix in various ways with the "uneducated." The commonest division is according to income or property; the rich are contrasted with the poor. Now, of course, riches and poverty have considerable relevance to the state of society, but to make that division the basis of social theory or practice is to overlook the fundamental fact of *production*, and, poverty being a relative term, to open the way to mere wrangling. Such divisions also over-emphasise the characteristics and the fortunes of individuals. Social theory does not begin until we recognise that society is not a resultant of individual "wills," or a field in which goodwill and illwill are exercised, but is a thing with characters of its own, acting in specific ways under specific conditions.

The contrast between the two outlooks is illustrated in the main views current in the Labour movement about the workers. According to the revolutionary view the workers are regarded as the best class in society—not best because of their breeding or of their peculiar "personalities," but best from their social position; nearest to social realities, most "socially necessary," and forming the material and the motive-force for a new society. On the other view they are regarded as the worst class in society, as requiring to be improved and uplifted, and so not as a class in the sense of a unified and active social force, but as a number of unfortunate individuals. This is the outlook of the "reformist" section of the Labour movement, and it implies a mere tinkering with social problems, as against a radical treatment of them.

What is required if social problems are to be dealt with in their own character (and this is recognised by the militant workers in the course of, and, indeed, as essential to, their activities) is the complete rejection of the politic of *philanthropy*. This is a politic of brainlessness, of "good intentions" taking the place of theory; though it may certainly be said that wealthy "philanthropists," and the press in praising them and upholding an ethic of altruism, know very well what they are about. We read not long ago of the death of Beit, the "millionaire philanthropist"; his millions show where his philanthropy began. So the posthumous benefactions of the financier Rhodes prove his solidarity to the last with

the system that had upheld him and his desire to perpetuate the conditions under which such philanthropies flourish. Again, the benefits bestowed by Carnegie on Scottish students may, among people who are taken in by altruistic talk, withdraw attention from the brutalities inflicted on Pittsburg workers. But the workers, who have learned to be specially suspicious of those who offer them gifts, may claim to have come much nearer to a social theory than their warm-hearted helpers and improvers.

The confusions of the "social worker" are apparent in the various schemes for providing work for the unemployed. Such schemes are remarkable as carrying the suggestion that a man who gets "relief work" to do is still somehow unemployed. His work is not quite work, and what he receives is not quite wages, and thus the payment to him of less than the regular wage, or, indeed, of any sort of pittance that will keep him alive, is justified. Actually this is nothing but wage reduction. And the social objective of such schemes, even if their well-intentioned agents are ignorant of the fact, is, while reducing discontent, to prevent the organisation of the unemployed and the establishment of solidarity between them and the employed.

The recognition of working-class solidarity and the part it plays in society is, of course, very far from the understanding of charitable bodies which want to "do well" and help those in need. But, in order to do well, it is necessary to take account of economic realities, of the conditions of production and not merely of the resulting distribution. It is necessary to have enough theory to see that "charity," giving a particular man what he lacks, may not improve social conditions in general. And it is desirable to have at least considered the class theory of society, and not to take for granted a solidarist doctrine according to which society is constituted by all (exploiter and exploited alike) standing together for mutual aid. This doctrine is opposed to *class* solidarity, and, until those who assume it have shown the class theory to be false, they do not escape the imputation of working to break up the solidarity of the exploited class.

The same considerations apply to schemes of "vocational guidance." Here the attempt is made to place individuals in suitable occupations, without reference even to the continued availability of such work but, more important, to the fact that these individuals will be working for employers; or, at least, it is considered sufficient to assume that what benefits employers will benefit employed, and *vice versa*. The test of success in guidance is that the individual is satisfied with his work, and the question is not raised whether workers should be satisfied with the conditions of their employment—or, again, whether an individual's satisfaction may not be gained at the expense of his fellow-workers. The fundamental assumption that there is a certain job to which a person is fitted is, under conditions of modern industry, simply a basis for subjecting workers to a *direction*

which must subserve the wants of the controllers of industry, the possessing class.

The test of successful guidance, from the employers' point of view and, it is presumed, from that of 'society,' is increased efficiency. But, where there are employers and employed, increased efficiency, by reducing costs of production, increases profits; and, since each unit of labour is more productive, there is less demand for labour, and, consequently, wages are lowered and unemployment increased. These consequences must follow so long as there is a competitive price for labour, i.e., so long as there are employers and employed. In practice, then, "guidance" discovers who can be most speeded up, who is most amenable to suggestion and most easily "satisfied." In theory, it assumes social unity, without having carried out any social investigation to back it up.

The same general points may be made in regard to a great amount of theorising within the Labour movement. The main issue is whether we should start from the working of actual social forces, in which case we see that "helpfulness" is in the interest of the dominant forces, that it works for the prevention of discontent and, in general, for the weakening of the suppressed elements, or from the notion that some scheme or other would be "worth trying," that, so far from our action being limited by social conditions, social conditions depend upon our choice. It is against this kind of view that Marxists are inveighing, when they reject ethics. But actually the doctrine of goodwill is no more acceptable as ethics than it is as politics or social theory.

This applies to the campaign for socialisation, in which the class issues are largely neglected and the solidarist factor of "goodwill" allowed to creep in. Socialisation, in the first place, is put forward as a scheme, not as a programme of action; it is a result to be arrived at, and not an activity to be undertaken under existing conditions. And, appearing thus as something to be done for the workers and not by them, it has to be classed with philanthropic schemes in general. Like them, it implies that existing social conditions admit of the necessary "adjustments"; i.e., it neglects the dominance, the political power, of the possessing class. Moreover, it is a distributive or consumers' theory—a theory of sharing. In effect, it contemplates the realisation of Socialism within capitalism; it assumes the solid society which can bring about "desirable" ends; it neglects the class war, recognition of which is essential to the recognition of the workers as a class, of their organisation as the proletariat.

Socialisation appears, then, as an example of social philanthropy, and, like all proposals of this sort, it is of no effect in improving the position of the workers (i.e., their fighting position, but equally their "lot"), but rather makes it worse. It is of such socialisers that Marx and Engels say in "The Communist Manifesto":

"Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to phantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous class organisation of the proletariat to an organisation of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into their propa-

ganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working-class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them."

Proletarian organisations have certainly developed considerably since 1848, and the advocates of socialisation take some account of them; but in its relation to the actual movement of society, socialisation is as the utopian systems that Marx and Engels criticised.

In order to understand the conception of the workers as a class, we have to consider history, i.e., the nature and development of society. Indeed, the main proof of the existence of the working-class is the working-class movement; the activities, political and economic (though the latter, since they affect the state of society, are really political also), entered on by the workers, the organisations they have formed (unions, councils, internationally, Labour parties—even though these bodies have not done what many workers expected of them, and have been used, by Labour misleaders, to foster political illusions), the rights they have won (of organising, striking, demonstrating, though these rights have continually to be fought for), their appearance as a political power—and, to complete the picture, the working-class theory (Marxism) which has been developed, and its success in giving an account of social relations and in predicting, or, as Marx would have it, in leading social actions. For we understand, on the Marxist view, limit ourselves to mere understanding of things; true theory is that in the light of which we transform things, and which we arrive at only by being active.

For Marxism, society is *organisation for production*; or, as we might say, it is co-operation. At different periods different forms of production are established, with definite relations, economic, juridical, etc., between productive forces. When developing forces conflict with established forms, we have a revolutionary period. But there is constant conflict in society so long as property (in each epoch some special form of property being characteristic of the dominant class) exists. The State exists to keep this conflict in check; it is the organ of the dominant force, that which is interested in maintaining the established form. Thus, as against the idealist theory of the State as representing the interests of society at large, Marxism, denying that there are any such interests while property and classes exist, regards the State as existing through struggle and for the purpose of repression; it is an organ of exploiters against exploited.

On this theory, the working-class or proletariat is produced by capitalist (industrial) society. It has historical predecessors—slaves, serfs, journeymen; but it occupies a special economic-juridical position, it has a definite status, viz., that it has to sell, and has nothing to sell but, its labour-power. This position leads on to class-consciousness and solidarity. The workers are brought together in the factory, and enabled to recognise the community of their interests and their collective

strength; and being expropriated, being reduced to the basic social condition of *producers*, they can (allowing for the limitations imposed by their exploitation, and the divisions among them which the exploiters try to foster) have truly social and co-operative relations with one another. In particular, they are led to envisage the possibility of a society of producers and the abolition of property. They develop a producers' ethic, as against the consumers' ethic of the possessing class and its philanthropic supporters. But this is brought out only in the struggle against bourgeois forces; demands for a better way of living may be framed to begin with in the consumer's fashion, but the workers' function as producers and the solidarity engendered in the fight lead them to the revolutionary point of view.

The special characteristic of the proletarian revolution is that it abolishes the last class-division and makes possible for the first time a truly social state, in which co-operative motives dominate and acquisitive motives are broken up. But it is precisely the development of industry that makes this revolution possible, makes possible, that is, not a mere rising of the oppressed, which can be beaten down, or a vain experiment which cannot last (like those which have furnished ammunition to "objectors to Socialism," and which were already derided in "The Communist Manifesto"), but a thoroughly planned economy, to replace competitive anarchy and brigandage.

The possibility of this planned economy is shown in the present condition of affairs in Russia. In fact, it is an outstanding proof of the existence of the workers as a class that they, using working-class theory, can actually run society. Those who have accepted the view that everyone has his "station in life" to which he must keep and the duties of which he must perform (i.e., the hierarchical or theological conception of society), cannot believe that this is possible; those who are interested in opposing revolution spread all sorts of lies about Russia, with the intention of showing that it is governed not by a class but by a tyrannical clique, and that their rule is not successful, that they cannot build or plan. These pretences become daily more difficult to keep up, and at any time proletarian theory would have shown how the tales of tyranny should be taken.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, according to Lenin (*The State and Revolution*), "has to be a State that is democratic but only for the proletariat and the propertyless, a State that is dictatorial but only against the bourgeoisie." This rule of the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, occupies, as Stalin puts it (*Theory and Practice of Leninism*), "an entire historical period filled with civil and foreign wars, a period of economic organisation and reconstruction, of offensives and retreats, victories and defeats. This historical epoch is necessary not only to create the economic and cultural conditions for the complete victory of Socialism, but also to allow the proletariat, first, to educate itself and become a force capable of governing the country, and, secondly, to re-educate and transform the petty bourgeois strata in such a way as to secure the organisation of Socialist production." That this education and organisa-

tion have gone a considerable distance, that the development of a characteristically proletarian economy is well on the way, is proved by the latest achievements of Soviet industry and agriculture. That the revolution led by the Bolsheviks was never the tyranny it is said to be, is proved by its success, by the way the masses reacted against the really tyrannical "Whites." Fairy-tales, like that of Mr. Thomas Walsh, that "the great Russian revolution was engineered by 240 Bolsheviks in St. Petersburg who by terror were able to rule a nation of 140 millions," are put out of court by their own ridiculousness, though Mr. Walsh's sycophantic attitude to the employing class ("Contrast the lot of men in work with that of the unemployed and you will understand why employers can be more popular with the workers than the Communists"; *Open Letter to Professor Anderson*, p. 11) would in any case make us discount his dicta on social matters.

Corresponding to the absurd talk about Russia is the absurd talk about "unemployables." The same type of theologically-minded person, who cannot believe that the workers are capable of ruling, also cannot believe that any one could be "genuinely" unemployed, that the righteous could be forsaken, etc.—an attitude, incidentally, which implies a conception of cosmic beggary, of humanity as a mass of dole-drawers in a Universal Bureau. But again historical facts force the opposite conclusion, exhibit it, as in the case of Russia, in terms of *mass-struggles* which are incompatible with "idleness." This type of historical proof holds also against Proudhon, who imagined that the revolution was peacefully assured when some government admitted "the right to work"—which, as he saw, was a denial of the rights of property. Such admissions from such sources are valueless, except as a demonstration of the fraudulent tactics of governments.

The theory of the social priority of the class war, the struggle of the proletariat against capitalist dominance, is opposed alike from the solidarist or "monistic" point of view and from the "pluralistic" point of view in which society is regarded as a multiplicity of inter-related groups. There is certainly no limit to the number of groups we can discover, and Marxism, of course, admits that there are all sorts of remnants of older classes, forces and forms of production, and various transitional elements. But they are socially weak; they acquire force only in so far as they can ally themselves with one or other of the main contestants for power; and they fluctuate between the two. At one time the petty bourgeoisie (small farmers, shopkeepers, etc.) may be fulminating against "extremists," at another time obstructing the policy of big business. But they can have no independent line. According to the theory of Lenin, conditions are most favourable for the working-class, when they have secured the neutrality or the support of the intermediate sections of society. But the social crisis tends to bring this about by increasing the solidarity of the workers and the "contradictions" (i.e., incapacities) of capitalism, though the desperate attempts to cover up these "contradictions," by means of War,

Fascism and "White Terror," may for a time enlist the support of such sections.

It is clear, for example, that the "educated" class has no independent line, no solution for social problems; that it is not *politically* educated. It fluctuates between the other classes, though in the main it is subservient to the ruling class. Yet education, understood as scholarship, is itself of a productive character, and, in so far as it is achieved, creates a bond between the educated and the proletariat. This bond will be strongest where the political leadership of the militant workers is accepted, and schemes of "betterment" will correspondingly drop out of the picture.

In this connection it may be pointed out that schemes of "University reform," by way of increased Labour representation on the governing body, and so forth, are, like the Workers' Educational Association, *philanthropic* in character, and are inimical both to scholarship and to working-class education, which consists of education in the struggle. University reform, from the workers' point of view, will come by way of the development of organisations of those who work in Universities, and of contact between them and other workers' organisations. It will not come through the bringing to bear of outside influences, so that the brand of education offered may be of the most generally acceptable character possible. Such schemes are really solidarist and commercialist, and are of no advantage to the working class.

We are thus brought back to the direct class issues and to the relation of the workers to the State. Solidarism denies that the State is the organ of a class, but in so doing it upholds the dominance of this central power over other powers and organisations. The workers have had to fight, and still have to fight, for rights of organisation, agitation and demonstration—a fact which is sufficient to prove the existence of a ruling class. When this is recognised, it will be seen that all activities or proposals of a solidarist character, all schemes of "class-collaboration" or social unity, are for the benefit of the ruling class and for the deception of the workers. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Arbitration, the *right to strike* being the clearest indication of the independent power of the workers, as contrasted with a state of subjection and servility.

Fascism, the open dictatorship of the propertied class, in its inception and even largely throughout its development uses the language of solidarism. It makes its appearance as a "Committee of Public Safety"; but its aim is clearly safety for capitalism. Thus the A.F.A. League bubbles about "honesty," meaning thereby the maintenance of existing property relations; seeking to cover capitalist reality, and, in particular, the *failure* of capitalist economy, by means of empty precepts. So Fascist movements like the New Guard propose to defend "the constitution" against "extremists," propose, i.e., to attack the working-class in its fight against penalty and oppression and for political rights. The illusion of constitutional equality and civic impartiality is also kept up by the press; in relation to which Stalin says (Theory and Practice of Leninism), "Within the

capitalist system there is and can be no true freedom of expression for the exploited, if only because the buildings, paper supplies and printing works necessary for the utilisation of this freedom are monopolised by the exploiters." And it is only an extension of this contention to say that "within the capitalist regime, there is and can be no real participation of the exploited masses in the administration of the country." Nevertheless, the agitation of the workers can bring them certain political rights, and it is when this degree of political power becomes dangerous to weakened capitalism that Fascist suppression (in the name of "the safety of the country") is resorted to.

With the opposition to the capitalist State is connected the workers' opposition to Nationalism (extolled by Fascists), their assertion of the international character of their class—which is but another example of the co-operation of *producers*, as against the divisions among acquisitive *consumers*, this again being one main reason why history is on the side of the workers. The acceptance by the Australian Labour Party of the "White Australia" policy (like its acceptance of Arbitration) shows that it is not a proletarian party. Official "Labour" parties, indeed, also operate against "extremists"; their function is to pacify and disarm the workers. When elected to office they carry on government according to the usual forms and with the regular apparatus of police, judiciary, etc.; in other words, they carry on *capitalist* government, they uphold existing property relations.

Orthodox "Labour," then, whether it is showing how it can govern or inventing Utopian schemes of "socialisation," is diverting the workers' movement and concealing the true character of the proletarian revolution, which arises from the position of the workers as a *productive force* in relation to the disintegrating capitalist form of production. Only working-class organisation, preparation to take over industry, to form a workers' State with real political activity for all workers, can prevent Fascism and war, and lead on to a classless society, exhibiting real solidarity. Such a society cannot exist until after the conquest of power and dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus the working-class is the coming society, and must, like the Sinn Fein movement, form its own organisations and regard the capitalists as invaders of its industry, exploiters of its production. And in the formation of a productive, and necessarily international, society, it is for the educated, the thinkers, the active investigators, to be on the side of the producers.

The working-class becomes organised through the operation of capitalist industry, but only because of its struggle against exploitation in that industry. Thus organised, it is the protagonist of social equality against *parasitism*, against hierarchy and privilege of every kind; and in its revolutionary struggle, exhibiting the "heroic values" of the producer, it is the one truly ethical force in existing society—the one force that can annihilate the decadent "values" of helplessness, philanthropy and patronage.

—John Anderson.

DICTATORSHIPS AND LIBERALISM

"Where there is talk of dictatorships it is necessary to explain just what interests of what classes find their historic expression through the dictatorship."—Trotsky: "Whither England."

Let us talk of dictatorships. . . . To-day, the breakdown of parliamentary democracy is a commonplace of political knowledge. Even in countries where open Fascism does not exist "emergency cabinets," "coalition-crisis" governments betray an unmistakable Fascist content. In the U.S.S.R. there is a dictatorship of the working class. Germany seems to be headed for Fascism and/or revolution. What is the meaning of the breakdown of the parliamentary system?

The easy thing to do in an attempt to explain this process is to regard "democracy" as normal and dictatorship as abnormal. This is, of course, the obvious approach for bourgeois writers, who regard all bourgeois institutions as "natural" and institutions of every other period of history as "unnatural." The dictator rather than the dictatorship is studied. It is by some exciting individual apotheosis that a Mussolini or a Pilsudski gains possession of a government. Before the seizure of power the Fascist leader is usually represented by supporters of parliamentary democracy as a mountebank, buffoon, etc. This is very frequently so (Mosley, Hitler, Campbell), but if we are to fight against Fascism we must not underestimate its force. Fascism wears the motley to hide the mail.

In short we must look to the class character of the dictatorship.

Let us first look at the question historically. If we do, we find that parliamentary democracy originated in dictatorship. Let us amplify this. The feudal system of government was one which gave legal and administrative form to the economic supremacy of the land-holding class. However, feudal society carried within itself the slowly developing germs of capitalist society. (Every class society creates the weapon for its own destruction.) Trade grew up, with the opening of new trade-routes, the use of money, etc., and a new class of possessors was created (in England, the Burgesses) whose economic development demanded a different form of government. Parallel with the rise of the trading class was the decay of the land-holding class. This decay was expressed politically in the change from a purely feudal form of government to the more integrated form of absolute monarchy or feudal Fascism. This was the political refuge of a class whose economic power was being undermined. (In 1630 the House of Commons was found to be three times wealthier than the Lords.) The "Forced Loans," "Benevolences," and courtier monopolies of the King were not the best conditions under which the growing trading class could carry on business. The destruction of feudalism became a historical necessity for the rising bourgeoisie. Parliament armed itself against the King—the war of classes had become too acute for negotiations. The victory of the revolution-

ary army made Cromwell the first bourgeois dictator in modern history.

There is no need for our purpose to trace the various stages which led to the substitution of the dictatorship of the burger class, to the institution of limited monarchy, democracy, etc.; we will content ourselves with the statement that the same process may be observed after the French revolution and the dictatorship of the third estate. Capitalism prefers the political form of parliamentary democracy because it presents the perfect *illusion* of freedom to the masses—while affording *real* freedom to the exploiting class. The revolutionary cry: "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," was translated in practice by the victorious bourgeoisie thus: Liberty, to buy and sell; equality, as freedom from hierarchical restrictions on commercial exploitation, and fraternity, as the grateful subservience of the working class towards their new and more grasping masters. So ran bourgeois revolution through dictatorship to "democracy."

With this historical sketch we are able to approach the bourgeois dictatorships and quasi-dictatorships of to-day with an entire lack of surprise. Those liberal-minded optimists who regard human and especially British history in terms of the orderly progress of democracy, liberty, etc., should be sent back to school. In times of crisis the fundamental interests of fundamental classes come to the forefront of the political arena. At the time of the English Civil War and the French Revolution, the fundamentally opposed classes were the land-holding aristocracy and the trading bourgeoisie. In the present world crisis the fundamental classes are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—the capitalist class and the working class. The fundamental interests of the exploiting class lie in the perpetuation of the existing state machinery to police their expropriation of surplus value. The fundamental interests of the producing class lie in the abolition of all classes. In a capitalist crisis the very existence of the ruling class depends (Henry Ford, the I.L.P. and Major Douglas notwithstanding) on lowering of wages, and a systematic attack on the working class. In Australia this capitalist programme (the Premiers' Plan) has been prosecuted by "Labour" governments (including the N.S.W. government), but it is not surprising that, in countries, e.g., Germany, where the organisation of the workers is of such a kind that mass resistance to the attack can be made, a more or less open dictatorship should replace democracy. Democracy in a class society may be nothing more than the right of the workers to choose the administrators of their subjection, but even

1. By "interest" here I, of course, mean *class* interest organised as such. No account is taken of personal motive. An individual repudiation of the ideals of his class does not alter either his function as a member of that class nor the historic function of that class itself.

this is removed when a declining and desperate class demands a closer organisation of its interests and a reorganisation of the masses as a condition for its survival. Bourgeois democracy belongs to the happy period of rising capitalism, of expanding markets, of *laissez faire*, of the Open Door and Free Trade, of the ability of the capitalist class to make periodical bribes to the masses. To-day, with the last stage of imperialism and parasitism upon us—of capitalism with its back to the wall—the comparative laxity and uncertainty of the democratic form have to be replaced by a more direct and reliable organisation. The bourgeoisie are coming to regard democracy as a luxury they can ill afford and they are taxing it away by the sumptuous laws of Fascism. So it was with the declining feudal aristocracy. Read Hobbes's "Leviathan," and Wyndham Lewis' "The Art of Being Ruled," and see then if rotten ruling classes do not talk the same language.

The State: Thus far we have treated the fascisation of the State from a standpoint more historical than theoretical. However, if we wish to understand clearly the effect of this historical process upon the policies of working class political parties we must also consider the two main theories of the State which are current to-day. According to the Marxist, the State itself is the product of the *irreconcilable* class antagonisms. If class interests were *objectively* reconcilable the State would not have come into being. It belongs to a special and limited period in the evolution of society, and will pass with the advent of the new classless society. On the other hand, as the contradictions of capitalist society increase and sharpen, as a necessary element in its evolution, the State authority and organisation develop and tend to separate more and more as a distinct entity outside society. The function of the State is the creation of order which legalises and perpetuates class domination by moderating the collisions between classes.

According to this theory the Marxist holds that any "evolutionary," constitutional "Socialist" or "Labour" party acquiring a parliamentary majority *must* operate the *existing* state machinery for the purpose for which it was designed, *i.e.* it must play capitalism's game. The Third International and the Communist parties of the world alone cling to the lesson of the Paris Commune of 1871 that the working class *cannot* use the existing state machinery for its own ends.² In the light of the Marxist conception of the State the working class through its leader the Communist Party moves towards a seizure of power and the establishment of a dictatorship. This involves a scrapping of much of the existing

2. Take one case only, housing. Lenin, in *The State and Revolution*, writes: Expropriations and occupation of houses take place by direction even of the present State. The proletarian State from the formal point of view will also "direct" the occupation of houses and expropriation of buildings. But it is clear that *the old executive apparatus, the bureaucracy, connected with the bourgeoisie, would be useless for the carrying out of the orders of the proletarian State.*

State machinery together with a general radical modification in the direction of a fusion between executive and authoritative functions. This was the line taken by the Bolshevik Party of Russia and history has thoroughly shown its correctness. We will waste no argument here with a defence of the U.S.S.R. The Marxian view of the State enables us to place the dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. and the dictatorship in, say, Italy in their historical setting. The one is a dictatorship of the ascendant working class (N.B.—Not of Stalin) acting on the widest possible basis not only through the Communist Party itself, but also through the Trade Unions and the Soviets. The other is the dictatorship of "the prematurely rotten and corrupt Italian bourgeoisie," (N.B.—Not of Mussolini) acting on a basis that must be constantly narrowed. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. is slowly losing rigidity and it will cease altogether with the disappearance of distinct economic classes, *i.e.*, with the "withering-away" of the State. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Italy has changed none of the fundamental relations of production—has, in fact, sharpened the constantly growing contradictions of capitalist society and must continue till a working class revolution overthrows it. "Fascism," said Clara Zetkin, the veteran German revolutionary, "is the punishment of the workers for an unfulfilled revolution."

Now, what of the other main theory of the State? This represents the State as in some way divorced from society in general ("standing over against society") "as the *reconciler* of class antagonisms" or more beautifully, "as the *adjuster* of group relationships." This theory is held in various forms by liberal, labour, and social-democratic parties over the whole world whatever their local names. More significantly, this is also the official theory of Fascism—with the addition that the democratic form of the State is abandoned. The "Socialist" parties of the world which base their political policy on this "reconciliation" theory of the State look with equal disfavour, at least theoretically, on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on Fascist dictatorship. This is, of course, due to the amiable habit of looking at the form of a particular government and ignoring its class content. Collaboration with the capitalist class in counter-revolutionary intervention against the workers' government is openly admitted and even preached by the "pure" and "democratic" parties of the Second International.

Now we come to the crux of the whole position. We wish to point out that *in practice* "labour" and social-democratic parties actually prepare the way for Fascist dictatorship. To do this we must first refer to the inability (granted the willingness) of "labour" and social-democratic governments to effect a working-class programme. To take a recent case. Before the present great capitalist crisis social-democratic governments were the rule rather than the exception. With the coming of the crisis the leaders of these parties one and all rallied to the support of the terrified bourgeoisie. Ex-

cuses of the leaders for their apostasy from the lip-worship of Socialism varied only in the degree of their hypocrisy. Cant-phrases such as Equality of Sacrifice (for whom?), Reconstruction (of Capitalism) Before Reform, or in the words of Kautsky: "We cannot nationalise Bankruptcy," showed the attempt of these "leaders of the working class" to convince the rank and file of their parties that in a time of crisis class interests become magically resolved and that socialism can only be introduced when capitalism is strongest! Thus, by the nature of the organisation of these parties the leaders are able to administer a modified Fascist policy at a time when the revolutionary organisation of the working class has become an urgent necessity. The dissident rank and file are left leaderless, bewildered and disillusioned until, in ever-increasing numbers, they come under the banner of organisations which do organise the everyday struggle against capitalism. Yet the gentlemen who lead the old "labour" parties still cling with passionate demagogy to their claim to be "champions of the working class" on the grounds of some phantom battle against "the banks" (Mr. Scullin) or a newspaper bout with the leaders of open Fascism (Mr. Lang). Let us take the classical case of Mr. Lang. He has been charged by certain people and newspapers with being a revolutionary. He is represented as the bitterest foe of the New Guard. I think we must absolve Mr. Lang from these accusations. Mr. Lang's record as a revolutionary is a very strange one; it includes the batoning of the unemployed at Bulli and Sydney, the shootings at Aberdeen, Bankstown and Newtown, the reduction in wages for railwaymen, etc., by 22½ per cent., the imposition of the 1/- in the £ unemployment tax, the curtailing of payments for education, and the reduction of unemployed benefits! If Mr. Lang's non-payment of certain debts are to be taken as evidence of revolutionary aims, no doubt Mr. Hoover's debt moratorium will make the President of the U.S.A. liable to deportation. Rentier groups *within* the capitalist class all over the world are fighting one specific measure of capitalist reconstruction. Mr. Lang has been

very scurvily treated by the bourgeoisie for his services rendered. If they are not careful he may turn Communist! Mr. Lang as the enemy of the New Guard! Has Mr. Lang taken action to disband the New Guard? Instead of organising the workers in their fight against the Fascist thugs, Mr. Lang's government has been most vicious against those who defended themselves against the attacks of the New Guard. To take one case only. The Lang police *co-operated* with the New Guard *as strike-breakers* against the Seamen. Mr. Lang has up to the present fairly successfully made use of the New Guard's attack on "democracy" to divert the workers from the main issues. Mr. Lang's record in the service of the bourgeoisie is at present greater than that of the body of distressed business men and defunct elements known as the New Guard. He has fulfilled a semi-Fascist programme of attacks on the working class, he has used the New Guard as a foil for these activities, has allowed it at the same time to develop and has sidetracked the workers' fight against capitalism into a fight for "democracy." Is not this the historical role of the social-democratic government? The social-democratic party at the last elections asked the workers to support Hindenburg, "symbol of the constitution," while Hitler organises the capitalist class, supported by "declassed" elements, for a bloody Fascist dictatorship. The Communist Party alone organises to defeat Fascism. It does so because it recognises in Fascism not an attack on "democracy" but an attempt to change from one form of the bourgeois State to another, more effective, more ruthless form. Because of this it realises the folly of asking the working class to do a *form* of the bourgeois State which the bourgeoisie themselves are abandoning. To do this is to betray the workers as Lang in N.S.W. and Bruening in Germany have betrayed them.

The old bourgeois "socialist" parties with their weakness, their vacillation and their hypocrisy belong to the scrap-heap of history. The only remaining method for the emancipation of the working class is the method forged by the party of Lenin—the communist organisation of the revolutionary working class.

—H. Atwyn Lee.

FILIPPO BUONAROTTI AND SOCIALIST DICTATORSHIP

In a letter to his American friend Wedemeyer, Karl Marx wrote in 1852: "As far as I am concerned, I do not take the credit of having discovered either the existence of the classes in modern society or their struggle with one another. Long before me, middle-class historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and middle-class economists had delineated the economic anatomy of the classes. The new contribution I made was to demonstrate: (1) that the existence of the classes is bound up merely with certain historical stages in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle leads necessarily to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is itself only the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society" (see "Neue Zeit," vol. XXV., part II., p. 162).

We may concede in full the claims that Marx has here made for himself. But, in connection with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, certain claims have also been made on behalf of two other persons.

LOUIS AUGUSTE BLANQUI (1805-1881)

Thus, in his "Out of the Past," p. 60, R. W. Postgate, the English socialist historian, writes concerning the method of revolution of the stormier petrel of French revolutionary movements in the nineteenth century, Blanqui, as follows—"It is what we should now call the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which Blanqui (not Marx) was the first formulator and public advocate." Postgate adds that he makes this claim "with hesitation and subject to correction," and, indeed, it cannot be substantiated. Postgate himself admits that Blanqui's "advocacy (of the dictatorship of the proletariat) is to be dated in the eighteen-sixties," whereas, in his "Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850" (see S.L.P. edition, p. 70), Marx had already "formulated" the idea as early as 1850.

Prior to that date, Blanqui's closest approximation that we can discover to the clear-cut idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was made in 1838, when he began to organise in Paris the secret society known as the "Société des Saisons." In the catechism answered by every new member of this society we find a significant phrase: "Q. Immediately after the revolution, can the people govern itself? A. The social system being diseased, heroic remedies are needed to bring it to health. The people will need a revolutionary power for a time" (see De la Hodde, "Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes," p. 217). The difference in content between the vague phrase "revolutionary power" of "the people" and the sharply defined formula "dictatorship of the proletariat" does not need to be stressed.

To repudiate exaggerated claims made on behalf of Blanqui is not, however, to deny that he contributed anything to the gradual working out over a long period of the complete idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, we may agree with the

German historian of socialism, Max Beer, that "from Buonarotti the line of democracy, dictatorship and communism leads in the directest manner to Louis Auguste Blanqui, Karl Marx and Vladimir N. Oulianoff (Lenin). The dates are 1793-95, 1848, 1917" (see "Labour Monthly," July, 1922, p. 49).

The mention of Buonarotti brings us to the claim of Max Beer that this man was "the real originator of the socialist dictatorship," a claim which, provided we again remember that this "socialist dictatorship" is not yet precisely the dictatorship of the proletariat as understood by Marx and Lenin, we may, perhaps, concede.

FILIPPO MICHELE BUONAROTTI (1761-1837)

The 'originator of the idea of socialist dictatorship' must of necessity be a significant figure for socialists, and Max Beer assigns to Filippo Michele Buonarotti the foremost place in the annals of pre-Marxian revolutionary communism. Loved by the young Buonaparte, venerated by Robespierre and Marat, made a citizen of France by the National Convention, chosen as his collaborator by Gracchus Babeuf, and revered by advanced minds of the July Revolution (1830), like Godofroy Cavaignac and Blanqui, as their master, Buonarotti had no enemy or detractor throughout his long revolutionary career and must have been a man of unique greatness of character. His book, "Conspiracy pour l'égalité," became the Bible of revolutionaries between 1828 and 1848, and is of singular charm, which grows upon us with repeated reading. Beer likens it to the reading of Tacitus and Plutarch (see "Labour Monthly," July, 1922, pp. 47-48).

In body and mind Buonarotti was cast in the noblest Italian mould, and impressed all his contemporaries as "combining heroism with complete self-abnegation." Louis Blanc, who had seen Buonarotti in his last years, describes him as grave of demeanour, of great authority of speech, of a countenance ennobled by meditation and austere living, with a large forehead, pensive eyes and proudly arched lips used to discretion. No amount of disappointment and suffering disturbed the serenity of his mind, which had its source in a pure conscience and stainless character; death had no terrors for him; the energy of his soul raised him above the anxieties and miseries of a life spent on the stormy death-dealing seas of revolution (see Louis Blanc, "Histoire de dix ans," fourth edition, Brussels, 1846, vol. IV., pp. 129-130). He loved the people, but he was conscious of its shortcomings, and he desired a dictatorship "of the virtuous and wise" as a preparatory stage to complete democracy.

Born at Pisa on November 11, 1761, of the same artist Michel Angelo, he early displayed "great literary talent, audacity and energy of character," and obtained an important office under the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But, embracing the cause of the Great French Revolution on its outbreak in 1789, he was persecuted and had

to leave Italy. Settling at first in Corsica, he published there his "L'Amico della libertà italiana" and became a close friend of Napoleon Buonaparte, who was then (1791-1792) serving as an officer in Corsica and was an ardent revolutionist. On the proclamation of the French Republic in September, 1792, Buonarotti went to Paris, where he associated himself with the most advanced revolutionary leaders and undertook political missions on their behalf. He became the trusted friend of Robespierre, and, outstripping him in social questions, embraced social democracy. After Robespierre's fall and the rise of the Directory, Buonarotti organised secret societies for the overthrow of "the usurpers" and re-establishment of the Constitution of 1793 "as one of the means to the political and communist education and organisation of the masses" (see Max Beer, "An Inquiry into Dictatorship," "Labour Monthly," July, 1922, pp. 48-49).

According to Beer, Buonarotti was the first social democrat to see the importance of conquering political power and of instituting a temporary dictatorship as the most effective means to a socialist reconstruction of society. Men like Leclerc and Roux, or Hebert and his followers, were ardent social reformers and communists, but deprecated political democracy and dictatorship. Adherents of the latter, on the other hand, such as Robespierre, Marat and Saint-Just, never attained a real appreciation of social reform and communism. Buonarotti, however, with his broad mind, grasped the meaning of both movements. He therefore joined the Babeuf conspiracy, which had both political and social reform objectives.

THE CONSPIRACY FOR EQUALITY

The insurrectionary organisation known as the Conspiracy for Equality (1795-1797) included several members "of great talent and republican virtues," whose principal object was to restore the Constitution of 1793 and to supplement it with economic reforms. They were aware of faults in that Constitution, finding them "particularly in the provision which declared property sacred," but believed political democracy to be the best means to social equality (see Buonarotti, "Conspiracy pour l'égalité," Brussels, 1828, p. 91). Appealing to Rousseau, Morely and Mably as their authorities, they set up as their ideal of government a complete democracy, which would take measures to spread education and to prevent extremes of wealth and poverty arising in society. The publicist of the organisation, but not, according to Beer, its greatest leader, was Francois Noel Babeuf (1762-1797), who, from his agrarian agitation, called himself Gracchus. Another leading member was Augustin Alexandre Darthe, a lawyer who had participated in the storming of the Bastille, but the mind that inspired the conspiracy was Buonarotti's.

The organisation grew rapidly. By May, 1796, it numbered 17,000 Parisian members, it had many friends in the Paris garrison, and it also had branches in the provinces. Its strongest centre was the Société du Pantheon, which had its headquarters near the Pantheon

in Paris and of which Buonarotti was the chairman. The suffrage being restricted to the propertied classes, who supported the Directory, the Constitution of 1793 could be restored only through overthrowing the Directory by force. A secret committee was accordingly set up to prepare the insurrection, and then the question naturally arose as to the precise form of government by which the Directory should be replaced.

REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP

Buonarotti tells us (see "Conspiracy," II., p. 253) that, in the matter of the form of the revolutionary authority, the secret committee was convinced that it was impossible as well as dangerous to appeal at once to the people to elect a legislature and a government according to the Constitution of 1793—

"From all the events and circumstances of the last years," he writes, "the committee concluded that a people so strangely at variance with the natural order was hardly capable of making a useful choice, and therefore stood in need of some extraordinary means which could put it in a position of effectively, and not feignitiously, exercising the full powers of its sovereignty. . . . From this mode of thinking arose the idea of replacing the existing Government by a revolutionary and provisional authority, which should be so constituted as to withdraw the people for ever from the influence of the natural enemies of equality and imbue it with the unity of will which was necessary to the adoption of republican institutions. As to the question of the prospective authority, three propositions were brought forward. One was to reinstate those members of the Convention who had remained true to the people; the second was to create a dictatorship of one man, after the ancient Roman example; the third was to establish a new body which should bring the revolution to its happy termination. . . . (After the first proposition had been negatived), the secret committee discussed the question of having the insurgents of Paris nominate a provisional authority which should be entrusted with the government of the nation. . . . Some members of the secret committee argued in favour of a magistracy of a single person; others preferred a new body composed of a small number of tried democrats. The views of the latter prevailed."

As a result of its deliberations, the secret committee accordingly adopted the following provision:—

"The care of carrying on the revolution to its termination, and securing to the republic liberty, equality and the Constitution of 1793, will be entrusted to a national assembly composed of one democrat for each department, nominated by the insurgent people on the recommendation of the insurrectionary committee."

Beer claims that this form of revolutionary authority would have meant a "soviet" (we think he strains the word a little), elected by the revolutionary elements of Paris, with the secret committee at the head. Buonarotti himself observes concerning the question of revolutionary dictatorship:—

"The experience of the French Revolution . . . sufficiently demonstrated that a people whose opinions have been formed under a system of inequality and despotism is hardly capable, at the beginning of a regenerative revolution, of choosing by its suffrage the men who should direct and consummate that revolution. Such a delicate task can only be entrusted to wise and courageous citizens . . . who have freed themselves from the common prejudices and vices, who have left the lights

of their contemporaries behind and, despising riches and vulgar honours, have consecrated their lives to the immortal cause of securing the triumph of equality. At the beginning of a political revolution it is perhaps necessary, even from pure deference to the real sovereignty of the people, not to care so much about getting ballot papers counted, as for letting fall with the least possible arbitrariness the supreme authority into the hands of wise and strong revolutionaries" (see "Conspiration," pp. 132-140).

Beer maintains that this view of Buonarroti's had a far-reaching effect on the communist movement, and "indirectly on German communist theories."

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

The following fragment of a draft, reproduced by Buonarroti (see "Conspiration," II, pp. 301-3), is not without interest.—

"(1) The individuals who do nothing for the motherland cannot exercise any political rights; they are aliens to whom the republic grants hospitality. (2) Doing nothing for the motherland means not to perform any useful labour. (3) The law considers as useful labour: agriculture, shepherd life, fishing and navigation; mechanical and manual arts; retail shopkeeping; transport of passengers and goods; war; education and scientific pursuits. (4) Nevertheless, the work of instruction and science will not be regarded as useful unless those who pursue it get a certificate of citizenship. (5) Aliens are not admitted to public assemblies. (6) The aliens are under the direct supervision of the supreme administration, which can arrest them. (7) All citizens are armed. (8) The aliens must, under penalty of death, surrender their arms to the revolutionary committees."

In these revolutionary measures it is not difficult to find a strong analogy to the modern communist policy of disarming and disfranchising the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat.

THE NEW REALISM

Every great work of art is a challenge to that familiar array of platitudes which the little man calls his philosophy of life. The popular work of art, on the other hand, is generally a representation of those platitudes, consciously or unconsciously pandering to his established conviction that art should be a panegyric on the world and himself in particular. Though in this age we are suffering from a veritable glut of new ideas most of us are content to treat them, as Samuel Butler says, "like bad sixpences and we spend our lives in trying to pass them on one another." We may be introduced to them through no wilful act of our own, but we steadfastly refuse to remain on speaking terms with them. We are by nature fearful of anything which might disorder or disturb our intellectual stock-in-trade, and ideas are disagreeable bedfellows. We would rather lie down with the king of beasts himself than with the veriest twenty-maid of an idea. This is the reason why the great artistic works have produced so little effect on the human race, and until we reach that stage where

REPRESSION OF THE CONSPIRACY

Among the members of the secret committees was a Captain Grisel, who betrayed the conspiracy by disclosing the plans and date of the proposed insurrection to the Directory. The War Minister, Lazare Carnot, ordered General Buonaparte to dissolve the Societe du Pantheon and arrest the leaders of the secret committees. The arrests were made in May, 1796, and in March, April and May of the following year the trials took place, not in revolutionary Paris, but at the provincial town of Vendome. Babeuf and Darthe were condemned to death on May 26, 1797, and went to the guillotine net day; Buonarroti and others were sentenced to transportation. Some years later Babeuf's eldest son killed Captain Grisel.

Buonarroti was not transported, but suffered imprisonment at Cherbourg, rejecting the offer of an important post in the government made to him in 1801 by Buonaparte, now First Consul. On his liberation in 1807, he resumed activities in revolutionary movements, living in the south of France, in Switzerland (whence he was banished), and in Belgium (where in 1828 he published his book on the conspiracy).

The remainder of his life continued closely bound up with socialism until his death in 1837. He lived long enough to transmit his experiences and ideas to the revolutionaries who were to act from 1830 to 1848. "His 'Conspiration pour l'egalite,'" says Beer, "is at once the best commentary on the most vital problems of the French Revolution in the years 1792-1794 and the best introduction to modern communist tactics."

—G. Baracchi.

we prefer the true to the agreeable, our great artists will be but faint voices crying in a wilderness of banality.

Few of our critics realise this, and rarely can they be induced to believe that there are prophets of the present day as well as of the past. For the critic, says Professor Raleigh, is best typified by a picture of a lady in a hobble skirt laughing at a lady in a crinoline. There are some among us who are pathetically proud of the fact that they can be called advanced thinkers, though they do not always know that their advancement has very little to do with the process of thought, but a great deal to do with their parasitic capacity for batten- ing on the thought of others. These are little to be preferred to the hobble-skirted critics, for though they are so familiar with the new and the unknown that their very familiarity becomes a form of indelicacy. The critic who can be called truly creative and a cause of creation in others must be willing to receive newcomers

with politeness and respect—neither to turn his back rudely nor effusively embrace. In criticism as in life the ordinary social virtues cannot be ignored with impunity for "it takes two to speak the truth, one to speak and one to hear."

An infant among new literary movements, what is usually described as Proletarian Art has not yet been accorded the customary civilities, for although we may agree that the basic principle of all art is an unhesitating acceptance of the realities of life, and the one blasphemy, a distortion of those realities, nevertheless the writer who is desperately in earnest thereby commits an act of indelicacy which we find it difficult to forgive. He is the death's-head at the feast. And when he further insists on revealing underground currents of social passion which may whirl us we know not where he doubles his offence. This new school of writers is a reaction against the introspective literature of our time. The highly sensitive and cultured characters of such a novelist as Henry James to whom most of our writers are directly related live lives of self-centred seclusion totally oblivious to the workaday world around them. An introspective blood-corpse, to quote Butler again, would be of very little use to the human body. Humble and not-so-humble working men and women, these writers assert, cannot be expected to take any deep interest in the complicated relationships and psychological reactions of their superiors. Individual problems, the personal experiences of separate eggs may be of value at other times, but the living human experience of the workers is chiefly of another sort. Therefore Proletarian Art attempts to give vivid representations of social passions. The aim of such a literature is to reflect the forces conflicting in a revolutionary period, to look at life from the point of view of the masses—which is not the point of view of well-meaning sympathisers interested in what the Americans call uplift.

This is no place to attempt to deliver judgment on a small band of enthusiasts among whom are to be found such men as Upton Sinclair, Michael Gold, Ernst Toller, and a number of writers in Germany, America and Russia. But that we may see that such a literature is born of a passionate indignation, a hatred of social injustice which may often go hand in hand with a love of humankind (for the hatred of evil is not altogether incompatible with a love of good, as some sages seem to suggest), it were well to take a concrete example.

The flame that burns in Ernst Toller's plays is not an artificial flame fed with the dry chips of literary ambition. It is the flame that has nourished actual revolt. Toller, one of Germany's younger dramatists, has had no academic career. He was a leading representative in the Bavarian Soviet Government brought into being by the revolution of 1919; and when the Republic was overthrown, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the fortress of Niederschönenfeld, where he wrote his play *Masses and Men*. Toller is a product of that four years of blood and disillusion which now we are pleased to call *The Great War*; and after serving for a year in the trenches he was invalided home where he attempted to organise the German youth

for peace. His first play was written in gaol after he had made his fruitless gesture against war by leading the munition workers' strike in 1918, hoping thereby to call a halt to the insane and merciless butchery of fellow-workers across the frontiers.

As may be expected, the plays of Ernst Toller do not make pleasant reading and comfortable people who do not want to grapple with ideas which are probably foreign to them would do well to avoid them. Whether we take the *Machine Wrecker*, *Masses and Men*, or *Brokenbrow*, in each we find ourselves in a grim world, for Proletarian Art is tragedy—there is no room for true comedy, only for the tragic ironies of life. Humour is born of detachment, the detachment of an onlooker who can laugh at the strange antics of human beings without feeling called upon to take an active part in their living drama; but Toller has attempted to identify himself with the proletariat which is too concerned with the struggle of life to be able to see the humour of it. To Toller life is a conflict between the individual and the mass, and human beings become "puppets dimly aware of the compelling fate that governs them." Like all proletarian writers, he attempts not to show the characteristics which divide men from men and make for individuality, as do many literary artists to whom we have grown accustomed, but to show the characteristics which help to mould men into groups, and to portray or symbolise the passions and aims of those groups. We can only become individual again, such writers say, when class passions and hatreds have disappeared, when the class culture of to-day has been replaced by the human culture of to-morrow.

In *Masses and Men*, which he describes as a fragment of the social revolution of the twentieth century, Toller gives a series of impressionistic pictures designed to express the realities which lie behind all revolutionary activity. The actors are not individuals but groups of workers, farm labourers, soldiers and bankers. No attempt can be made to describe a play which of the masses stage in the mind of man, where the spirit of evil dominates takes bodily form and for good or for evil dominates the lives of men and women. But no one who reads it can fail to be impressed by the fiery enthusiasm of the writer or fail to realise that, however crude it may be, however horrible, here is something thrown into artistic form by the volcanic energy of a mind that nameless, formless thing which cries: "The Masses count, not men," and looks forward to the time when all shall "live in love and work at will."

It is not easy for one who knows how to value the works of the Dantes and Shakespeares of this world to understand writing of this sort, much less appreciate it. But the attempt must be made, if we are to realise the significance of the times in which we live, for here we have writers whose aim is to place the stamp of proletarian ideals on the culture of the world. We may resist them if we will, welcome them if we can, but if we ignore them we will do no service either to reality or art, which is the expression of that reality.

GERMANY'S CRISIS

The social struggle in Germany is of decisive world significance. The capitalism of that country has completely collapsed, and its collapse marks the end of the post-war period of restoration and strengthening of capitalism. It marks the beginning of a new revolutionary wave.

The restoration of capitalism in Germany was never more than a desperate gamble, bound sooner or later to fail. Fantastic demands were made upon Germany by the victorious powers. The Dawes plan, enforced by the international social democracy, resulted in the most merciless slave-driving of the German masses. Then came the ironic contradiction of capitalism; long before the demands of the victors were met, it was found that world markets could not absorb the huge excess of exports forced on Germany. Actual collapse was warded off by a large influx of American capital, which artificially balanced the reparations budget; but with the Wall Street crash, this palliative disappeared, and the full burden of the Young plan began to be felt. The crisis became more acute when German liquid short-term loans began to be called in. With the ebbing tide of loans arose the danger of a depreciation in the currency, and vast quantities of gold and foreign currencies had to be sold. Following on this development came a wave of bankruptcies and bank crashes.

Realising that Germany's collapse would produce violent repercussions, the finance Powers hastily formulated the Hoover plan. France alone hesitated, being committed to the reparations policy and desirous of steering a lone course in European affairs. Nevertheless, the plan was adopted, and results quickly followed its acceptance—but not the results expected by bourgeois politicians and economists. The chief effect of the plan was to draw attention to the desperate plight of German capitalism, so that some 150 to 200 million pounds—more than twice the amount granted by Hoover—was withdrawn from Berlin. The failure of the famous Danat bank followed, and an acute crisis was only evaded by the concerted action of the leading German banks in guaranteeing the debts of the bankrupt concern. So the famous Hoover plan, which was to mark "the end of the depression and the beginning of a new era of prosperity," brought Germany to the verge of complete bankruptcy.

It was on this basis that an international situation of the greatest importance developed. The great Powers saw in Germany's desperate need for loans the opportunity of wringing further political concessions from her. France secured the stoppage of battleship building by Germany and the renunciation of the Austro-German customs union. But the most far-reaching concession, extorted by all the Powers, was the breaking of economic relations between Germany and Russia, the surrender of the Russo-German Commercial Treaty, the suspension of Russian credits and an economic blockade of the Soviet Union. To these conditions the German bour-

geoisie submitted, and one of their leading organs, the "Deutsche Bergeverkszeitung," justified it as follows:—"Russian policy has kept us aloof from the Western policy of our English neighbours who must be aware that Polish tanks cannot hold back Bolshevism from Central Europe." Thus Germany purchases the aid of Imperial finance-capital by taking a key place in the anti-Soviet bloc.

What is the way out for the German working-class? A mere change of government is useless. The Fascists, like the Bruening government, will have to respect the dictates of international finance. Despite their huckstering against capitalism and their attacks on the Versailles treaty, the Fascists are steadily becoming less and less open in these attacks. (Hitler has declared that he will be satisfied with a revision of reparations.) The gap between the Nazis and the Bruening government is being reduced steadily, and their propaganda is taking on a more puerile and deceptive form. Not demonstrations against Stalin; not attacks on emergency decrees, but anti-Semitism—that is what the Fascists offer their supporters. Supported by wealthy German junkers, they are becoming more and more a part of the capitalist machine, more and more reconciled to the needs of German capitalism. But what of the rank and file of the Nazis? It is clear that Continental Fascism is a movement of the ruined and disillusioned, and that a vote for Fascism is just as much a vote against mass unemployment and wage cuts as a vote for Communism is. And it is in the acceptance of Fascism by broad masses of workers and peasants that the danger lies for the sponsors of Fascism. The class-struggle reappears within the ranks of the Fascists, whose leaders cannot control their own forces. On the surface, Nazi and Communist propaganda have the same character, voicing similar demands and protests. In the factories the bulletins issued by the Fascist faction could be taken for Communist ones. These facts are important, because they show that the gap between the rank and file of Fascism and Communism is by no means great, and it will be quite easy for masses of workers to shift their allegiance to the Communist party on the slightest sign of compromise by the Nazis.

What is the role of the social democrats? They have disarmed the workers, and by under-estimating the strength of the Nazis have fostered the growth of Fascism. At present they support a dictatorial government on the plea that they are saving Germany from a dictatorship. It is clear that such a position must lead to constant betrayal of the working classes. The Socialists habitually acquiesce in measures diametrically opposed to everything they have ever stood for. Boasting of democratic principles, they vote for dictatorial decrees, claiming to be pacifists, they vote for new cruisers; at all times they support the Bruening government in its anti-working class deeds. Lately their anti-Soviet propa-

ganda has become a menace to the working class movement. Even the I.L.P. realises this, as witness Carban in the "New Leader": "The leaders of the German Socialist Party have finally turned from the socialism they once professed to the politics of middle-class opportunism."

And what of the Communist Party, to whom the social democrats are losing most of their support? With

the decay of the middle parties, the field is left clear for the historic battle between the Fascists and the Communists, who claim that only the proletarian revolution can break the chains of Versailles. Their fight is a fight against capitalism itself, clearly defined and uncompromising. They are the sole bulwark against Fascism, and the only true leaders of the German revolutionary working class.

—Sam White.

THE DEPRESSION AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

Two great events have overshadowed all others during the last three years. The first is the great economic depression, the second is the Russian Five Year Plan. Either event by itself would have compelled attention; the one by its sheer magnitude, the other by its total difference in character from anything previously known. But the two are vastly more significant from having occurred at the same time. The operation of the Five Year Plan commenced in October, 1928; the first signs of the great world depression were observed in May, 1929. They have gathered momentum together, and left their impression simultaneously on people's minds. It will be the object of this article to convey in figures the contrast between these two sides of the world-picture.

The most obvious point in the contrast is in the degree of activity displayed. On the one hand, under capitalism, we see everywhere idle factories, unused material, crops rotting for want of a market. On the other hand, not the severest critic of the present Russian system and of the Five Year Plan would deny the tremendous activity they have involved. The setting-up of great steel-works in the Ural Mountains, the flinging of railways over the Siberian desert, the construction of the largest dam in the world over the river Dnieper, the introduction of 100,000 tractors in a few brief months—these and similar achievements have only been made possible by an activity which in capitalist countries has been manifested only in time of war. Such shortage as there has been in Russia has been of a totally different kind from that which has spread through other countries. It has been due to the absence of a fully-developed machinery of production and the need for setting aside current income to create that machinery. It has not been due, like our "shortages" under capitalism, to the incapacity to use the machinery of production already created and ready to hand. All existing machinery, all available natural resources, have been used to the full.

The first corollary of this contrast is to be seen in the unemployment figures of the Soviet and the capitalist worlds. It is estimated that in capitalist countries there are at present over 50,000,000 unemployed, with, say,

three times that number of dependents. There are reckoned to be 10,000,000 unemployed in America alone. In Germany practically half the working population is either unemployed or on short time. In Australia the proportion of workers unemployed is about one in three. But in Russia, since the end of the second year of the Five Year Plan, unemployment has virtually disappeared. Mr. C. M. Lloyd, of the London School of Economics, wrote in the "New Statesman," on 10th October, 1931, after his return from the Soviet Union: "Every able-bodied Russian, of course, is fully occupied." This statement is confirmed by all those who have reported on conditions in Russia in recent months. The only dissenting voice is that of Senator Lynch,¹ who claims that there are 1,500,000 unemployed, and that this figure is given by the Soviet Union Official Year Book itself. Yes, dear Senator. It is given by the Soviet Union Official Year Book of 1930, and relates to the position on 1st January, 1929. By employing the same research methods one could prove that the population now unemployed in Australia is not a third, but a tenth!

Senator Lynch, if correctly reported, also volunteered the information that wages in Russia were 3/- a day. Not even out-of-date Year Books could be made to yield this figure, which must have been drawn either from divine inspiration, or from the archives of Riga correspondents. The kindest explanation of the statement is that the author mistook roubles for francs or lire when translating them into terms of shillings. The "Economic Review of the Soviet Union," 13th October, 1931, gives the average monthly wage of workers in census industry as about 88 roubles for the first quarter of 1931. Since then wages are estimated to have increased by about 20 per cent., and we can count eight roubles to a pound instead of ten. This would leave us with an average figure of over £13 a month. There are some who question the accuracy of these estimates and think that real wages are not over double their pre-war value but only about 70 per cent. above it. Senator Lynch might have

1. See "Herald," Saturday, 26th March.

joined the 70-per-centers and left himself with an arguable case. As it is, he has so clearly spoilt his effect by exaggeration that we need not trouble with him further. We must also remember the extent in Russia of the so-called "socialised wages," the equivalent of our social services, the payments to the worker on account of health, education, pensions, etc. The two capitalist countries in which these services are most highly developed are England and Germany. In England, at the beginning of 1930, social services amounted to about 14 per cent. of the total wages-bill, in Germany of about 11 per cent. Sherwood Eddy, in "The World To-morrow," December, 1930, tells us that the corresponding figure in Russia for the same period was 27.3 per cent. This is because "socialised wages" have been expanded to include free medical treatment, cheap housing, free electricity and other benefits. Other much larger estimates than Mr. Eddy's have been given. Moreover, since the beginning of 1930, Soviet treasurers and economic planners have been greatly expanding social services, while Mr. Snowden and Dr. Bruening have been mercilessly hacking them down. Thus the discrepancy to-day would be much greater than indicated by the above figures.

These gains have not been registered at the expense of longer hours of work. On the contrary, hours have been shortened to a degree that the capitalist world has never known and could not have imagined. Before the Revolution, a 10- or 12-hour day was the rule, but one of the first acts of the Revolution was to proclaim an 8-hour day for all workers. On the tenth anniversary of the Revolution the promise of a 7-hour day was held out, a promise which for the great majority of workers has now been fulfilled. Now the first steps are being taken to reduce the daily hours of work from seven to six. A 7-hour day, with a 5-day week and one day off in five (which is the normal regime of the Russian worker at present) is equal to an average of 39 hours work every seven days, or what we would call a 39-hour week. A 6-hour day, with the same 5-day week (which is the regime for miners and young workers) would be the equivalent of a working-week of only 33½ hours. Before the Revolution the Russian workers' hours of toil were comparable to those of the Indian or Chinese. The latter still work from 10 to 15 hours a day (unless they live in one of the Chinese Soviet Republics). The Soviet worker, however, now fixes his own hours of work for himself and has made them the lowest in the world. Let us bear this fact in mind next time the Arbitration Court discusses the hoary old question whether hours of work should be 44 or 48.

These advances are all the more striking when we remember that over half Russia's national income has been put into the building of the great works of construction involved in the Five Year Plan. It was an old capitalist argument that under Socialism, as there would be no incentive to saving, the machinery of production would gradually decline and disappear. Never has any theory proved so utterly false in the light of events.

The saving by the Soviet Government out of "socialised" profits has beaten all records of individual saving out of private profits. The investment in State industry in 1928-29 was 1,680 million roubles; in 1929-30 it was 1928-29 was 1,680 million roubles; while the estimate for 1930-31 is 3,600 million roubles. This is against a figure of 5,500 million roubles for 1925-26. Thus the great improvement in Russian standards of living has coincided with a rapidly increasing diversion of income into satisfying future rather than present needs.

You may ask how it has proved possible, in the midst of a productive effort that has called for big sacrifices, to raise standards of living and shorten hours of work at one and the same time. The answer is that it is the natural and logical result of the right use of machinery. Machines have been introduced in capitalist countries in the last few decades which, if fully and intelligently operated, could have led to a tremendous general rise in standards of living simultaneously with a marked reduction in hours of work. In the brown coal industry at Yalourn, for example, work that used to take 200 workers 80 days to do now takes 45 workers one day to do. Less than one-quarter of the workers can do it in one-eighth of the old time. This is only an extreme example of the general rapid improvement in all branches of mechanical science. But under our present system the capitalist no sooner introduces his new machine than he makes it *take the place of human labourers* in order that the latter may no longer require wages. This means that the additional possible product is cancelled out, and that the toil of those labourers who remain cannot be lightened. The workers, however, once placed in control, have no further intention of allowing machines to drive them out. Let them obtain a new machine with three times the productive power of the old and they will *add* this mechanical power to their own; either for the purpose of producing larger quantities, or working shorter hours, or both. Such are the blessings of machinery when it is employed for service and not profit. And such is ample explanation of the facts given above.

But the full contrast between Capitalism and Socialism is not seen until we begin to examine the position of the peasantry. Throughout the capitalist world the farming populations have been among the hardest-hit victims of the depression. In the holocaust of 1929 and 1930 the prices of agricultural products fell with exceptional rapidity, and the growers of foodstuffs and raw material like wheat, wool, rubber, cotton, copra, found their income heavily reduced. Many Australian farmers have tried to get back to "prosperity" by employing labourers for nothing but their "keep," and many labourers have been sufficiently desperate to accept the terms. But in Russia the sickle—or should I say the tractor?—has been as hard at work as the hammer, and has produced no less remarkable results. The last few years have seen a wholesale transformation from the old, primitive system of cultivation, under which the land was divided into strips and patches, and often worked with nothing better than wooden ploughs, to

the new collective system, under which all the land of a village is thrown together and worked with efficient, up-to-date machinery. A few years ago there were not more than 5,000 tractors in the whole Soviet Union; but now one factory alone, the giant Stalingrad tractor works, is turning out over 100 tractors per day. This machinery has not resulted, as it would have done in capitalist countries, in driving millions of small peasants and farm-workers out of employment and compelling them to wander from village to village begging for bread. Being under collective control, the machinery has been used to benefit human beings and not to drive them out. The increase in the productive capacity of the land under "collectivisation," an increase varying from 10 to 50 per cent, has meant a corresponding increase in the amount of food available for people to eat and in the amount of raw material available for industrial purposes. The peasants, noting these increases, have now for the most part joined enthusiastically in the movement to which they were once so strongly opposed; and well over two-thirds of the peasant households of the Soviet Union are now members of collective farms. Thus the view sometimes expressed, that the countryside has been bled for the benefit of the towns, and that the country-worker has suffered in proportion as the town-worker has gained, is seen to be absurd.

Nor does the improvement extend only to land that was under cultivation before. Vast areas of virgin land have been reclaimed by the Soviet Government, placed under the control of the Soviet "Grain Trust," and made to yield the fullest possible amount by the most scientific methods. The largest of these "State farms"—the "Gigant," in the North Caucasus—is about 90,000 acres in extent, and many of them exceed 40,000 acres. Such are the extensions of cultivation now being carried

out in the Soviet Union while the capitalist world tinkers with output restriction schemes.

In every domain of social and economic life the same contrast is to be found. The Soviet workers have just celebrated the laying down of the Turkestan-Siberian and other great railway lines at the very time when our "experts" are spending their greatest ingenuity in devising plans for cutting down railway services. The Soviet Government has quadrupled its housing expenditure in five years, while in Melbourne, during the same period, house-building has declined and finally almost ceased. The Soviet schools increased their attendance by 10,000,000 between 1924 and 1930, and are still being rapidly developed, when outside the Soviet Union the only remaining plan of "education" is to cut teachers' salaries, refuse admission to new teachers, close down schools, and put up fees. In all departments capitalism can still find only one "remedy" for poverty—to produce less. Communism has found, and is trying, a new remedy—to produce more. There is no limit to output under Communism, except the actual physical powers of production, which are being daily increased.

To some extent the choice between capitalism and socialism can now be made on the basis, not of theoretical argument, but of actual results. In Russia there is a system, not of complete communism, but of a nearer approach to it than has ever before been tried. In the rest of the world capitalism still reigns. On the one hand we find security, a rising standard of life and reduced hours of work both in the countryside and the towns. On the other hand we find the want, the suffering, the starvation of countless millions. On which side ought the students of the world to be?

—Ralph Gibson.

THE CRIMES ACT AND THE UNIVERSITY

According to the newspapers, Mr. J. G. Latham, Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, has prepared a Bill with the following contents:—The Communist party to be declared an illegal organisation; membership of the party to be punishable by 12 months' imprisonment; seditious speeches and writings to be punishable by six months' gaol. "Sedition" means red propaganda.

The object of the legislation is to prevent the dissemination of Communist ideas among the people, the feared result of such dissemination being revolution and the institution of a State similar to that in existence in Russia, *i.e.*, a Dictatorship of the Proletariat. What exactly do the Communists say? They hold that the form of society is based on the methods of production and distribution of man's material needs, and that the form has undergone several changes since verifiable history began (the slave system, the feudal system, the

capitalist system); that these changes occur suddenly—by revolution—and that the next change is to a Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the building of a socialist State.

These views were first stated by Karl Marx and later extended and amplified by Nikolai Lenin. Marx, a pupil of Hegel, based his views on an intensive study of history and political economy, and spent a life-time of research both practical and academic. By many eminent men—Benedetto Croce, for example—Marx is considered the greatest thinker of the nineteenth century. Harold Laski, Professor of Political Science at London University, says that, though some details of Marxist theory may be disputed, Marx's main conclusions are undeniably right. Lenin was the man who directed the Russian revolution and laid down the present lines of development of the Russian State, which alone among

modern States, offers a confident hope of indefinite material and cultural advancement to its citizens.

Surely it must be admitted that Communist theory has intellectual standing and is as worthy of complete investigation and discussion as any other theory. Can the Commonwealth parliament, by an *ex cathedra* pronouncement, make that theory false? Is not free speech, discussion, and admission of all literature on the subject the only sane way of arriving at the truth? Communism is in the air to-day as Liberty, Fraternity, Equality were in 1795, and no legislation can prevent this.

Russia to-day is Communism in action. The Russians are human and as likely to be guilty of self-adulation as the British. Their journals and books cannot escape from being classed as red propaganda any more than the "Argus" and the "Times" can escape from being capitalist propaganda. Does the Commonwealth parliament propose to prohibit the entry of Russian works? Are we to be denied the vital literature produced in a country of 160,000,000 people? At present we do not see their cinema productions, the most artistic in the world; their famous dramatic art is rarely seen here; surely their literature cannot well be ignored, or we shall sink into greater depths of provincialism.

Perhaps Mr. Latham's objection to Communism is based on its anti-religious nature, its insistence on the infinite capacities of unaided humanity. He may be like the Russian nobleman mentioned by Cardinal Newman in "Recent Position of Catholics in England." It appears that 80 years ago there was a movement in Russia to introduce a constitution like that of England. At a meeting convened to consider the proposal, this nobleman divulged the startling discovery that the English constitution is founded on a blasphemy—that "the King can do no wrong," an attribute that could only belong to Almighty God. However, it is unlikely that the religious aspect would worry Mr. Latham, who is a Past President of the Rationalist Association.

Is a violent revolution inevitable? Marx said that in England, the national habits of free speech and reasonableness might make violence unnecessary. But the best way to make violence inevitable is to deny free speech and drive revolutionary activity underground. Violence breeds violence, white terror breeds red terror. No debate ends peaceably if fisticuffs are introduced. Moreover, is revolution always to be condemned? Would the Commonwealth parliament undo the English and

French revolutions? Would they restore the Czars? Abraham Lincoln said, in an inaugural address: "This country and its institutions belong to the people who inhabit it; should they grow weary of the government, they may exercise their constitutional right to amend it or their revolutionary right to overthrow it!" Shall we be galled for agreeing with Lincoln and not with Latham?

No additional legislation is required to prevent mere gratuitous violence. The law provides amply for that, without the prohibition of free speech and similar intellectual coercion. Men should be punished for what they do, not for what they think, and without communication of thought there can be no true thought at all. Truth can prevail over falsehood only if given a fair field. Free discussion will expose the lies and fallacies of propaganda, which, if driven underground, escapes criticism. This is the basis of the ordinary Australian law. The opposite point of view was adopted by the Romanovs. The Czarist government censored and suppressed books, raided houses, seized their inhabitants and prosecuted people merely for being members of radical societies. It deported hundreds to Siberia, and exiled hundreds more. Where are the Romanovs to-day? Repression has been successful only in rare circumstances. The Japanese, some centuries ago, cleared themselves of Christianity by murdering the Christians and closing their shores to foreigners—a policy hardly possible in this era. Communism is a growth of all capitalist soils, not a bizarre extravaganza introduced from without.

Yet an Australian government announces its intention to imitate Czarism. What is the urging force? If this government was composed of successful business men or farmers, ignorance would be the excuse. The cabinet, however, includes a University graduate, presumably an intellectual. The only basis for this ridiculous proposal is that the government must please its supporters. Instead of leading the multitude, of carrying out its boast of not pandering to the mob, it says, "Give us your votes and intellectual liberty can go hang and free speech can become a thing of the past. Those who dare to think differently to you shall go to gaol."

In conclusion, I ask the University opinion. It is time that it be given. If the University does not raise its voice against the suppression of such small freedom as we have, to what quarter shall we turn?

—Dr. G. P. O'Day, M.D. (Melb.)

WHAT DOES A SOCIALIST MEAN BY EQUALITY?

Review Article

What the anti-Socialist, or the Conservative, thinks of equality was expressed by Mrs. Marion Pickett in an impromptu address to the A.W.N.L., according to the "Herald," of 28th May, 1931. "In every town in England," she is reported to have said, "we now have Conservative clubs for women. It is the women who must combine to fight ignorance, which manifests itself in two ways. Socialism is doing duty for the Communists, teaching that 'man has the right to live.' Man has not the right to live; he must create to live. The Communist has the idea that the worker must rob and destroy to live. The second fallacy they are trying to teach is that all men are born equal. They are not equal; you have only to look at your own children to see that." It is not reported whether anyone present asked her the question: "And if society is so organised that many men, however willing, cannot obtain work to live, what then?" But in his book, "Equality" (Allen & Unwin, 1931), R. H. Tawney, of the University of London, answers not only this question, but also explains what Socialists mean by equality.

The book is based on the Halley Stewart lectures given by Tawney in 1929. The Halley Stewart trust was founded at the end of 1924 "for research towards the Christian ideal in all social life." If the quality of the work done through the trust maintains the level reached by Tawney in his lectures it should have an extremely valuable influence. Though events have moved so fast since the publication of these lectures in book form just over a year ago, the conclusions which Tawney arrives at seem to be in no way invalidated by subsequent happenings, disastrous though these may have seemed to the Socialist cause. To those advocates of Socialism whom the events of the past 12 months have driven into the Communist camp, Tawney appears simply as another of the "ineffectual Social Democrats"; he has even been dubbed by some as "typically bourgeois," because of his immediate aims and the tactics he suggests to achieve them. However, Communists and Socialists alike must remember that Tawney was not preaching for the converted so much as for those who still have not the slightest understanding of what Socialism means: to wit, the people who still think that Socialism means dividing up all the wealth of society equally between its members.

To these people Tawney points out that the present order is functioning badly because it still clings to the ideas of private enterprise and competition as fundamental to this or any other economic system. By historical analysis Tawney shows that such ideas were valid and rational in the conditions of Europe a century, or a century and a half ago. In an age when capital was widely distributed in many hands, what was retarding the increase of both material production and social welfare was the existence of privileged ranks and classes.

In the whole of Europe privileges (which gave economic advantages) were guaranteed to different classes by law. The great achievement of the French Revolution and the liberal movements which followed, was to sweep away these legal privileges and to create a democracy of property owners who were also producers.

These were the conditions of the century between 1750 and 1850, and if the doctrines of free enterprise and competition were generally valid then, why should they not be equally valid to-day? Simply because the conditions of that period no longer exist. In that age the majority of people in every country, except perhaps England, possessed their own capital for production. In the present industrial era the majority of those engaged in production in every "advanced" country are wage and salary earners. In other words, a privileged plutocracy has replaced the aristocracy of legal privilege. This being the case, Tawney points out that an economic system based on the worn-out principles of free competition and private enterprise cannot function efficiently under the changed conditions. It will not and can not function efficiently because trusts and combines are progressively narrowing the field of private enterprise and eliminating competition. The new industrial order needs as a base not competition, but co-operation. Then why do not wage-earners and owners of capital co-operate instead of fighting incessantly? Tawney replies that the necessary willing co-operation can never be achieved in a society which makes a religion of inequality, and in which the disparities of individual wealth and income are so glaring. Such co-operation can only be achieved by the achievement of economic as well as political, civil, and social equality. This means more than lopping away the grotesque differences in individual incomes; the claim of the wage-earner to a voice in the control of industry must also be granted. There must be an end to dictation by the owners of capital of the terms on which they will employ or dismiss workers. Tawney does not advocate that everyone should immediately receive the same income; he would consider it rational that incomes should vary according to the responsibility and importance of the task. If this principle is recognised in Russia at present, although the Communist philosophy envisages the ultimate disappearance even of this differentiation. Nor is the Socialist, as interpreted by Tawney, precluded from that ultimate purpose. What he does say is that to preserve society it is necessary that there should be a continuous movement towards economic equality.

But, exclaims Mrs. Pickett, men are not born equal, and never will be equal! The Socialist, Tawney points out, has never claimed that all men are born equal; capacity. But in one vital sense all men are equal; every man's personality is as valuable to himself as any other man's is to him. The Christian means the same

thing when he says that all men are equal in the sight of God; but most people fail to understand what he means, and dismiss this proposition as something that has no concern with everyday life anyhow, as it is only religion. Any Christian society, then, that refuses to recognise the value of human personality, and persists in regarding human beings simply as a means of production instead of a something of value in themselves, is not only inhuman, but utterly false to those ideals which it hypocritically professes. The Picketts who would deny that man's right to live is absolute unless he works, absolutely ignore the fact that society will not permit many millions in the world to-day to do any work. The only logical conclusion for the Picketts is to put all the unemployed against a wall and shoot them because they are a burden on their fellow men.

If, as Tawney says, the only way for society to regain its economic health is a continuous movement towards economic equality, how is this programme to be achieved? Tawney points out that there has already been a softening of the grosser features of inequality in England through the provision of social services, and steeper taxation on the higher incomes to provide for these. Further, the power of the owners of capital to dictate the working conditions has been restricted by factory legislation, arbitration and wage-fixing machinery. The power of capital to exploit has also been limited by the growth of statutory companies whose profits are limited by law. More than a quarter of the capital of registered companies in Great Britain belongs to statutory companies. Tawney, therefore, believes, as does every Socialist, that the objective may be achieved by the continuation of the same policy. At this point the Communist hoots with derisive laughter: "Socialism by constitutional methods, after the continuous betrayal of social democracy by its leaders!" Undoubtedly the policy has received a check in the last two years, but these can be ascribed to quite definite factors, the ignorance or fear of which has led to the "betrayals." In the first place, the policy of deflation since the return to the gold standard meant that the holders of fixed money claims were taking a larger and larger share of the national income. While revenue receipts fell there was no corresponding fall in the

claims of bondholders, and budgets were balanced by cutting expenditure on social services. Banking and financial institutions were able to force governments to take this step. People all over the world are just beginning to realise the power of banking institutions in this respect. Tawney, and every other intelligent Socialist, realises that, if their programme is to be achieved, a forward policy must be adopted. "An intelligent policy," says Tawney, "will start from the centre, not nibble at the outskirts. The first requirement is, clearly, to master the key positions of the economic world, whence the tune is piped to which the nation dances. Banking, evidently, is one, for it determines the economic weather more directly than any other; transport a second, and power a third; while the coal industry, in England the sole source of power, is a fourth, and land and agriculture a fifth." When these things have been nationalised, says the Socialist, the socialisation of all industries can be a piecemeal process as necessity or opportunity arises.

This is the constructive policy that Socialism offers, to bring health back to the body economic. But the horrified reader might say: "These are the things they have in Russia!" "Quite so," the Socialist would reply, "and is not Russia making enormous progress, while the rest of the world stagnates?" In truth the kind of economic order that Tawney envisages is somewhat similar to that in Russia, but the tactics he would advocate to achieve it are not those of Communism. In spite of all the obstacles of a biased press, the pressure exerted by "big business" upon politics, in spite of ignorance and prejudice, the Socialist still believes that his tactics are the sounder and that they will prevail, provided that a strong forward policy is adopted instead of a policy of temporising and opportunism to gain the fruits of office. A Socialist policy could only be carried out if there was actually a convinced public opinion in its favour, and such a public opinion could only be created by a bold policy which would clarify the issue. For those who do not know what Socialism really means, or for those who do not think that Socialist tactics are superior to those of the Communists, Tawney's book is strongly recommended.

—H. Burton.

HOW MELBOURNE LIVES

A Descriptive Report of Impressions Obtained by a Labor Club Sub-committee.

Of the 1,000,000 or more people living in this city of ours, over 700,000 are estimated to belong to the working-class. In our attempt to make people realise the conditions of life in the capitalist community of Melbourne, we shall concentrate on these; for they are the great majority, and it is on them that society depends. If we adapt the figures of the 1921 census to the present population of Melbourne, we can say that, of these 700,000 working-class men, women and children, about 300,000 are actually in employment or seeking it. Of the others, about 30,000 receive old-age pensions, and the rest are dependents of wage-earners. At the present time, about 30 per cent. of those 300,000 workers are unemployed, and more are working only part time.

Of those workers who are still in employment a good majority, probably about 70 per cent. are unskilled, and therefore earning, if men, the basic wage or a little more, and if women or under 21 years of age, considerably less. Women and young workers make up quite a good proportion of the total number of wage-earners. In factory employment in Melbourne, for example, one-third of the employees are women; while, if we can adopt all-Australian figures for Melbourne conditions, the proportion of workers under 20 amounts to 19 per cent. of the total. The wages of these women and young workers, however, though below the basic wage, are generally used only to supplement a family income. The basic wage itself at the beginning of the year was about £3/10/6 a week—that is, assuming regular employment, £183 a year. This is a considerable drop from two years ago. In the Railways, for example, the fall in the money-wage from November, 1929, has been from £4/9/- to less than £3/10/6—a fall of 29.2 per cent. Ten per cent. of this is due, of course, to the real wage reduction decreed by the Arbitration Court, the rest being due to a reduction in the cost of living figures, a reduction which many housewives declare to be unjustified. However this may be, let us see what can be done by the average family on £3/10/6 a week at the present time.

First of all, the man must work for eight hours or more a day, leaving evenings, Saturday afternoons, and Sundays free. As a reward, he can keep himself, his wife and his children fed, clothed and housed after a humble fashion, go to the pictures on Saturday night, and possibly have a holiday now and again. He has had little education—leaving school at the age of fourteen; he has in many cases become so accustomed to the economic grind that he has no interest left for things more worth while. His children, if under 14 years, will be obtaining a smattering of education in an overcrowded school where, school-teachers tell us, there are often up to 70 in a single class. At 14 they will leave school and if possible find work, so that the family

income may be extended. Such an existence seems to us to leave the worker not only short of material things, but also of all means of pursuing the higher ends for which man lives.

As for skilled workers, though the margins they obtain in excess of the basic wage have frequently been decreased within the last year or two, they still obtain considerably more than the basic wage. A man who earns £4 or £5 a week can live more comfortably, and has greater opportunity for the development both of himself and his children. But for skilled workers as well as unskilled, the inevitable emphasis on material things is immensely increased at the present time by the constant danger of losing them. The spectre of unemployment is ever at hand.

In fact, as we mentioned before, the great extent of unemployment at present prevents the majority of workers from keeping the standard of living we have been describing. This is due firstly to the fact that the wages of those still in work are usually shared by unemployed members of the family, and at times by relatives and friends. Secondly, there is the unemployment relief-tax on wages, amounting, in the case of a basic wage-earner to 1/3 a week. Thirdly, statistics show that unemployment itself is distributed. At any one time there are about 30 per cent., but actually a much larger number than this pass through periods of temporary unemployment. And to be unemployed even temporarily means lowering one's standard of living very considerably. Fourthly, the large amount of unemployment makes it easy for employers to obtain their labour at below award rates; in other words, it encourages sweating. Though sweating is worst in the clothing-trade, we have been told by a prominent member of the Anti-Sweating League that it is extending into all branches of industry, especially in all contract work where it is carried out by sub-leasing. Young women in sweated shops in the clothing-trade now receive, according to him, 42/6 a week, where some months ago they received £4/10/-, and he quoted many other cases where such drastic reductions have been made. The Vigilance Committee of the League mentioned above vouches, after personal inspection, for the existence of much Sunday and night work. We see, then, from all these causes that unemployment means not only a mere sustenance allowance for many, but a lowered standard of living for the majority.

Let us trace this standard downwards as it falls. Starting from £3/10/6 a week of which up to £1 goes straight away as rent, we do not have to progress far before the means of satisfying even material wants begin to fail. The holiday relaxation may go first, then perhaps the pictures. Then might come removal to a dingier house, or the buying of cheaper food and clothes, or the going of the housewife in search of work, or doing without medical attention. There are many routes

we can follow in this journey to the bread-line, but they all lead in the same direction. Soon we come to the level at which the whole family income is £2 a week, or what is considered equivalent, an individual's 10/- a week.

We have not passed by so many in descending to this level. There are still 48,000 families to consider, and on an average this means about 200,000 individuals. We know this because of the State sustenance allowance granted below this level. This consists of orders for different kinds of food at certain stipulated shops, which amount in the case of an individual to 5/- a week, in that of a man and his wife to 8/6, and 1/6 extra for each child up to the eighth. Other forms of relief also are granted below this level. The Unemployed Girls' Relief Organisation, which covers about 2,000 of the unemployed women of Melbourne, grants, in return for a day's work or so, 7/6 plus 5/- grocery order to those girls who have no family to live with, and 7/6 to those who have. The Women's Benevolent Society also gives a certain amount of relief to women in the form of cash allowances, while Church charities do some work among the destitute.

Now let us see what havoc is wrought at this sustenance level in respect of the three primary essentials of life—shelter, food and clothing. Working-class women rent now ranges from 15/- or so for a house with any slightest degree of comfort (or a good deal more in some suburbs), down to 10/- for anything uninhabitable—houses below this level being generally uninhabitable, as has been actually admitted in one instance by a house-agent. Clearly, even 10/- a week would be an impossible sum for most of these families, even when they have sold most of the furniture. The result is often that more than one family will crowd into a house. More often, however, families live on in houses without paying rent—whence evictions and attempted evictions. The housing difficulty also confronts single men and women, and those youths and girls who have deliberately left home to obtain the larger allowance. It is hard to obtain the barest room below 7/- a week. Unemployed girls can eke out their 12/6 allowance by sharing such a room between two or three of them; but men with their 5/- worth in ration tickets are usually forced either to live in unemployed camps, or put up rudimentary hovels of their own or crowd together in large numbers in single houses, often practically stripped of fittings and furniture.

Though below the £2 level most of the money is spent on food; this also becomes poorer and poorer as we descend to sustenance bedrock. A doctor states that the sustenance allowance not only contains insufficient fresh food to provide the required vitamins, but actually that the 8/6 allowance for married people means one day of starvation in the week. As an example of sustenance diet, let us look at the weekly menu of half a dozen single men who combined to share rations. It consists

of meat for two days, bread and dripping, rice, oatmeal, eggs, tea and sugar—no fresh fruit or vegetables, milk or butter. This might be supplemented occasionally by a free cabbage or so from a Church charity, or a free tea at a mission, where religion and stale sandwiches are served up in the order mentioned. As for the third necessity—clothes, the general position is that your old ones have to last, though they are supplemented to a certain extent by the second-hand clothing distributed by charitable organisations, sometimes at a nominal price, such as a penny for a pair of socks, twopenny for a coat, etc.

To such depths is it possible for material conditions to fall in Melbourne. And it is to such low conditions that the large increase in disease at present has been chiefly due. The most obvious evidence that insufficient food, overcrowding, and the lack both of recreation and of work have led to such an increase, is to be found in the overcrowding of hospitals. In special hospitals, the number of in-patients is now about 19,000—an increase of 79 per cent. in 10 years; while in metropolitan general hospitals the increase in that period has been 69 per cent. The result is that patients are being discharged before properly cured. At the hospital for infectious diseases at Fairfield, for example, the increase in the number of patients since 1922 has been from 294 to 562; and the medical superintendent has stated that nearly every ward in the hospital has cross-infection, and that patients, instead of being detained until free from infection, are discharged as soon as they recover. In the asylums also there are now 500 patients in excess of accommodation. The insufficiency of relief, due to this overcrowding and also to the fact that invalid pensions of 17/6 a week have now often to be distributed over whole families, only helps to make the health conditions worse. It is significant of the fears of the authorities concerning these conditions that the chairman of the board of management of Fairfield hospital mentioned as early as last October that another epidemic of disease would probably occur this year.

It might be argued, however, that, despite this state of affairs we have been describing, there is for the old man, at any rate, the secure harbour of the old-age pension. He will get his 17/6 a week, at any rate. But what a miserable reward for a lifetime of toil! Even for husband and wife together it comes to only 35/- a week, about half of which must be swallowed up in rent if they are to end their days in a reasonably decent house of their own. Where an old-age pensioner has to support a wife who is not yet eligible for a pension, the struggle to live becomes more bitter than ever. Sometimes the pensioner is forced to become a drag on the earnings of the younger generation; sometimes—still worse—he is forced to contribute to these earnings from his own meagre grant. The best one can say of such a pension is that it is a fitting terminus to a life's journey through the sordid conditions described throughout the report.

CONFERENCE, EASTER, 1932

For the first time this Easter the Labour Club went into the claims of Communism and clarified the points of difference between Communist and Parliamentary Socialist. The problem was represented in concrete form by the personalities of Ralph Gibson, M.A. (Manch.), and Esmond Higgins, M.A. (Oxon.), who led the two study circles where most of the discussion was done. Here we saw two brilliant students of sociology, both previously allied with social democratic policies, neither driven by material conditions to revolutionary activity, and yet both adopting from the sheer force of intellectual conviction the Marxist-Leninist theories and policies. Every discussion hinged round these questions: Is the Leninist theory of the state valid? Is there an imperialist war-danger? What is the function of social-democratic (Labour) parties?

In the study circles, Comrades Gibson and Higgins analysed the history and present condition of the U.S.S.R. The various organs were seen to be fundamentally different from those of the Capitalist state, so demonstrating Marx's doctrine that, when the working class sought to rule, it would have to express its will through an entirely different political machinery from that employed in the past to express the will of capitalists and bankers. The political system rests on a basis of Soviets—organisations of workers based on trade-distinctions, not geographical area; this painlessly disfranchises capitalists and landlords, and facilitates the withering away of the authoritarian state into a machinery for supplying needs. The judicial system and the political system are both on a basis of election with recall, so securing the utmost democracy. The Red Army is purely a citizen army, used as a training-school for technicians and local representatives of the Communist Party. That party has an all-pervading influence, although its unofficial connection with the state machinery will facilitate the gradual liquidation of dictatorship.

The theory of Anarchists and the Capitalist press that Russia is only a super-State capitalism was gone into. It is true that careful accounting is insisted on in the factories, and what is called "profit" is required, particularly from "luxury" trades like brewing. This "profit," however, is not an exploited surplus; it is merely a device for ensuring that the workers of a factory produce more than they consume. The surplus is put into expanding the industry, or improving conditions, or in collective accumulation of capital for new and vital industries. Differential wages were a practical necessity of this stage in the dictatorship; although possibly a kind of surplus, they were continually re-adjusted as technical education spread, and the strictest equality between members of the Communist Party itself, showed the developments of a more utopian principle. Internal loans were not permitted to create an idle rentier class. Money was a practical convenience, and was rapidly losing importance with the development of

free social services and non-monetary exchanges between state industries.

The discussions on the problem of nationality and imperialism merged into the last of the evening lectures. These lectures covered a wide area, starting with Comrade Rhodes, on the nature of Intellectual Freedom, and finishing with a bitter argument between Lloyd Edmunds and Sam White as to whether it was altogether gentlemanly of Communists to break up the Trades Hall furniture. Guido Baracchi gave a careful analysis of Marxism. The State grows only with the growth of class-struggles, and is the engine of repression used by a victorious class. No victorious class will surrender its domination, and all features of the State machinery, such as parliamentary democracy, which may be used by a submerged class will be abolished if class dominance is threatened. Only by a final struggle to convert all people into workers and peasants will class domination be ended, and the State as an organ of sovereignty enabled to wither gradually away. Comrade Ball, University lecturer in sociology, gave a sharply-contrasting view of to-day's crisis, which he attributed to rampant nationalism operating in the teeth of the self-interests of capitalists. This led to a sharp debate which was carried through the two succeeding lectures—Higgins on the Leninist view of imperialism, and Comrade Burton, of the University commerce school, on the oppression of native races.

Of the 30 members present at Conference, only 12 or so took a prominent part in argument, so that it is difficult to say what conclusions were reached. Of those who did take a prominent part, only three were consistently social-democratic, the rest varying from arm-chair Marxism (*sic*) to definite Communism. However, the following points seem to be the ones most clearly brought out—

1. The Marxist theory of the State as an expression, in all its details, of the will of an oppressing class was generally accepted.

2. Russia was accepted as a strict embodiment of Marxist theory, and a triumphant vindication of the success of working-class socialism as contrasted with Capitalist anarchy.

3. From the Marxist conception of the State, it was agreed that the oppressing class would not willingly allow the parliamentary machinery to be used to overthrow its own dominance. The rapid rise of a Fascist party under such a mild socialist as Laing is a good instance. The conclusions drawn from this, however, varied. Probably the majority agreed that a violent revolution was ultimately inevitable. The Communists advocated the cessation of all parliamentary action, and the building up of working-class solidarity through strikes and similar mass-action in preparation for the inevitable revolutionary situation, caused probably by a disastrous imperialist war. The Social Democrats advocated the adoption of a left-wing parliamentary policy,

including a drastic and rapid nationalisation without compensation, and the concurrent organisation of Workers' Defence Armies to combat the inevitable violent resistance of the capitalists through New Guard organisations; this resistance would lead to the development of a proletarian dictatorship just as surely as the Communist struggle. Any less rapid social-democratic policy could only lead, as it had already led, to Labour parties being prominent in addition to our 50,000,000 unemployed and in further slashing living standards.

4. Lastly, the questions of "motive" and "function" were cleared up. Individual capitalists often complain that they have an earnest desire not to exploit the workers; Labour Party leaders deny the Communist charge that they facilitate the subjection of the workers to Fascist domination, when they wish to set the workers free; League of Nations enthusiasts indignantly

deny that they wish the League to be an organisation for the suppression of Russia and the partition of China. These individual protests and motives are irrelevant. The actual effect, that is, the historic function, of the capitalist class is to plunge the world into chaos; no matter what their desires, "Socialist" politicians who think that the crisis must be overcome before socialisation can be achieved are in fact being used as tools by the reactionary forces; the actual function of the League of Nations has been to provide a rallying-point against Russia and a means of strengthening capitalist power by composing the internecine feuds of capitalists.

Conference alone would justify the existence of the Labour Club. It gives to those who attend it a glimpse of such free and joyous comradeship as is rarely possible in middle-class society.

—Geoffrey Sawyer.

NOTES

These piping times of starvation in the midst of plenty have given rise to a great many of what pass for ideas among the Great Middle Classes. Foremost comes the theory that we need a Government of Business Men. This demand rests on the following historical basis:—Julius Caesar was a dissolute society top, Cromwell a peasant, Napoleon a professional soldier. And the greatest organiser, the most successful politician, the most inspiring leader of modern times was—Nikolai Lenin, a professional agitator, the type of creature most spat upon by the virtuous bourgeoisie. But in what country are starvation, slavery, governmental graft and folly, and social rottenness most overwhelming and abounding? In America, where the political machinery and the indirect rule of press, church and strike-breaking basher gang are alike in the hands of—the Big Business Men.

—Geoffrey Sawyer.

Henry Louis Mencken has devoted the greater part of his life to two main objects—firstly, to describing the moral and cultural prostration of his native America, and secondly, to explaining that prostration in every way but the true one. Hear a sample of the wisdom of this Willie Wet-Leg. "After a hearty dinner of potage creole, planked Chesapeake shad, Guinea hen *en casterole*, and some respectable salad, with two or three cocktails made of two-thirds gin, one-third Martini-Rossi vermouth and a dash of absinthe or Vorsepil and a bottle of Rublander 1903 to wash it down, the following thought often bubbles up from my subconscious: that many of the acknowledged evils of capitalism are not due primarily to capitalism itself but rather to democracy, that universal murrain of Christendom." This passage illustrates the genesis of all non-proletarian thought—by drunkenness out of greed.

—Geoffrey Sawyer.



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(A Minority Group Within the University)

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EDITORIAL

"Proletariat" has been greeted with numerous criticisms. The official University organ found it depressing: "In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend." Some weeks later, the editors of that organ liquidated their "depression" by urging the student body to assault one of our contributors. Academic circles, especially in Adelaide, were appreciative. But the most important criticisms were those received from working-class people and organisations.

On the one hand, letters were received from numerous people expressing surprise and pleasure at University students taking any interest in working-class movements. On the other hand, "J.B.M." of the "Workers' Weekly," attacked us severely from the orthodox Communist point of view—because we confuse the worker by putting before him a mixed diet and letting him take his pick. To the first group of people we would say this: The proletarian movement as such gains nothing from the sympathy of middle-class "intellectuals"; on the contrary, it is only by

identifying himself with the revolutionary working class that the intellectual can deliver himself from sterile individualist abstractions. We must disclaim any desire to seem "patrons" of the workers; they are the superior social and ethical force, and should look down on us. As for "J.B.M.'s" criticism, there is really no adequate answer if you start from his point of view. "Proletariat" was never intended to compete with the "Workers' Weekly." It represents the effort of a small group soaked in middle-class ideas to struggle towards an effective Socialist ideology. There is one constant factor in the evolution of all middle-class Socialists: they always start from radical liberalism. The true proletarian needs nothing but his class position on which to build; the student, though he may finish at Marx and Lenin, has to start from Bertrand Russell and G. B. Shaw. For people in a similar position to the middle-class student, "Proletariat" may be valuable. The working-class reader should maintain the attitude of a hostile critic, realising that this magazine must contain many theoretical weaknesses.

FREEDOM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The question of political freedom is raised in an acute form at the present time, when Fascist bands attack working-class meetings and when the Federal Government attacks the working-class press and working-class organisations. It may be asked, then, whether representatives of the proletariat, in agitating for freedom of speech, of the press, and of organisation, are not taking a liberal line. The answer is that proletarian theory differs fundamentally from liberal theory in recognising the existence of a ruling class and an oppressed class, and in asserting that any movement for freedom can only be a movement of and on behalf of the oppressed. Hence any demand for freedom which does not take account of the class struggle is misleading, and the fight for freedom has to be conducted on class lines. Proletarian agitation, then, is for freedom of speech for the workers, free circulation of the workers' press, the right of workers to go voluntarily from one country to another, the independent organisation of workers for economic and political purposes, the formation of policies and organs of struggle.

Nevertheless, while these are the practical issues, proletarian theory regards existing society as characterised by oppression or by the exploitation of the governed class by the governing class, and it describes the struggle of the oppressed class as a struggle for emancipation. According to proletarian theory, moreover, the proletariat is the last class to be emancipated, and its emancipation involves the liberation of society from class struggles, the final disappearance of the exploitation of man by man. Thus the proletarian movement is definitely considered as working towards social freedom. Freedom is recognised, in opposition to exploitation and oppression, as a possible social condition. And, though a general consideration of the nature of freedom cannot provide a policy for fighting exploitation and oppression now, or a means of estimating existing forces of liberation (so that a merely liberal outlook is defeatist), such a consideration is obviously implied in the given description of the struggle. To make it more definite is, therefore, to advance the theory of the struggle, and may be of organisational value—in helping to rally all possible opposition to the Fascist activities of the ruling class.

The first step in the clarification of the term "freedom" is the recognition of the confusion involved in its use in political propaganda. It is one of the commonest of political catchwords, and is used to justify any policy whatever; thus "British freedom" and "freedom from Red dictation" are part of the regular demagoguery of capitalist electioneering. The confusion arises from the fact that freedom is thought of negatively as absence of restriction, and hence as the unimpeded exercise of some activity, whatever that activity may be. The position has then to be qualified by saying that there are limits to freedom, that freedom must not degenerate into "licence," that people cannot be left free to rob, murder, and so on. From

this point of view the demand for freedom is simply the demand to go on doing ("freely") what has been done before, or what one wants to do; and "licence" is simply that kind of activity that one wants to stop.

Thus freedom, as a capitalist catchword, means the *status quo*; "British freedom" means the maintenance of British Imperialism, and any anti-Imperialist or independent working-class activity is "licence." Bondholders want to be free to receive interest on their investments; employers want to be free to reduce wages, to pay what they determine for the work that they provide, to manage their own businesses in their own way. Working-class organisation and agitation interfere with this freedom; strikes interfere with the free working of capitalist industry. This equating of freedom with the protection of capitalist property is as old as the original "liberal" theory of society—the theory of "free contract" between man and man, of the right of the individual to determine with whom he will associate and on what terms; e.g., in the seeking of or in the giving of employment. The function of the State, on this view, is merely to see that no individual infringes the rights of other individuals; apart from this, its policy is "laissez faire"; it stands aside and lets individuals make their own contracts.

It is, of course, a commonplace of Socialist theory that there is no free contract in the case; that there can be no freedom without equality; and that, while capitalist property remains, the option for the workers is a forced one. The worker's "freedom" to do without a master, if he cannot obtain satisfactory terms, is freedom to starve. It is only by organising that the workers can struggle against and reduce their economic disadvantages. In the same way, they have to struggle against political disfranchisement. The State, in recognising "the rights of the individual," in upholding freedom of contract between master and man, grants the worker only the right to be exploited and the right to "scab" on those who resist exploitation. It attempts to break up organisations by treating the workers as individual subjects, as in the calling up of French reservists on strike by the "Socialist" minister, Briand, or as in the present disfranchisement and deportation laws of the Commonwealth government. Such acts are an inevitable consequence of the recognition of capitalist property as a basis for "free contract."

The State, then, which, according to liberal theory, is opposed to class rights and to anything else of the nature of privilege or monopoly, is in constitutional practice opposed to working-class rights. Its function is to uphold capitalist property; and the function of liberalism is to deny the clash of interests which this involves, and to consider the State as upholding "natural rights," or rights independent of class. But the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is as incompatible with the maintenance of capitalist property as is any general right to think, read, speak, organise, or agitate freely.

Nevertheless, it is incorrect to say that the workers have no rights under capitalism, for that would be to say that they have no power. Rights are simply claims backed by force—demands that can be made good.

And the workers have made good their right to be politically active; they have carried on organisation and agitation; they have formed unions and parties; conducted industrial struggles and political campaigns. This is the measure of their enfranchisement; their economic and political achievements, and not the "right" to individual employment or to an individual vote, constitute the existing rights, the actual power, of the working class. It is this that both has to be fought for, and enables the workers to fight, against capitalist oppression; it is this that is now attacked by emergency legislation, by Fascist bodies and by Social Fascists, who attempt to use the workers' own organisations for the disorganisation of the movement, i.e., as emergency organs of capitalism, and, indeed, have anticipated and given a lead to the government in the disfranchisement of militants.

The attempt at violent disfranchisement is, however, only a new form of capitalist attack, consonant with capitalism's desperate position. Working-class rights have always been attacked, because they themselves are an attack on capitalism; and their legal recognition, as far as it has gone, has been partly achieved by force and partly conceded for the sake of deception. The organisation and political activity of the working class is, as has been said, a limitation on capitalist inequality and oppression; it is that amount of freedom that has been achieved. But it is still more—it is the beginning of a free society, the preparation of the future society within the present. Hence there is no question of "pure" capitalism, of complete oppression; but the working class possesses a fragment of political power, which is its weapon in the struggle, and the ruling class strives to wrest that weapon from the workers' grasp. This, then, according to proletarian theory, is the character of the actual fight for freedom; this, as against the liberal conception, is the reality behind capitalist "democracy."

The impossibility of effective agitation on liberal lines, the absurdity of demanding rights for individuals instead of organisations and movements, is shown by a very slight consideration of the mechanism of "democracy." Clearly, the individual elector cannot make his claims good within the limits of the parliamentary system. He is confronted with two or more general policies which he has had no hand in framing, and of which, unless he is otherwise active in political affairs, he can have only a vague understanding. Merely as an elector he has no political education; censorship and the press keep him, by general consent of the parties of capitalist government, ignorant of foreign affairs and confused about home affairs. Hence the successful party is supported by different individuals for entirely different reasons, and the contention that a popular mandate has been given for the carrying out of any definite policy is quite unfounded. Indeed, the hollowness of the theory of parliamentary representation of the wills of a majority of individuals gives colour to certain demagogic criticisms of the

party system; but, of course, non-party government, consistently with the preservation of capitalist property, can only mean the suppression of all parties which might oppose or embarrass the ruling class—in a word, Fascism.

It appears, then, that only the representative of an interest, of an active organisation, can have a determining influence on party policy. The moneyed interest clearly has such an influence, and it can, incidentally, greatly influence the conduct of elections through being able to meet the expenses of a campaign, and, above all, through the press and, in these days, the radio. The effect of the poverty of workers' organisations is that their case never reaches a large proportion of the electors. The "choice" of individuals, then, is thoroughly circumscribed; and the same applies in the case of a plebiscite or referendum. To call this procedure in itself "democratic" is to leave out of account the influences determining what question is put and how it is presented, what agitation, in particular, takes place around it—in which respect, as before, the capitalist press has enormous advantages. There is nothing in these devices to justify the application of the term "democratic" to the form of government. Democracy can only mean general participation in the framing and carrying out of policies, and this does not exist in capitalist communities.

The undemocratic character of the parliamentary system—the fact that it is a field not of individual choice, but of the clash of interests—does not, of course, imply that it is not a field for proletarian activity. The fact that, however they may be settled, important political issues are raised there, and the fact that it permits of an approach to the broad masses of the population, make it a field for agitation, and make the parliamentary franchise a right for the proletariat to fight for. But, even so, it is only one sphere of the political struggle—the struggle between organised interests. What makes possible real political activity in this sphere is participation in the struggle in other spheres. Only such extended activity can provide an understanding of the issues raised in electoral campaigns, and only alignment with an organised interest can give any force to that activity. Hence it is that the freedom of the working class is measured by its active and intelligent participation in the struggle, by the force it can exert, the pressure it can bring to bear on capitalist forces and the capitalist State—a pressure which is no more confined to elections than the pressure of moneyed interests on home and foreign policy is confined to elections. Hence, also, the theory of freedom through parliament and of the rights of the individual under "representative" government is a falsification of the facts, and one which, as directed against the direct pressure of the working class, is in the interests of the ruling class.

This raises the question: is it simply a matter of a clash of interests—of freedom for capitalists versus freedom for workers? If that were so, there would be no point in the description of the latter as the oppressed and exploited class, and there would be

point in the contention of capitalist apologists that the proletarian movement simply aims at counter-oppression. It is essential, then, to proletarian theory to reject the negative conception of freedom and to emphasise its positive character, in order to show how it is restricted by capitalism and extended by Socialism—and, in the meantime, upheld by the working-class movement against capitalism.

To put the matter briefly, freedom is not mere unhampered activity, but is a particular kind of activity—one which is marked by initiative and responsibility, and which is of a productive character. Now, under capitalism, freedom in this sense has been exercised to some extent by the capitalist class; they have, as Marxist theory allows, played a definite part in the development of industry. But their productiveness has been limited by individualistic consumption, and in consequence of this we have "the anarchy of capitalist production"—the absence of any general plan, the rejection by the capitalist class of social responsibility. With this is connected the oppression of the working class, the withholding from them of initiative and responsibility, their reduction to the level of machines. It follows also that capitalism can never be a thoroughly organised system, that its existence on a world scale results in a growing anarchy and disorganisation, and in increasingly severe oppression. The capitalist "solution" of the extending crisis is to attack the lower strata of society economically and politically, and thus further to increase inequality and disorganisation. The proletarian solution, on the other hand, is, through increased political and economic activity on the part of the oppressed class, to abolish capitalist property and put an end to social inequality and productive anarchy.

The struggle, then, is between revolutionary organisation, which strives to extend the political activity and intelligence of the masses, and capitalist organisation, which becomes increasingly irresponsible and unproductive. The consequent economic disfranchisement is expressed in the tremendous growth of unemployment; the corresponding political disfranchisement is seen in Fascist attacks, such as the Crimes Act, on working-class organisation, including, be it noted, organisation of the unemployed. But this situation, critical as it is, is only an extension of the normal procedure of capitalism, which denies to the workers any control, save such as they can achieve through organised struggle, over the conditions under which they work and live. Alienation from the means of production is itself a barrier not only to organised activity in defence of common interests, but to any pursuit of private interests—any "personal" freedom. The poverty of the masses is, in particular, a serious handicap to their obtaining and communicating either political or general information. And to this must be added the operation of the most varied forms of censorship.

Capitalist control of the press is one of the most important forms of censorship of information. Seizure of literature by the Customs (including information bulletins of the Russian Co-operatives and of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Coun-

tries) and deregistration of newspapers are forms with which recent experience has made us familiar. Judicial decisions are guarded from critical comment by the threat of proceedings for contempt of court. The military forces are deprived of ordinary political rights, and members of the working class are debarred from political communication with them. But the most deadly form of the distortion of intelligence is that which is embodied in the educational system.

Liberal protests have time and again been made against the rigidity of the school curriculum, but such protests are pointless unless it is recognised that this rigidity is a form of capitalist censorship. It operates—with the assistance of official pressure on any deviation, of speeding up to meet examination requirements, of the inadequate training of the teachers themselves—to prevent the development of initiative on the part of teachers or taught. Teachers, who might be expected to know something of their subjects and of educational methods, have to keep within the lines laid down by departments. It is demanded, also, that they should not introduce political and other controversial matter into their teaching, and this means, since it is impossible to avoid introducing politics into the teaching of history especially, that political teaching is limited to instruction in accordance with the outlook of the ruling class. It means also for the pupils, since it is impossible to avoid introducing controversial matter into the teaching of any subject, since education is training in controversy, that their intellectual initiative, their interest in the subjects of study, is largely destroyed.

The upshot is that not merely are working-class children trained in a way that is inimical to their intellectual development and their participation in working-class politics, but the whole class of students who enjoy "higher education" are, to a large extent, unfitted for free inquiry and the prosecution of science. Science and general culture cannot develop in subordination to bourgeois requirements. What is said in Shaw's "Heartbreak House," in answer to the assertion that the financiers and bureaucrats are too stupid to use their power—"Do not deceive yourself; they do use it. We kill the better half of ourselves every day to propitiate them. The knowledge that barren prevents us from having the aspirations"—ment of the "cultured" class. Where it is not simply redressed, but, in so far as it retains a certain initiative or has a certain productive character, it can acquire force by allying itself with the working-class movement, which has the task of achieving cultural by way of economic emancipation. Apart from this alliance, members of the professional classes who feel themselves exploited can only become cranks, airing their grievances in the pious hope that abstract justice will be done them, or become part of that careerist element which infests Labour parties—and this makes them, in either case, servants of capitalism and mis-

But while working-class organisations are the main force in the movement towards a producers' society, it is the fact of productive activity in various spheres, the fact that the same oppressive forces operate against all groups struggling for freedom, that makes possible the alliance of other groups with the working class. Indeed, as Lenin has pointed out ("What is to be done?"), the Socialist movement already implies an alliance between a purely proletarian and a cultural element. Lenin quotes Kautsky as saying that "Socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other; they arise out of different premises. Modern Socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for Socialist production as, say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the one nor the other, no matter how much it may desire to do so; both arise out of the modern social process. The vehicles of science are not the proletariat, but the bourgeois intelligentsia; it was out of the heads of members of this stratum that modern Socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians, who, in their turn, introduce it into the proletarian class struggle where conditions allow that to be done."

"Since," Lenin adds, "there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement, then the only course is: Either bourgeois or Socialist ideology." This does not mean, of course, that the bourgeois intelligentsia are not vehicles of bourgeois ideology or, as Lenin points out, that members of the working class cannot become Socialist theoreticians. But it means that, as far as science does develop, it assists the struggle of class struggle is a general producers' movement against oppression. According to this conception, also, the political backwardness of Labour parties is due to their lack of a scientific basis. "Sentimental Socialism" neglects the technical character of the development of society; it assumes that the functions of classes and the State can be altered at will, instead of being rooted in the conditions of production; in short, it is even more deeply imbued with capitalist individualism and disorganisation than is capitalism itself.

Now it is precisely "sentimental Socialism" that makes the readiest appeal to aggrieved members of the professional classes, as it does to the less instructed members of the working class, who have, however, the corrective of a keener struggle. It is here that the nation-wide "exposures," of which Lenin speaks, are important. Only proletarian theory can show how the political censorship exercised on teachers and the public servants, for example, is connected with the economic miseries of the workers and the oppression of colonial peoples. This demonstration has an organising effect in showing that the working-class movement is the only effective liberating force; that the only political liberty now attainable by any exploited group lies in participation in organisations opposed to capitalism. And this conception of the

Socialist movement is connected with the conception of Socialism as extending political activity throughout all social fields, and thus as advancing "personal" freedom in the only way in which this can be done, viz., through planned social work.

The planned economy of the U.S.S.R., the participation of the general body of workers in the task of "building Socialism," is a matter not simply of industrial organisation, but of cultural, national, and social emancipation. The Soviet system is truly democratic in that policies determined by the higher elected organs are returned to the lower organs for carrying out, and are not handed over to a class of bureaucratic officials. To say that this democratic theory is not applied in practice is to neglect the fact that the extraordinary industrial progress, now admitted even by bourgeois observers, could not have been made without the co-operation of the great mass of the population. Admittedly the government is a dictatorship of the proletariat; but this means that, while non-socialised forms of production and property persist, and while they retain their natural alliance with such forms in other countries, the holders of these economic privileges are excluded from the Soviet system. The liquidation of all classes and hence of dictatorship is promised as the culmination of the second Five-Year Plan—though this will not mean the liquidation of foreign hostility. In the meantime, the position is one of class struggle and of preparation to resist intervention.

It is noteworthy that workers' delegations have not found oppression in Russia; though they have found difficulties and struggles, they have been enthusiastic about the progress made, and have not observed the "stunting of personality" referred to by Professor Allan G. B. Fisher, of the University of Otago, ("Moscow Impressions"). "No one," says Professor Fisher, "who has thoroughly imbibed the liberal doctrine of freedom of thought and freedom of expression, which, though not very fashionable in some quarters to-day, is still at the root of much that we value most in our civilisation, cannot [sic] but believe that the Bolshevik policy of regarding any criticism of what for the time being is declared to be the official policy as being almost equivalent to treason, not only means a dangerous stunting of personality, but also involves grave waste of human ability in circumstances which make it urgent that every scrap of human capacity should be used to the utmost."

If the class struggle had ceased to exist, a general consideration of human capacity might be in order. Meanwhile, it is a question of capacity in the building of Socialism, and art in Soviet Russia testifies, in accordance with the contentions of working-class observers and of the Bolsheviks themselves, to the growth of human capacity under these conditions. It is clear that proletarians do not miss what Professor Fisher values in "our" civilisation. And they will have little doubt as to what doctrine is "fashionable" in New Zealand to-day when they consider (a) the public policy of the government instantly to dismiss public servants "who by public statements intended for

publication in New Zealand or elsewhere have sought to bring the Government into disrepute, or whose conduct in any other manner has been gravely inimical to peace, order, or good government"; (b) the statement made by the president of Auckland University College, and endorsed by the Professorial Board, that any public statement by a member of the college staff "should be made only after a full and thorough examination of all known information," that it "should be a reasoned statement giving both sides of the question," and that recognition by members of the staff of their responsibilities in this matter is "intimately related to the question of fitness for tenure of a university post"; (c) the banning of such publications as "What is the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat?" and the arrest of members of the Communist Party for selling their paper, "The Red Worker"; (d) the riots in Auckland and Wellington, and street struggles in Christchurch and Dunedin.

These features of capitalist disorganisation and oppression hang together; censorship, unemployment, and wage-cutting exist in all capitalist countries; and the disfranchisement and imprisonment of politically active workers and the outlawing of workers' organisations are in force, are ready to be enforced (as in Australia), or are contemplated. Anti-Soviet propaganda is a feature of the same general scheme. The forces of capitalist disorder recognise Socialist order in the U.S.S.R. and militant workers' organisations throughout the world as their greatest enemies. The struggle for freedom consists in following the lead of these organisations, in opposing disfranchisement and intervention, and thus in advancing the cause of world Socialism.

—JOHN ANDERSON.

"Three of these workers have since been sentenced to three years' reformatory detention."

JAPANESE IMPERIALISM IN CHINA

"In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. With all the resources of China at our disposal, we should press forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe."

This illuminating statement is an excerpt from the famous memorandum of July 25, 1927, that the then Japanese Premier, Tanaka, handed to his Emperor. This document, recently published in China and elsewhere, gives a very clear insight into subsequent Japanese action in China and Manchuria. It marks a transition stage in the rapid growth of Japanese imperialism, which had its beginning in 1867 with the revival of intense Mikado worship and the domination of all Japanese thought and action by the militaristic clans of Satsuma and Choshu.

This interesting document gives the key to an understanding of all that is at present happening in Manchuria, and gives authoritative confirmation of the imminence of intervention against the Soviet Union. Further, it discloses the unbounded militarist plans of a rapacious Japanese imperialism which is threatening the world with a new world-imperialist war; it gives a shamelessly barefaced description of all the methods of violence, oppression, deceit, and cunning used by imperialism to gain its ends; it exposes plans to make Korea the catspaw of the Japanese offensive; and, finally, unctuously declares that this policy has as its aim "the consolidation of our national defence in the interests of peace and order in the Far East."

According to this memorandum, in what way does this imperialism intend to act "in the interests of peace and order in the Far East"?

In its relation to the U.S.S.R. it says:—

"If the Chinese Eastern Railway belonging to Soviet Russia develops in this district, then our new Continental policy will receive a blow which

will inevitably bring about conflict with Soviet Russia in the near future. In this case, we shall again be obliged to play the rôle we played in the Russo-Japanese War. The Chinese Eastern Railway will become ours just as the Southern Manchurian Railway became ours, and we shall seize Kerin as we seized Dalny (Dairen). If we look into the future we must admit the inevitability of war with Russia on the fields of North Manchuria."

In this statement it is noteworthy that Japan compares the "inevitable war" against the Soviet Republics with the previous war against the Tsarist monarchy, at that time rotten to the core. The fact that Japan fails to understand the fundamental difference between the Tsarist Army and the Red Army will, of course, only increase her determination to fight. Japan probably bases her optimism on the feverish war preparations of her counterpart in Europe—France and the Little Entente.

The memorandum also makes provision for dealing with the U.S.A. It continues:—

"In the interests of self-defence and the defence of others (1), Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia without pursuing a policy of 'blood and iron.' But, in pursuing this policy, we shall be brought face to face with the United States, who are directed towards us by the Chinese policy of fighting poison with the help of China. If we wish in future to gain control over China, we must crush the United States, i.e., Russians during the Russo-Japanese War."

What an illusion! Hypnotised by victory over the Tsarist armies, Japan seeks a future war against the U.S.A. As in the case of Soviet Russia, this illusion only increases the reality of the future war between Japan and U.S.A.

It is interesting to note that this memorandum was drawn up in 1927 when the war of revolution (Kuomintang) had already swept the South of China. Nevertheless, the awakening of China is referred to as a danger of the future:—

"A more dangerous factor is that the Chinese people may wake up one fine day."

But let us leave the blind conceit of this imperialism and concern ourselves with the manner in which these "civilisers" intend to behave towards the awakening peoples.

"When we remember that the Chinese are our only purchasers, we must fear the day when China unites and her industry begins to flourish. We must from now onwards pursue our own military ends and seize the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia by divers ways, in order to be able on the one hand to destroy the military, political, and economic development of China, and on the other hand to prevent the permeation of Russian influence. This is the key to our Continental policy."

How successfully to-day, as in Korea in 1894, is Japanese imperialism carrying out its policy of "defending the independence of Mongolia and Manchuria from China"! And note how this beneficent imperialist, in his intimate secret document, showed to his Emperor the true meaning of "defending the independence" of these two richly endowed States:—

"Manchuria and Mongolia are the Belgium of the Far East. During the Great War, Belgium was made the battlefield. In our wars with Russia and the U.S.A. we must insist on Manchuria and Mongolia bearing all the horrors of war."

Having shown the necessity for the invasion of the two provinces, the memorandum proceeds with shameless sincerity to show how Japan will then delude and rob the masses.

"We shall buy up the land, paying for it one-tenth part of its value. When we have a large section of the land in our hands, there will be no longer any question as to whether Mongolia belongs to Japan or the Mongolians. Backed up by our military forces, we can realise our positive (!) policy. Retired officers, dressed as Chinese citizens and acting as teachers, must live among the population and gain the confidence of the Mongolian princes, and so on."

Japan intends to extend this policy of deceit towards the Koreans, whom it hopes to use as its catspaw for military purposes in China.

"As a result of the freedom which they (the Koreans) enjoy in Manchuria, thanks to the imperfect police system (apparently freedom) and compatible with a perfect police system), no fewer also owing to the wealth of the land, no fewer than one million Koreans are to be found in the three Eastern Provinces. When their number reaches 2½ millions and more, it will be possible to incite them (the Koreans), in case of necessity, to military action, and we shall support

them (Mongolians), assuring them that we are suppressing the Korean movement."

Japanese imperialism does not hide its reasons for attacks on Manchuria and Mongolia. In their desire to acquire the raw materials for the future development and extension of Japanese imperialism to world control, the interests of the large monopolistic associations drive the military machine to further attacks. Besides enormous natural resources in iron, coal, etc., Mongolia produces high-quality wool, a potential source of wealth which the Japanese hope "to hide from the rest of the world, so that England and America may not begin to compete with us." Against this, the document proposes that facilities be given to other powers to invest capital in these two provinces, and thus "allay international suspicions and cleanse the road to further plans." In inviting the Powers to take part in the development of the South Manchurian Railway, "we can deceive the whole world."

What naïveté! To-day this military clique has not withdrawn one step from its purpose of 1927. On August 3 of last year, General Honjo wrote to Minister of War Minami:—

"In order to strengthen the position of our country and its power, it is necessary immediately to take advantage of the difficult world economic position, as well as the circumstances that the Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union has not yet been completed, and that China is not a united country"—and so on.

How like an echo of 1927! Definitely Japan's aims may be summarised thus: Seize Manchuria and Mongolia; intervene against the Soviet Union; wage war on U.S.A.; subjugate China; dominate the world.

Japan can hardly be said to have failed in its first aims. Korea and now Manchuria chafe under her imperialist domination. She is consolidating in North Manchuria in preparation for a clash with Russia and early control of China. A close parallel can be drawn between her present methods and those of 1915. Then, while Europe was fully occupied with the Great War, she issued to China her famous 21 points and invaded Shantung. The Nine-Power Treaty and the Washington Conference of 1921 forced her to surrender her booty. She has not forgotten that humiliation. To-day she is again taking advantage of the world economic crisis—including her own—to move forward, dragging the world nearer to another welter of blood. Her ambition to expand means eventually a sure clash with other imperialist nations in China—though at present the U.S.S.R. aims largely coincide with hers—with the U.S.S.R. and with China itself. The fortunes of the U.S.S.R. and the imperialist groups can be left in their own hands. From the latter, Japan has learned all the knows of "scientific homicide." The "failure" of the League of Nations to quell the Japanese aggression, and the support given to their buccaneering by prominent leaders in France, Britain, and Italy, show new leaders in France, Italy, and America, clearly where imperialist sympathies lie. America, however, is not entirely easy on Japan's ambitions in China. The mutual antagonisms, clearly marked in the East Siberian Expedition of 1918-20, and the discussions of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929,

manifested themselves again in clashes in the International Settlement in Shanghai during the attack on that town by the Japanese. The American battlefleet is concentrated in the Pacific at Hawaii. This display is a warning to Japan that the proponents of the "Open Door" policy will brook no interference with their interests in China.

And what of China? Napoleon, greatest imperialist of modern times, said: "China—there sleeps a giant. Do not wake him." "Until 1925 she slept," said Bau, Chinese publicist. No statement of Japanese imperialism would be complete without reference to the Chinese awakening. With its huge land area, its wealth of natural resources, its 400,000,000 people, and its undeveloped economy, China irresistibly attracts the attention and cupidity of the advanced capitalistic governments. From 1901-1905, Chinese foreign trade averaged less than £800,000 annually; in 1929 it exceeded £300,000,000. A large amount of foreign capital has been invested in Chinese mines, railways, factories, and government securities. To secure these markets, the powers have not hesitated to bombard defenceless cities. They are still bombarding them. They have set up their own courts on territory they have seized; have controlled customs, finance, currency, railways, mines, and industries; they have kept China in political and economic slavery. Though the largest investors are British and Japanese, American interests, despite their late start, are rapidly prevailing, especially in the Yangtze Valley, while the French hold sway in the extreme southern provinces. This foreign penetration of China has resulted in revolutionary changes. Whereas 50 to 60 years ago China was a semi-feudal country entirely without industrialisation, she now has, especially in her seaboard towns, about 1500 modern plants, in addition to a large number of modernised factories. Though 70 per cent. of her population are peasantry, working small patches of land, living always near to starvation, and exploited by landlords, usurers, tax-collectors, and racketeering war-lords, there are already from three to four million workers in her factories. The past decade has witnessed mass revolts of workers and peasants against oppressors, both national and foreign. Trades unions have rapidly developed, and peasant organisations have sprung up in the country districts. When in conflict with foreign factory, mine, and railway owners, strikers have quickly learned that foreign warships were always ready to guard the interests of their nationals; while the peasants have found the same influences behind their conflicts with Chinese tax-collectors and war-lords.

At first, sections of the Chinese business class participated in the struggle against alien imperialisms. In 1926-27, the Chinese national armies drove northward from their base in the city of Canton, and gained control of the Yangtze Valley. During a tremendous wave of revolutionary enthusiasm, hundreds of thousands of workers struck for better living conditions, and shut down the mills of native and foreign owners alike. At this stage, the business elements of the so-called People's Party or Kuomintang, fearing

that their own interests were threatened, betrayed the revolution and allied themselves with the foreign interests against the Chinese workers and peasants. Headed by Chiang-Kai-Shek, these elements seized power in April, 1927, and set up a government in Nanking, on the Yangtze River. They immediately attempted to suppress all revolutionary elements and to conciliate the imperialist powers. Since 1927 the Nanking regime has slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants, besides subjecting thousands to barbarous tortures before execution.

Despite these massacres, the Chinese revolutionary movement continues to grow. Soviets are functioning in large parts of the provinces of Kiangsi, Honan, Anhwei, Hupeh, Hunan, and Fukien, and there are Soviet districts in the provinces of Kwangsi, Shansi, Shensi, and Szechuan. The Chinese Soviets maintain a large and well-disciplined Red Army, which, with the enthusiastic support of the people, has won victory after victory.

"If the Chinese use the 'Reds' to influence the Koreans, then the outlook of our people will change, and a great danger will threaten us," said Tanaka.

Was it for the purpose of quelling the "Reds" that the Shanghai offensive was undertaken? The Nanking forces had signally failed to quell the revolutionary armies. Were the Japanese called in to do the job? Certainly the Japanese army commander averred—so our press inadvertently informed us—that they had been fighting the "Nineteenth Mobile Red Army" at Shanghai.

On September 18, 1931, Japanese troops seized Mukden. They conquered Manchuria and set up a puppet government. At the end of January they launched an offensive in the Yangtze Valley, ostensibly for the purpose of crushing the anti-Japanese boycott and agitation; but, from its strategic position, it would seem clear that the war on Shanghai was an attempt to establish a base for the destruction of Soviet China. The U.S.A., which at no time offered any genuine opposition to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, participated in the attempt on Shanghai. According to press reports, the American admiral, head of the American Yangtze River Patrol, took a leading part in the discussion of representatives of the imperialist powers regarding methods of suppressing Chinese "banditry"—the capitalist word for the rising revolutionary movement in all countries.

Japan's course to "glory" does not seem so smooth as its imperialists foresee. The war in China may soon involve the world in a slaughter greater even than that of the last imperialist war. It will be a war against the Chinese people—a war against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union—a war amongst the imperialist powers themselves in the struggle for loot.

—JOHN FERGUSON.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF IMPERIALISM.

The close of the 19th century marked a new phase in the development of capitalism. The period between the Industrial Revolution, which began in the latter part of the 18th century, and 1870 was one of capitalist competition inside individual countries, the amount of capital invested in foreign and colonial lands being small compared with the amount invested in home production. In other words, colonies merely served for the expansion of trade, production of raw materials, gold, etc. But the last 30 years of the century saw a rapid and profound development—the formation of trusts and cartels—which entirely altered the nature of world economic relations. "Free" capitalist competition inside individual countries was replaced by monopolies which more and more came under the control of banking groups and spread beyond national boundaries, so that by the end of the century the typical feature of capitalist economy was the export of capital, rather than the export of commodities. For the weapon of finance-capital proved to be the most effective in conquering new markets, establishing new industrial branches in other countries, and in this way fighting other capitalist groups. On this economic groundwork imperialism is based. Finance-capital, which formerly acted as an industrial intermediary, rapidly gained control of all major industries, and, by its very magnitude, was able to crush out interests not under the control of banking groups. Imperialism, as we see it to-day, developed as a result of the export of capital, which was carried out chiefly by means of loans. The export of capital depended on two main factors—

1. The rate of profit was higher in the colonies and less developed countries, because of the cheapness of labour and a relatively lower proportion of constant capital to variable capital. But this influence was for a time largely offset by—
2. The ease with which monopolies could be established at "home" once the banks had control of production and distribution.

However, the closing decades of the 19th century were those during which the concentration of capital in home countries compelled the export of capital in the rate of profit capital, which floated loans, established colonial branches of industrial organisations, etc. With the turn of the century, this process had become the most important in capitalist economy, and economic relations moved on an ever grander scale from the limits of national development to the stage of rapid imperialist expansion.

THE ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS IN IMPERIALISM.

Two fundamental contradictions exist in the very genesis of this modern imperialism—

1. The international competition which became the starting point from several centres, which France, "Great Powers"—Great Britain, France, Germany, and America. Imperialist competition re-

placed on an enormously increased—on a world scale—the competition of "free" capitalism. And this international competition was necessarily more fierce and brutal because the forces brought into play were infinitely greater. The triumph of one group in any particular sphere affected all other groups—to such a stage had imperialism developed.

2. The second contradiction arises from a consideration of the first—production became more anarchic than ever. All groups competed for any markets obtainable, and hence general over-production was the result. When one triumphed the other groups had large masses of commodities on their hands; stagnation in their circulation resulted, and industrial crises recurred again and again. These crises affected the defeated countries first, but soon spread to the victors, because their markets existing in the defeated countries were curtailed owing to the great increase in unemployment there. That is, modern capitalism had reached the stage when any crisis, because of the very conditions of its origin, involved the whole world—as we see to-day.

FORMS OF THE IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE.

In discussing the methods adopted by imperialists in fighting for the economic control of the world, it must be realised that at any given period all the following methods are employed, but each period is characterised more particularly by the means best adapted to the existing conditions.

The struggle may be considered under three heads: 1. The period of territorial annexation and peaceful penetration of capital—lasting roughly about 20 years (1880-1900). This period of colonial development must be distinguished from that of England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries, during which expansion was due, not to the desire to invest surplus capital abroad, but to the necessity for the expansion of foreign trade, obtaining of cheap raw materials, and especially gold, which was necessary, particularly in England, for the provision of means of exchange. For, despite the rapid development of industrialism, banking and exchange were relatively inefficient, the rate of circulation of money low, and hence the mass of money circulating proportionately great. Because of this economic basis of the 18th century "imperialism," the American colonies were able to revolt successfully, as capitalism had not yet obtained a complete stranglehold on production in the young colonies. This last condition is characteristic of finance-capitalism.

The 1880 "grail" had a very different aim—partly, it is true, to obtain sources of raw material, but mainly for the investment of capital in countries

*The word "imperialism" is used here only because it is the usual practice for historians to apply the term to the expansive phase of the 19th century capitalism. The previous analysis has shown, of course, that imperialism dates from the last few years of the 19th century, thus demonstrating the common misuse of the term. The 19th century was merely the period of the greatest expansion of Mercantilism.

We have entered the wheat belt. Scattered, un-kempt little farms are everywhere. Peasants ride by in their rough timber carts. The sickle is apparently the only agricultural implement. The people seem a little more friendly and interested. We pass Chita, quite a big town, and enter wooded country, and the ground rises. And then the moonlit splendour of Lake Baikal.

We are just thinking of turning in when a rather shy voice at the door requests a match in English. The voice is revealed as a pleasant-faced young Russian. He is poorly clad and rather diffident, and the others eye him suspiciously. I disarm him of his shyness, and he talks readily. He is going to a University at Irkutsk to do oil engineering. He has done well at his school, and gained a passable knowledge of English. Scenting sympathetic soil, he begins to talk Communism. I listen while he quotes Marx and Lenin, questions me about Australia and China, and praises my cigarettes. He is just twenty-one, is on trial as a member of the Communist Party, and is desperately anxious to prove worthy of membership.

We pull up with a jerk, and I am awakened by a voice at the door. It is midnight, we are at Irkutsk, and my protegee is saying farewell. We shake hands. We awake, sit up, look out of the window, and gasp. Wheat; miles of wheat; nothing but wheat. Reaching to the horizon on every side, without fences, without roads, breaks or paths; one gigantic wheat field. We have reached the co-operatives. We wash, dine, and return, and sit watching. Herr Bauer calls my attention to a tractor in the fields. As the day goes on, we see more tractors, but still no fences; simply wheat.

Peasant women are appearing at the stations now, and one can buy a pint bottle of milk for thirty kopeks, a pound of butter for two roubles, and a small cooked chicken for four roubles.

We have been joined by a foreign technician who has been working in Siberia, and is going to Moscow to be transferred to a new quarter. He has no complaints. His salary is good, and his work interesting. The workers under him were keen and eager to learn, but slow to grasp fundamentals, and rather impetuous. If a tractor broke down, they would rather apply for a new tractor than mend the old one. The wastage of machinery due to lack of mechanical knowledge was appalling. However, the technicians and universities were sending out good men, and he thought that, in perhaps five or six years, U.S.S.R. would be able to do without foreign technicians. His wife was less satisfied. She had spoken to no one but her husband for two years, and her little girl was without schooling. Above all, she was tired of unwashed peasants.

We pull up and behold a scene of animation beside the line. A big American harvester is being unpacked. The whole village is there, and the whole village has each a small piece of harvester, and is cheerfully trying it here and there to see if it fits. Our engineer emerges almost weeping, and talks energetically for five minutes. The village regards him solemnly. We move on.

We pass through large towns. At Novosibirsk, the

aeroplane base, we are escorted in by six 'planes. The sky is thick with factory smoke.

At Omsk I enter the station dining room, and inspect a menu. A roughly cooked but eatable meal, with a meat course, is procurable for 70 kopeks. Clothing seems better, but is still very poor.

We are rising. The farms are behind us, and we are moving through forests. Everywhere timber cutters are at work. We rise higher still, and ranges of hills clad in splendid trees lie on every side. We are in the Urals. By now, moving rapidly from east to west, we have lost all count of time. Our watches show 11 o'clock at sunset, and we find ourselves at breakfast when we think it is lunch time. Occasionally we turn the hands of our watches round a few hours.

We are in Europe. It doesn't seem markedly different from Asia. The people are a little better clothed. The crops are more advanced, and tractors are everywhere.

Our slim, elegant German lady is in high dudgeon. She had managed to take her usual stately walk along the station, looking fresh, immaculate, and well dressed, while the rest of us were frowsy and travel weary. With one accord the female population surrounded her, examined her dress, her hair, and her shoes, and in high good humour asked all sorts of questions. She fled, feeling as she remarked, like Lucy Manette in the hands of a dozen Madame Defarges. As the villagers had been quite courteous, we grinned covertly, and sympathised.

We have been assailed, at different stages, by four young Communists, eager young people, quite impervious to the rebuffs they receive from most of the train. They seem to know Marx backwards, and are desperately eager to make one understand that Russia is wholeheartedly behind the Five-Year Plan.

A splendid suspension bridge lies ahead of us. We are on it, and a broad river lies below us. We realise we are crossing the Volga. To the right a large concrete building stands on the shore, and a number of young men and women are bathing, as everywhere in Russia, without costume. We learn from a Russian in the next carriage that the building is a combined school and workmen's club.

The train draws up slowly into a hill station. We learn that Moscow is ten hours off.

We draw slowly into the Alexandrovsky station. On the platform is a confusion of Russians welcoming friends, and Intourist officials, but no porters. In the next platform an electric train loaded with suburbanites is going out. We look at its newness and neatness, and at the battered, antique old engine and painfully patched and repainted carriages which have carried us across Siberia, and strike the note of contrast which is to dominate everything else in Moscow. We are outside the station. In Central Square modern trams and buses are rushing busily about. Beside us ancient drushkies, the picturesque Russian equivalent of hansom cabs, hail us and demand exorbitant fares. We take a neat modern taxi, and in two minutes are cursing the cobble stones of Moscow. Up and down we bump, and wonder if there

are any concrete or bitumen roads. There are actually two. We stop at the Hotel Metropole, where I leave my baggage, and turn our taxi towards the Kremlin. Everywhere the same contrast faces us. We pass the splendid new concrete building of the Exporttiel Company, the head branch of the State Bank, the Central Post Office, a splendid study in white marble. Dotted between them are the buildings of the old regime, unpainted, unrepared, falling to pieces. Two towers, one on each side of a splendid arch, are before us. We pass under the arch and are in Red Square. At each corner rises one of the towers of the Kremlin, which forms a rectangle around the square, gleaming in front of us, paved in white marble. To the right lies the Lenin memorial, beautiful in red and black marble. Two soldiers pace slowly up and down before it. Around, in little plots, grow red and white roses. Everything is very peaceful. The rush and noise of the city is shut out. We look up, and above the cathedral towers of the Kremlin there still gleam the double eagles of Imperial Russia. Beneath them sleeps Lenin. An old button seller sells me a little Lenin medalion.

We walk through the streets towards the Smolensky station. Splendid statuary catches our eyes everywhere, and at almost every corner there is the inevitable figure of Lenin, always in the same attitude, with one hand raised, pointing to the sky. We finish the journey in a tram. The fare seems ridiculously cheap. Seven kopeks each for a journey of three miles. Everywhere one thing strikes us. The people of Moscow are clothed as well as the average middle class type of any other city—in marked contrast to Siberia.

We reach the station and locate a dining room, and inquire politely for food. To every question, the waiter answers "Fish." A Soviet soldier hears Herr Bauer's German, and joins us. Hearing our needs, he at once adopts us, and leads us to a bus which eventually lands us at the door of a cafe. We enter. An orchestra is playing, and we listen to it while drinking excellent beer and consuming a really good meal—three roubles. We return to the station and I feel rather lonely as the train departs, and my companions of two weeks with it.

Boris, our soldier, leads me back to the hotel. I emerge in the morning to find Boris on the doorstep. Knowing neither Russian nor German, I grin. So does he. We set out in a tram for the suburbs. En route we pass the Lenin Institute, a strange study in concrete and glass, with angles jutting out everywhere like guns on a battleship.

Again contrasts. Slums, dirty, unpainted, huddled—and falling to pieces. New workers' settlements—splendid brick buildings with every modern conveni—ence, down to central heating. Churches, faded, dilapidated, some with notices above the doors. Leopy some of them and later find them to be anti-religious of a rather mild type. The familiar "Re-propaganda of the opium of the people" is the commonest. A few worshippers enter. I find an old orthodox priest who has a few words of English. He tells me he is not personally molested, but is not allowed to ask

for donations for himself and his church. A few parishioners keep him, but he pays heavy taxes as a non-producer. The worshippers are not hindered, and inside the church there are no signs, but he lives in dread of the confiscation of his church as Government property. His worshippers grow fewer month by month.

Schools are everywhere—bright, clean buildings. Most of the work seems to be done in the open air, for the children, looking happy, well fed and neatly clothed, are gathered in groups round their teachers.

I ask my hotel interpreter when I return why the old buildings are left unrepared. He replies: "We patch nothing. When the old house falls down, we build a new one. We cannot afford to build all new ones, but we do not want to keep the old buildings alive."

The Park of Rest and Culture runs along the banks of the Moscow River, and in the evening thousands of the people walk along the river promenade. Along the paths are little busts, the statues of the "indamiks," or heroes of toil who have led "shock-brigades," managed big enterprises, or invented new machinery.

A picture show. The first picture tells of the epic of the Turkestan-Siberian railway. It is silent, but its photography is splendid. The second, Harold Lloyd!!

We attend the old Imperial Opera House. Quietly clad citizens fill the whole house. Russian and Italian operas alternate. Scattered through the city are five other opera houses and two theatres given over to orchestral recitals.

A workers' club. The library is filled with readers. In the gymnasium, young men and women, again entirely nude, leap joyously about. In an upper room a small orchestra is practising. For my benefit, it produces some of Roger Quilter's Elizabethan songs, then switches over to Debussy, and ends with a Russian folk-song.

A room in a modern set of workers' flats. Boris's wife greets me. I have a set of questions prepared for me by the hotel interpreter. She produces the day's meal: two loaves of black bread, a pound of butter (forty kopeks), a quarter of a pound of fish (about thirty kopeks), a rabbit (one rouble), a quarter of a pound of tea (seventy kopeks), some dried fish (about two pounds, fifty kopeks). All have been bought from the co-operative stores. Market prices are about three times as much.

The Kremlin again at dusk. The rays of the setting sun gleam on the eagles. The tomb is lit by powerful arc lamps. Everywhere else are the gathering shadows.

The customs again. The same posters and the same casual examination. Our cameras, which were sealed at Manchouli, are unsealed. We move off. Our Soviet soldiers in their plain brown uniforms, and the officer, distinguished only by his red shoulder straps, are packing up. I look out of the window and half doze. Suddenly a voice says "Passport." I wake up to see a soldier in a smart blue uniform. We

are over the frontier. I look back to see a dwindling something that looks like a barbed wire fence in the distance. We pull up and a brass band blares a welcome. Porters run up and down, and officers in Sam Browne belts strut about. I look at the old patched engine and the battered old pre-war carriage. In the

SWAN SONG

Mr. H. Alwyn Lee ("Proletariat," April, 1932) attacks the Premier of New South Wales with a mendacity exceeding even that of his capitalist mentors. The wilful misrepresentations of Mr. J. T. Lang by the latter are more pardonable, in that Mr. Lang has assailed the citadels of international finance. But it is a strange thing to see a *soi-disant* champion of the working class join common cause with the capitalist press and politicians in the detraction of a Labor Premier who has done more for the working-class movement than any other statesman in the English-speaking countries. The Communists pursue Mr. Lang with the crass stupidity of a Peter the Hermit and the zeal of a Torquemada. For your Communist no longer moves in an atmosphere of intellectual freedom, but forges for himself shackles of a medieval authoritarianism. And Mr. Lang has achieved much for the workers of New South Wales by methods which the new Inquisitors deem heterodox, and, forsooth, to the stake with him!

The diatribes of Mr. H. Alwyn Lee have this in common with those of the capitalist press—that they indict Mr. Lang on a number of perjured counts. They are too numerous to be traversed in detail, and most of them are too fantastic to merit serious contradiction. Mr. Lee administers his master-stroke in italics. "The Lang police," says Mr. Lee, "co-operated with the New Guard as strike-breakers against the seamen." Mr. Lee does not cite his authority for this astounding statement, for the very good reason that he has none. No such incident as this ever happened.

Mr. Lee charges Mr. Lang with the "reduction of unemployed benefits." Not merely is this utterly untrue, but, on the contrary, Mr. Lang has extended unemployment benefits, which are greater in New South Wales than in any other State. A stream of Victorian unemployed is flowing into Riverina. These men risk gall in attempting to obtain New South Wales rations. The ration for a single man in Victoria is 5/-, in New South Wales it is 7/11. And for married men in New South Wales it ranges up to about 30/-. Moreover, this does not represent the best effort of Mr. Lang; his proposal to impose an Unemployment Relief Tax of 5/- in the £1 on all incomes over £500 per annum would have resulted in the employment of the unemployed at award rates of pay, had not a hostile Upper House rejected the Bill passed by the Assembly for this purpose.

Mr. Lee charges Mr. Lang with "the reduction in wages for railwaymen, etc., by 22 1/2 per cent." Now the fact is that Mr. Lang has been forced to reduce Government expenditure; but his is the only Government in Australia which has not done this at the expense of the basic-wage earner. The basic wage of

distance, one can just see that long dark line like a fence. I look again, then charter a porter and turn towards the Polish customs room. U.S.S.R. is behind me. In front lie Poland, Germany, England, and Capitalism.

—L. MORONEY.

£4/2/6 per week to "railwaymen, etc.,"—by the "etc." Mr. Lee evidently means to designate the civil service—has remained sacrosanct, and has not been reduced by 22 1/2 per cent., as stated by Mr. Lee. On the contrary, a cut of 8 1/2 per cent. made by the Bavin Government was promptly restored by Mr. Lang.

The basic wage of £4/2/6 is higher than in any other State, although it is only designed to provide for a man, wife, and one child, as against three children in the other States. For every child after the first, the basic-wage earner receives 5/- by way of family endowment, thanks to the beneficent legislation of the first Lang Government. Compare this with the first position in Victoria. There a man with, say, six children, receives a basic wage of £3/3/5. Were he in New South Wales, he would receive a wage of £4/2/6 and family endowment amounting to £1/5/-, or a total of £5/7/6.

The tremendous enthusiasm of the New South Wales workers for Mr. Lang would be incomprehensible were Mr. Lee's picture true. Fortunately, it is not true. On the contrary, the benefits of Lang legislation are widely diffused throughout the community.

The struggling farmer, along with other debtors, has been given a moratorium, which, unlike the illusory moratorium of Victoria, affords him a very real and very large measure of protection from mortgagees and other creditors. Interest rates have been reduced by Mr. Lang, as have rents. Purchasers of Crown lands have had the capital value of their holdings re-appraised at reduced values. No Crown lessee has been evicted. Private tenants have been given protection from eviction. Widows and orphans have been pensioned. And Mr. Lang has socialised transport in New South Wales—no mean feat for a man "in the service of the bourgeoisie," to quote ering Mr. Lee.

Faced with the depression, the Premiers proposed to place the burden on the shoulders of those least able to bear it—the wage-earner. Against this policy, Mr. Lang set his face. He did not advocate social revolution. Had he done so, there is no reason to believe that he would have been successful. He did, however, see that relief from the crushing interest burden, and the raising of deflation price levels, would assist in restoring prosperity. He found that Australia was paying far too much interest overseas, and that this was impoverishing the country. Australia is paying England 5 per cent., England pays America 3 per cent., Belgium pays America 1.7 per cent., France pays America 1.6 per cent., and Italy pays .405 per cent. Faced with post-war crisis, France wrote off five-sixths of her debt, and paid no interest for ten years, and Italy did the same thing. Britain

avoided payment of interest to America for six years. And the present Chancellor for the Exchequer (Mr. Neville Chamberlain) has just informed the House of Commons that he has made no budgetary provision for the payment of overseas interest. In order to permit Australia to regain prosperity, Mr. Lang proposed that she claim privileges similar to those enjoyed by these other countries, and so enunciated the first point in the Lang Plan: "1. That until Britain agrees to fund Australia's overseas indebtedness in the same manner as America dealt with Britain's debt to her, no further payment of interest on overseas debts be made by Australia."

It was also patent that the Australian bondholders were in a peculiarly privileged position, and that, with a fixed income from their bonds commanding commodities at depressed prices, they were actually profiting by a position that meant misery and distress to the workers, and in so profiting they were inflicting an unfair burden on the rest of the community. Accordingly, the second point in his plan was: "2. That the interest rate to Australian bondholders be reduced to 3 per cent., and that all interest rates in private finance be reduced by a relative amount."

The enunciation of this point first raised the cry of "repudiation," and then actually impelled action along these lines by the Federal Government.

Lastly, the immediate cause of the depression was the destruction of prices by the restoration of the gold standard in 1925. Sir Ernest Petter has said that it was one of the most signal disasters in the whole history of England. The same result had followed from the same cause in 1819. The policy of wages reduction and further deflation, to meet a crisis brought about by deflation, was not acceptable to Mr. Lang.

Prof. J. M. Keynes wrote: "If we carry 'Economy' of every kind to its logical conclusion, we shall find that we have balanced the budget at nought on both sides, with all of us flat on our backs, starving to death from a refusal, for reasons of economy, to buy one another's services." On the other hand, Adam Smith had written: "High prices and plenty are prosperity; low prices are misery and distress." Mr. Lang saw a superabundant production of commodities going hand in glove with beggary and starvation. He chose the way of giving the workers command over com-

modities. He chose the way of restored prices as against reduced costs (i.e., wages), and enunciated his third point: "3. That the existing system of currency be altered from that of a nominal gold standard to a system more suited to modern conditions—preferably a goods standard."

It is not claimed by its author that the Lang Plan is a panacea. It is, however, claimed by its adherents that it will go far to alleviate the misery and distress that have afflicted Australia since 1929. The fruition of the Lang Plan has been set back by the Federal Government and by the Upper House in New South Wales. Its earlier application would have afforded relief. Since its first enunciation the position of Australia has grown worse. And Mr. Lang has more recently purposed to make the authors of his policy of deflation pay for the rehabilitation of Australia by imposing a levy of 10 per cent. on mortgages held by the banks and financial institutions. The unprecedented and unconstitutional intervention of the Governor was invoked overtly for other reasons, but actually to prevent the imposition of this levy.

While Mr. Lang is helping the workers of his State, the Communists are sitting in their armchairs offering hectoring theories of gushing theories. While Mr. Lang gives the workers bread, the Communists offer them the stones of doctrine and of malice.

The animosity of the Communists is excited towards Mr. Lang because he has successfully defended and vindicated the cause of the workers of New South Wales without the infallible sanction of the Communist Party, and by methods not specifically advocated by Marx and his apostle, Lenin. The Communist Party would lead the workers to the Promised Land through a forty-years sojourn in the wilderness of unfulfilled aspirations, of chaos, starvation, and degradation. This is certainly not the road chosen by the Australian Labour Party. There is the scientific way of trial and error. The pity of it is that the Communists' malice should find its expression in wilful misrepresentation.

The Labour movement in New South Wales is moving steadily and effectively towards its objective of socialisation; whereas advocacy of social revolution would spell certain defeat, and the realisation of Socialism would be put back indefinitely.

—E. E. JONES.

NOTES ON THE LANG PLAN

"The Lang Plan is useless except to prop up the existing system."—The Honourable Donald Grant, in the N.S.W. Legislative Council, May 12, 1932.

What is this Lang Plan, which, after being for 18 months the inspiration of the Government of N.S.W., is now being energetically peddled in the other States as an "up-to-date" variant of the traditional re-as an "up-to-date" variant of the traditional reformist policy of the Labour Party? It is a policy of easing the burdens of national capitalism and of leading the workers away from the path of struggle.

HOW IT HAPPENED.

At the beginning of 1931, when the "Plan" was elaborated,* grave difficulties faced every Australian Government.

The world capitalist crisis had reached even to France, which had long been hailed as the one country free from unemployment. Leading capitalist economists were frankly expressing their bewilderment and their dread of the complete collapse of

*By John Sheehan, who, after winning a gall sentence for attempting to bribe Labour members to join the Nationalists in Queensland, has now become Mr. Lang's speech-manufacturer.

"civilisation." In helpless emulation of the Soviet Union, they were producing "Five-Year Plans" in every country. In Australia, where the number of unemployed had increased to over 300,000, Professor Giblin came out boldly:—

"The only way out of the impasse is by a planned world economy, by which production will be rationed for the world as a whole, distribution arranged for, and profits and losses largely pooled. Such a scheme seems perfectly fantastic" (under capitalist conditions—E.M.H.), "but it is the only alternative to a general degradation of life in all countries. It is that or savagery."

Further, Sir Otto Niemeyer had been lecturing Australian Governments on their serious financial problems. National income, he showed, had fallen from £650,000,000 in 1927-28 to £564,000,000 in 1929-30, and was still falling sharply. Government expenditure was increasing, due to increased calls for interest, sinking fund, exchange, and unemployment. Australia's trade balance had become more and more "unfavourable," as prices of primary products, which make up 95½ per cent. of exports, had fallen almost to pre-war figures. Drastic economies were necessary for capitalist government to carry on.

The press was blunt in its reminders that the day of palliatives was past. Thus the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote editorially on August 21st, 1930: "The notion that Australia could keep herself, if she so desired, economically out of step with the rest of the world—that our standards of costly living and easy working (sic) could be preserved even if they isolated us from the world's trade and markets—should now be definitely exploded." And the next day: "No government will have any benefits to give away. There can be no renewed promises of pensions, child endowment, shorter hours or higher wages. No authority whatever will be able to raise loans overseas."

The Scullin Government, which had been elected because of popular hatred of the capitalist offensive as conducted by Bruce, had plainly adapted itself to these new conditions. The *Sydney Labour Daily* had hailed its entry with the cry "Australia is ours!" Speaking on April 8th, 1930, Mr. Lang had declared: "The only difficulties that existed—and they were real difficulties—were between Australia and the outside world, and, as we have seen, the Labour Prime Minister has overcome them." But the crisis developed, until Mr. Duggan (president, A.C.T.U.) declared to a meeting of unemployed in the Melbourne Trades Hall on August 11th, 1930: "It is impossible to point to anything which the Scullin Government has done to improve the lot of the workers of Australia." To avoid similar reproaches, the N.S.W. Government had to distinguish itself as sharply as possible from the Federal Government.

As his equipment, therefore, for the Premiers' Conference of February, 1931, Mr. Lang required a Plan—to qualify, according to current standards, as a "statesman," to be in a position to demand that urgent

economies should be effected at the expense of those who were opposed to Australian national capitalism, to suggest some way in which palliatives might still be offered, and to differentiate his party from the discredited Federal Labour Government.

THE THREE PLANKS OF THE PLAN†

(1) "That the Governments of Australia decide to pay no further interest to British bondholders until Britain has dealt with the Australian overseas debts in the same manner as she settled her own foreign debt with America."

Over £500,000,000 is owed by the Commonwealth and States overseas, almost wholly in London; at present exchange rates, this involves an annual overseas interest payment of £36,000,000. What is proposed is *not* repudiation—only a revolutionary party is for repudiation—but, as the *Labour Daily* declared editorially (May 14th, 1932): "All that has been suggested is a suspension of payment for a few years, such as was granted to Argentina by British bondholders in 1890." The British Government's offer to defer payment on sinking fund on war debts for two years was hailed as "first blood to the N.S.W. Premier." The numerous declarations of bankrupt governments (e.g., Greece, Bulgaria) that they cannot pay their overseas debts are claimed as "results of the Lang Plan," whereas, like the Lang Plan itself, they are inevitable outcomes of the world capitalist crisis.

(2) "That in Australia interest on all Government borrowings be reduced to 3 per cent."

Like the first plank, this is dictated by the needs of the capitalist State, which finds the interest burden intolerable (£292,000,000 per annum on loans within Australia), especially as prices have fallen. It particularly suits the manufacturers, who, as the only section of the capitalist class securing high prices during the crisis, are expected to bear an increasing share of the expenses of the capitalist State. Partial effect has been given to this plank by the June, 1931, Premiers' Conference and the resulting Conversion Loan. As quoted in the *Labour Daily* of August 27th, 1931, Mr. Lang declared to bondholders:—

"Summed up, you are asked to convert a bond which at the moment is not worth its face value, that may be altered by any individual parliament and is subject to whatever taxation the Federal Government may care to impose, into one which in a very short time should be selling at a premium, which cannot be interfered with and cannot be taxed unless every parliament in Australia approves of it. In conclusion, let me say that to the patriotic bondholder there is no need to make an appeal, but to the man who views the conversion loan solely from the point of view of financial advantage, I would say, *Convert your bonds and make money!*"

†The only statement of the Plan approved by the N.S.W. Labour Party is a six-page pamphlet by A. C. Daddison, *The Lang Plan—the Case for Australia*. This consists almost entirely of rambling observations on methods of banking and public finance, based on Keynes, Cassel, and other "anti-deflation" bourgeois economists; the Lang Plan is not explained.

This does not prevent the *Labour Daily*, in a typically demagogic editorial headed "Mayfair versus Australia" (May 2nd, 1932), talking of "the Commonwealth's flagrant default to local bondholders, concerning, as it did, only Australians. . . . Nobody consulted Australian bondholders when their interest charges were, by Act of Parliament, compulsorily reduced from 6 to 4 per cent."

Speaking to three different audiences, Mr. Lang declared in turn that the money thus "saved" would be used, (a) "to furnish money to start production," (b) "to pay unemployed sustenance," (c) "to extend credits to the farmers." "The truth is," it has been remarked, "that it is not a question of saving money, but of gouging more profits out of the masses to be able to pay even the amount proposed in his plan." . . . State income has fallen to such a degree that interest at even 3 per cent. cannot be paid without further attacks on the workers' standard of life and further reduction of old-age pensions, soldiers' pensions, and bonuses, widow and childhood endowment, sickness and accident benefits, and all social insurance.

(3) "That immediate steps be taken by the Commonwealth Government to abandon the gold standard of currency and set up in its place a currency based upon the wealth of Australia, to be termed the goods standard."

This third plank was devised not for the purpose of reducing Government expenditure, but to provide the Government with cash. While the *Labour Daily* admits that the first and second planks are "merely an accommodation to a situation," the third is "a revolution."

As Australia has for years been "off gold" in the sense that the currency note is not covered by gold, this demand must mean a departure from gold as the standard of price. Failing to understand that the function of money as a means of circulation is only an effect of its function as a measure of value, and that gold serves as a measure of value (the "universal equivalent") and standard of price only because it is a commodity, the Planners suggest that currency may be issued on "the profit of Australia's annual production"; they point to the fact that Australia produces enough wheat to feed 30 million people, and that gold serves to clothe 100 million. This plank is enough wool to clothe 100 million. This plank is nothing more or less than a cloak for unlimited inflation, under which, as numberless examples prove, the workers suffer most. No Government has yet had the hardihood to operate this plank.

The whole Plan is an attempt to conceal the fact that "capitalist crises are inseparable from the very existence of the system itself," and, by demagogic attacks on "overseas bankers," to lead the workers away from struggle against Australian national capitalism. It is essentially a policy in defence of that section of the capitalist class which is striving to build up an industrial machine of its own. Mr. Beasley declared at the opening of the 1930 election campaign in N.S.W.:

"Those in control of the financial interests in Britain do not regard this country in any other light than that it should be an ordinary Crown colony, and that we should produce primary produce only, and should send our raw materials abroad to their manufacturers. I firmly believe that they do not desire that this country should be developed. The financial interests abroad are determined that our secondary industries shall not be allowed to develop and that this country shall not become self-supporting. But if we are a nation in the real sense of the word, as we are supposed to be, we have the right to make our country self-contained as a nation."

This is not contradicted by the fact that in the recent N.S.W. elections the manufacturers' organs reviled Mr. Lang. It is to their interests at the moment to clear the way for a government which is free to operate an open wage-cutting policy, and, at the same time, to enable Mr. Lang to maintain his influence among the workers as one who is "hated" by the capitalists. Mr. Beasley (*Labour Daily*, June 15th, 1932) declares reproachfully that "the Labour Party has been the real friend of the Australian manufacturers," and the *Labour Daily* remarks that "severe repercussions are inevitable as the result of the mean and anti-Australian part played by the N.S.W. manufacturers in the defeat of Labour at the elections."

LANGISM IN ACTION.

To judge the Lang Plan, judge the Lang Government. Eighteen months of office have shown whether it is a Government for the workers or a Government for capitalism. Prominent in the 1930 electioneering promises were absorption of the unemployed, restoration of child endowment, and maintenance of wage standards. How have these fared?

Unemployment increased from 19 to 31 per cent. (not counting building and other casual workers). According to the Superintendent of Vocational Training, there were in January last 52,825 boys and girls for whom no work could be found.

Subtracting the value of a single person's dole ticket (Sydney standard) from the married couple's ration, all that is allowed the wife is 3/2 a week. A worker forced to leave work through sickness is denied the dole and must produce a medical certificate proving he is incapable of working before he can receive a ration valued at 3/4 a week. Workers on strike are refused the dole. Since June, 1931, the Permissible Income regulations have been ruthlessly enforced, driving off the dole all who could conceivably be getting support from any employed or pensioned relative; according to the Under-Secretary for Labour, nearly double the amount of money would be required to pay the dole if these regulations were not in force. The unemployed relief tax is producing £200,000 monthly more than is being spent in relief.

So flimsy is the "protection" imposed by the Ejectment Postponement Act (which was forced on the Government by mass pressure following the Newtown and Bankstown fights) that, when the Government went out of office, eviction warrants were hanging over the heads of 7000 unemployed workers in the Sydney

†"Australia and the World Crisis," by Herbert Moore, p. 26.

district. When introducing this Bill, the Attorney-General said: "The Government is not desirous of reducing the amount of money available to landlords today; the Bill will not have that effect."

When *Child Endowment* was instituted in 1927 by the previous Lang Government, as a substitution for part of the basic wage, the workers lost outright £6,000,000 in wages. During the two years from June, 1927, to June, 1929, £24,000,000 was lost in wages to offset only £2,634,664 paid out in endowment. No step has been taken, as promised, to restore endowment for the first child. Educational authorities have reported on the alarming falling-off in health and intelligence of children whose parents are on the dole.

Wages.—When the Bavin Government introduced the wage tax of 3d. in the £1 for unemployed relief, Mr. Lang called it "an act of brutality," and the *Labour Daily* declared that the Government was "striking a blow at the wage-earning sections of the community, fleeing those sections in the pretended interests of the men out of employment" (May 23rd, 1930). Mr. Lang promised to "review" this tax; he did—by quadrupling it. It has been used not only to finance the dole, but also for loans to municipal councils and for keeping a horde of dole inspectors, conciliation commissioners, and heelers of the administration.

The Commonwealth Statistician shows that real wages in N.S.W. are 21 per cent. lower than in 1911, and 3 per cent. lower than the present average for Australia. The Workers' Compensation Commission reports that wages in N.S.W. in 1931 were less by £25,500,000 (23 per cent.) than in 1930.

In the Government service rationing varies from one in twelve to one in two. Since the June, 1931, Premiers' Conference, the wage cut for Government employees has been administered to the extent of 17.9 per cent. in N.S.W., compared with 18 per cent. in Victoria, and 19 per cent. in Queensland. (*Labour Daily*, April 22nd, 1932.)

Such facts as these give the lie to the claim that in N.S.W. the Premiers' Plan has not been put into operation. In some directions (e.g., Lithgow State Mine) it has not been applied, but that is due only to vigorous strike resistance. As *The Australian Manufacturer* remarked last September, "Mr. Lang has shown that he is a most tameable tiger. . . . He may be trusted to do the right thing every time, provided he is compelled to do it and provided he has someone to blame." Up to the end of 1931 his administration had borrowed £14,585,000 through the Loan Council, and had continually "blamed" it for actions taken in denial of election promises.

Space will not permit of consideration of the function of the Lang Government in weakening working-class organisation in face of the capitalist attacks—the concessions made to break agitation (e.g., the nominal

increase of 25 per cent. in the dole immediately before May Day), the ban imposed on militant working-class organisations such as the United Front Against Fascism and the Unemployed Workers' Movement, the encouragement given to the development of the New Guard, the neglect to repeal Bavin's Mass Picketing Act, the promotion of Rothbury police in spite of promises that they would be sent to the backblocks.

In this connection, the circumstances of the ending of the Lang administration are worthy of careful study. Mr. Lang, who had put into effect the Premiers' Plan of 1931, was unable to proceed with the Experts' Report of 1932 without forfeiting his influence over large sections of the workers; as he told the Premier in April, "You are asking me to govern the Premier's in April, 'You are asking me to govern the policeman's baton.'" The stage was set for allowing the Labour Government to retire into opposition. In its last days it was used to operate the Premiers' Plan by withholding Child Endowment, Chief Secretary's allowance, and Widows' Pensions, although there was £1,250,000 in the Treasury and politicians were paid their salaries in full. When the Governor told him to go, he accepted dismissal "with a smile" and retired to his farm. The thousands of militant workers who, under the slogan "Lang is Right," had been told by their leaders to prepare for "civil war in defence of New South Wales," and had been assured that Lang would be dismissed only "over the dead bodies" of their leaders, were now told to "keep calm." Emphasising that, under any capitalist Government, the rule of the capitalist class goes on unaltered, the Governor's dismissal of Lang was accomplished as easily as the hiring of a new servant.

The election campaign tells the same story. In face of a vigorous U.A.P. drive, Mr. Lang's policy speech had only one positive note—"to get back into employment the great bulk of our unemployed workers" by issuing £21,000,000 debentures on the security of 3 years' anticipated wage tax. How a "constitutional" party was to issue new currency in face of the Commonwealth's monopoly, and how "the investing public" was to be induced to take up such worthless paper, was left to the imagination; all that came from the proposal was a declaration that the wages tax was to continue increasingly to be the basic source of revenue for the general needs of the capitalist State, and that, in harmony with the policy of the U.A.P., work for sustenance was all that could be expected. During the campaign the main slogan of the Labour Party was that the U.A.P. was determined to reduce the basic wage to £2/1/6; so monotonously was this repeated that many workers have come to accept this as inevitable; thus the campaign was used to damp down the spirit of mass resistance to any wage-cut. Following the elections, Mr. Lang declared: "Your wages will go down—that's a certainty—and your hours of labour will be lengthened, and you will have no redress for three years." The *Labour Daily* (June 15th) remarks: "N.S.W. has voted itself into a period of penance, and with the same determination with which it has voted it must bare itself for the whip." The election campaign is a fine example of calculated defeatism.

Quotation of speeches (and absence by order) of Lang Planners in the Federal Parliament during discussions of the amending Crimes and Immigration Bills would further illustrate their function in aiding the open champions of capitalism to strengthen their hands against the workers. The advocacy of White Australia and the vilification of Workers' Russia, most marked in Mr. Lang's own speeches, are nothing less than direct aid to imperialist war plans, as are the reiterations of the *Labour Daily* that "developments in China are no concern of ours."

MOVING TOWARDS SOCIALISM?

Need there be further evidence of the anti-working-class rôle being played by the Lang Planners? Need we answer the contention that the Lang Plan is moving towards Socialism? The *Sydney Morning Herald* takes impish pleasure in pretending that the various boards established by the Transport, Egg, Milk, and (projected) Coal Bills are "Socialist." Actually they merely serve to safeguard the interests of bondholders and big capital by squeezing out small interests; they use State power to rationalise capitalism, to aid it to increase unemployment and to speed up the remaining workers. "When," wrote Lenin, "we say 'workers' control,' we place this slogan next that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and always immediately AFTER it, and make it perfectly clear about which State we are speaking. The State is the ruling organ of a class. . . . When it signifies the rule of the workers, when the State in question is the proletarian State, the proletarian dictatorship, then workers' control CAN become a general, comprehensive, omnipresent, exact, and most conscientious control over production and the distribution of products. . . . The Soviets denote that organised instrument of the working class by which this task of world historical importance can be solved."

The attack on overseas bondholders, far from being a move for repudiation of capitalism's debts—a move which genuine working-class organisations would support—is only an attempt to divert attention from the

class enemy here at hand and to blind Australian workers to the need of repudiating all debts of capitalism.

The Lang Planners' basic contention, that the crisis is the result of a deliberate "conspiracy of the bankers," was answered by Marx in Volume III of "Capital" (page 568): "The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses, as compared with the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit."

* * * * *

These notes do not attempt to give a full picture. It is not intended to single out the Lang Plan or the Lang Planners for blame for the misery of the masses in New South Wales. The capitalist system is to blame, but the Lang Planners are serving to maintain capitalist-class rule in this period of crisis while, on the time-worn plea of the "lesser evil," they hold the workers back from action in their own defence. Before Mr. Lang elevates himself to the Federal Parliamentary sphere, and before, aided by a shameless press, the Lang Plan is foisted on the workers' movement in Victoria and other States, there is no task more important than to expose the real meaning of Langism. Once more Lenin has given us a guide—

"All oppressing classes of every description need two social functions to safeguard their domination: the function of a hangman and the function of a priest. The hangman is to quell the protest and the rebellion of the oppressed; the priest is to paint before them a perspective of mitigated sufferings and sacrifices under the same class rule (which is particularly easy to do without guaranteeing the possibility of their realisation). . . . *Thereby he reconciles them to class domination, weans them away from revolutionary actions, undermines their revolutionary spirit, destroys their revolutionary determination.*"**

—E. M. HIGGINS.

**From "The Collapse of the Second International" (1915).

*From "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?" written in Sept., 1917.

HEALTH AND THE STATE

Our knowledge of the conditions of health and the treatment of disease has increased tremendously in the past 150 years. Magical, superstitious, and un-informed presumptions have been cleared away, and it is possible now to state the limitations of medical art and the social prerequisites of good health.

Good health requires a diet of fresh and varied food, pure water, clothing suited to the climate, well-ventilated and well-lighted dwellings, physical exercise, work in hygienic surroundings, recreation, occasional holidays, and an absence of continual anxiety. Recent research on vitamins—substances easily destroyed by time or cooking—has shown the necessity

for a fresh and varied diet. Absence of vitamins means frequently scurvy, rickets, pellagra, and beriberi; it also causes chemical disturbances such as the deposit of stones, and there is a great deal of evidence to show that the body's resistance to germs is weakened. The other requirements are clear, but a word may be said concerning continuous emotion, disturbing the respiratory, circulatory, digestive, and excretory functions. (The effects of joy or fear— for instance, pre-exam. funk—are well known.) Continuous emotion impairs the body, and is a predisposing cause of such diseases as tuberculosis, insanity, arterio-sclerosis, and many others.

Even if the conditions are favourable to health, disease may appear, although it will be much less frequent. Diagnosis and therapeutics will still be required to deal with maldevelopments, injuries, parasites, tumours, pregnancy, and childbirth. The medical man has to deal with an intricate and imperfectly understood organism, which has great powers of self-defence and self-repair, still only half-analysed. He should do nothing that is not fully proven. In the majority of cases his attitude should be that of a watchful observer, ensuring rest, nutrition, and cleanliness to the patient, and avoiding unnecessary drugs and operations. He can hinder the dissemination of contagious disease by isolation and other sanitary measures; such disease is also checked if the whole population is living in favourable conditions. Malnutrition, over-crowding, and dirt form the favourable conditions for the spread of disease.

Economics and the State are all-important in these matters. How far does our Victorian capitalist State system ensure to the people the conditions for health and scientific medical attention?

Seventy thousand are unemployed and on the dole —5/- per week for a single adult, 8/6 for a married couple, 1/6 for a baby. These 70,000 and their dependents are suffering from lack of a fresh, varied diet, from poor clothing, poor housing, insufficient recreation, and unremitting worry. Dr. Hilda Kincaid, city health officer for infants, said in May, 1932, that only 19 per cent. of Melbourne children between two and six years old are free from defects such as malnutrition, dental decay, nose and throat troubles, and rickets; the chief reason, she says, is lack of fresh food, milk, and air. This, in a country growing six times the wheat it can consume, exporting thousands of pounds of butter a year, and over-producing in milk.

The majority of the employed population receive sufficient to maintain a poor existence, and live in continual anxiety about their jobs or business. The resources are here, but are not used. The Electricity Commission, for instance, can supply plenty of electricity and refrigerators. Only the richer, and often babyless, homes get these things; while poor people wishing to give their babies fresh milk in the hot weather have to resort to kerosene-tin devices. Our death-rate is rising, and our birth-rate falling.

Medical attention is supplied in four ways—public hospitals, State clinics, lodges, and private practice. The hospital doctors are mostly unpaid; moreover, the quality of their service suffers from lack of criticism, these institutions being regarded as charitable; so with the State clinics. Moreover, these institutions cannot remove the anxieties and bad living conditions which hamper the healing art.

The lodge system does not supply bacteriological and radiological services and scientific medicine; its medical services are primitive, guesswork taking the place of science, and accurate diagnosis being delayed. In every suburb and country town the lodge system should have bacteriological, X-ray, and other laboratories. The capitalist system in its state of general crisis cannot afford such a change.



THE INSEPARABLES.

Private practice is distorted by the fact that medical man's salary depends on the amount of treatment he gives. Operations are especially remunerative. Whether consciously or unconsciously, this leads to unnecessary operations and other unscientific treatment; a glaring instance is the use of vaccines. It is now usual to split the fee between the surgeon and the physician who refers the patient to him; the custom was vigorously defended in the "Australian Medical Journal." This corruption is intensified by the fact that 60 per cent. of medical practice is done in public hospitals, so that the earning ground is limited.

In short, the present system denies to the people most of the advantages that medicine should assure them. Political economy is supreme in the matter of health as elsewhere, and the necessity for a new system is again demonstrated.

In Russia, with a nationalised economy, unemployment has disappeared, so removing a prime source of anxiety. The nationalised medical services have purged themselves of capitalist distortions. Adult and infant mortality have already been reduced by 50 per cent. The last Russian medical congress, held in the Dombas coal area, considered the prevention of the installation of subterranean among mine workers and the whole medical activity is devoted to the care of the workers—the only class in Russia. All this has been done in a land where the density of the population is ten times greater than in Australia; where climatic

conditions are very severe, and food production difficult. We, with our enormous natural resources, could, under a sane system, make ten times Russia's progress.

Of Australian animals, man alone decreases in number and has starving members during good seasons. Even the rabbits do better. To alter this, we must make an organised application of the knowledge gained last century. This requires production for use instead of profit, and the necessary alteration in our social system can only be secured by the revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses and the establish-

ment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. And a general recognition of the necessity for change if we are to enjoy such an urgent necessity as good health will make revolution less bloody and counter-revolution less strong. The present economic system is taking relentless toll of the lives and health of our citizens; it is the duty of all to hasten its end and to replace it by a Socialist system, in which, freed as far as possible from care and drudgery, possessing all the essentials of health, the race will develop its mental gifts and physical graces in peace and freedom.

—G. P. O'DAY.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

Capitalism will soon enter into its fourth year of acute economic crisis. Beginning with the September, 1929, Stock Exchange crash in America, the economic collapse has spread from country to country until the entire world of capitalist production is engulfed. "America the Golden" is no more. Instead of the cry of the bourgeois press to "Produce More," now we are on all sides exhorted to "Produce Less." The reason for the new economic reality of reduced output can best be developed by considering first the general process of capitalist development and the part played therein by economic crisis; secondly, the relation of this general theory to the post-war situation; and, finally, the special features of the present crisis.

I.—Why is the Crisis an Inherent Disease in Capitalist Production?

Under capitalism productive forces tend to develop with unparalleled rapidity. Competition forces the individual employer, and even the huge trusts and cartels of the present era, constantly to revolutionize the processes of production. "Get bigger or bust," has always been the watchword of big business. In order to understand the reason for the rapidity in the growth of productive capacity, we must bear in mind Marx's division of the sum total of commodities into two classes.—Those which are intended for immediate consumption, and others (such as machinery, plant, railways, etc.) which will assist in future production, and are known as fixed capital, and form part of means of production. Further, Marx has pointed out that the worker retains as wages only a small proportion of the values he has created; the surplus remains with the capitalist class to be divided as rent, interest, and profit. Will the surplus be used to purchase consumption goods or means of production?—Since the powers of consumption of the capitalist class are strictly limited, a variable, but increasing, proportion of the surplus must be spent in purchasing means of production. In a word, after the employer has met all the necessary expenses of production, and has satisfied his legitimate and illegitimate wants, a surplus still remains which he cannot spend on consumption goods. Owing to the size of the surplus of incomes; owing, that is to say, to the high rate of exploitation of the workers under capitalism, there

exists a tendency towards a boundless expansion of the means of production, of fixed capital. But is there an illimitable market for the goods which have been produced? Obviously, we must reply with an emphatic negative. The working classes buy the bulk of the consumption goods which appear on the market; but owing to their proletarian situation (marked by subsistence wages and unemployment), there is a clearly defined limit to working class purchases.

A "recovery" occurs in industry, leading to a "boom." Excess incomes flow into the pockets of the capitalist class. A large proportion of the surplus must be invested in means of production, such as shipbuilding, machinery, or railways. After a time it will become apparent that the market cannot absorb the flow of commodities now rendered possible by the growth of fixed capital. Stocks accumulate in the hands of dealers and warehouses. The crisis is a violent instrument for striking a new balance between supply and demand. Production will be rigorously restricted; physical destruction of commodities will proceed at a wholesale rate; and the remaining stocks will be sold at a lower price level. As the surplus stocks disappear and capital values are "adjusted" to a smaller turnover, surplus value will again accumulate in the form of loan capital available for investment, and thus the stage will be set for another industrial cycle of recovery, boom, crisis, depression. "Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steep-leechase of industry, with commercial credit and speculation as the chief motive force; this gallop finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis."

II.—The Theory of Crises applied to the Post-War Situation.

Both in severity and duration the present crisis is unique in the history of capitalism. In *International Press Correspondence*, Varga correctly attributes the new phenomena to the fact that the present crisis has developed from the general crisis of capitalism. In other words, we still have the trade cycle, but it is on a new basis. Whereas formerly unemployment would fluctuate between 2 and 10 per cent., in the post-war

period the fluctuations are between 10 and 30 per cent. In the whole of the period 1850-1914 unemployment in England only reached 10 per cent. on three occasions: since 1920 it has never fallen below that figure for more than a few months. During the post-war period America has passed through a "rationalisation boom." Yet, in 1927, 2.1 million workers were unemployed; while by the end of 1928 the number had risen to 3.4 millions. Similar statistics might be quoted for Australia.

The position must be faced that even in a boom period capitalism cannot provide full employment either for the workers or the available capital equipment.

"Untillised apparatus of production and unemployed labour power," superfluous capital and superfluous population," as Marx says—this is the most important characteristic of the general crisis of capitalism."

Undoubtedly, the severity of the general crisis of capitalism is intensified in the case of the Central European States by the devastation wrought by the war, coupled with reparation payments; but clearly we must look elsewhere for the causes of the increase in organic unemployment in America. Only the tempo of rationalisation during the past decade will explain the extent of the constant mass unemployment in the U.S.A.; and rationalisation in some degree is responsible for the increased unemployment in all capitalist countries. In "Rationalisation and Unemployment," J. A. Hobson has shown that, while employment in American factories decreased by 11 per cent. during the period 1919 to 1928, production increased by 32 per cent. In the post-war period the contest waged between men and machines for employment inevitably assumes new and more acute forms.

III.—The Present Crisis.

We are now in a position to relate the general theory of crises to the special features of the present crisis. Owing to the limited powers of consumption of the proletarian masses, the development of productive forces under capitalism has always led to over-production, which is finally liquidated by a long period of crisis and depression. But during the past decade (and particularly in the U.S.A. and Germany) the tempo of this development has been accelerated to an unprecedented degree. Accordingly, the inevitable crisis was bound to be peculiarly acute, both in severity and duration. We have postulated over-production as the effective cause of crises. Do the facts of the present crisis justify this conclusion? The growth of unsaleable stocks prior to and during the crisis is a subject of common knowledge. Despite the drastic restriction of output, stocks in the U.S.A. increased during the period, December, 1928, to December, 1930, from 142 to 164. Clearly, during the rationalisation boom, productive power far outran the capacity of the consumers to buy. Or, regarded from another standpoint, the catastrophic fall in share-values, reconstructions, etc., prove that in 1929 industry was over-capitalised. An undue proportion of current incomes had been devoted to saving, that is, to investment. Insufficient

income remained to purchase the product of industry. Because the worker only receives part of the values he has created, he can only buy part of the product of his labour.

The crisis has exploded the theory of the monetary reformers, who claim that the restriction of bank credits is the prime factor in calling a halt to the development of productive forces. The fact is that during the present crisis there was no shortage of loan capital until the crisis had lasted for nearly two years—*if we except countries such as Australia and the Argentine, whose export trade consists mainly in staple products.* On the contrary, the excess of loan capital up to the second quarter of 1931 forced the financial institutions of France and the U.S.A. to lower the bank rate to levels rarely approached during the present century.

How has capitalism endeavoured to meet the crisis? Apart from war, the capitalist class has been forced to realise that it can only escape from the crisis by rigorously fettering productive forces. Production between 1929 (maximum) and November, 1931, dropped 43 per cent. for U.S.A., 42 per cent. for Germany, 29 per cent. for Great Britain, and 20 per cent. for France. The physical destruction of commodities proceeds apace. So as to prevent the further fall of prices, the Brazilian government was obliged, when raising a loan, to undertake to destroy from time to time a certain quantity of coffee in keeping with the amount produced. At the same time price levels have literally collapsed. In order to secure, at least, the home market, each national state succeeds in having tariff walls raised higher and higher, thus intensifying the crisis by stifling foreign trade. Naturally, tariffs come to be regarded as a prime cause of the crisis. But they should rather be viewed as a consequence of the shrinking of markets, particularly during the post-war period. It is because the contradiction between capacity to produce and capacity to consume reaches its most acute form in the present crisis that tariff walls rise to unprecedented heights.

The effect on the working classes of this capitalist way out of the crisis must be catastrophic. Mass unemployment is clearly implied. In September, 1931, the U.S.A. had 8 to 10 millions unemployed; Germany 4.3 millions; and Great Britain, 2.8 millions. With their dependents, the wholly unemployed in these three countries number, at the present time, considerably more than 50 millions. And these figures do not include part-time workers. At the same time, the general tendency is for unemployment insurance to be ruthlessly reduced—see in this connection the "Economy Budget" of the National Ministry and the Means Test* of the Ramsay MacDonald Government; also successive Emergency Decrees of the Brüning Government. Mass unemployment means mass starvation. The unemployed are not the only sufferers from the crisis. Wages have been slashed until the concessions won in the relatively prosperous period of capitalism have been lost. Naturally, social services, such as education and health, are made to bear their part of the burden.

*Through the "Means Test" thousands of workers have been refused the right to sustenance.

4.—The Outlook.

For the future, the main significance of the crisis lies in the fact that it leads to the revolutionary upsurge of the Proletarian Movement. Unemployment deepens, and we are told on all hands that wages, unemployment insurance, and other social services must be still further reduced. The basis for reformism thus disappears. The professional classes are fast losing their privileged position. The degree of political development of the masses varies greatly in different countries (compare, for example, Australia and Germany), but in all the capitalist countries it is more and more clearly realised that the fight for an en-

urable standard of living is a fight against capitalism. Owing to the special agrarian crisis, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples—such as those in India and China—have been impoverished even more than the industrial proletariat by the crisis. Here only wars and massacres have enabled the imperialists to maintain their class dominion. Inexorably the economic crisis, marked by a fierce intensification of the struggle for markets, seems to be leading to an imperialist war, or intervention against the Soviet Union. Capitalism means an intolerable standard of living for the workers—and war. Hence the call to join the revolutionary movement and abolish capitalism.

—CHARLES SILVER.

RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERVENTION

Two great factors have dominated the growth of the Soviet Union in the last few years—the gigantic schemes of Socialist reconstruction and the equally gigantic schemes of capitalist interference. To a large degree each factor explains the other. The schemes of reconstruction have been accelerated to meet the danger of foreign attack. The schemes of intervention owe their present virulence to the fear inspired in capitalist circles by the successes of the Five-Year Plan. The two threads are so closely interwoven that it is impossible to say which is the more important in the final texture. Russian shock-brigade and foreign oil magnate, the Gosplan and the French General Staff, may claim an equal share in the moulding of Soviet policy.

The May Day procession in Moscow revealed the omnipresence of both factors. The emphasis on reconstruction was clearly marked, the workers marching in factory groups, and the factories with the finest records of progress having pride of place in the procession. "Hundreds of placards reported on the successes of the factories in the struggle for Socialism: how much the productivity of labor had been increased, how much the costs of production had been lowered, how much the plans had been exceeded." But side by side with the evidence of these triumphs was evidence of the determination to defend them. The parade of the Red Army, the flight of squadrons over the Square, showed that gains so hardily won would not be lightly sacrificed. "We are not to be drawn by any provocation," said Voroshilov in his address to the new Red Army recruits. "If, however, any imperialist State or any group of imperialist States attempts by direct attack to destroy the fortress of the Soviet Union, then it will encounter the due and powerful resistance of the armed forces of the workers and peasants." Words reminiscent of those of Stalin at the sixteenth congress of the Communist Party: "We don't want a single foot of foreign territory. But we shall not give up a single inch of our own."

But if these are the two main factors, what have been the latest developments in each?

First let us take the sphere of reconstruction. May Day itself was the occasion of a memorable advance in this sphere. For on that day the greatest electrical power-station in the world commenced operations on the bank of the Dnieper. Many years ago Mr. H. G. Wells pronounced that Lenin, in his forecast of this project, had "succumbed to a Utopia." But now the "Utopia" has become a fact. Tracing a new course, enclosed in channels of steel, crossed by the largest dam ever yet constructed, the waters of this river have been harnessed to the wheels of the new Socialist industries. The same day that found from five to ten thousand workers on Yarra Bank in a mass protest against capitalism and starvation saw the commencement of this mighty enterprise, which will help above all others to conquer starvation and make Socialism impregnable.

Meanwhile, the great iron and steel works at Magnitogorsk, in the Urals, and Kuznetsk, in Asia, are nearing completion. The construction of these desert giants should finally remove that shortage of iron and steel which has proved one of the main retarding factors in the operation of the Five-Year Plan. 1932 is the year of the special drive on the iron and steel sector of the economic front—a drive aimed at nearly doubling the total output within 12 months. Chelabinsk tractor-works and certain other structures were held up during 1931 by the absence of necessary supplies of steel. Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk will see to that.

The further reconstruction advances, the more glib become the prophecies of its failure. Thus the "Daily Express" on April 18th assures us: "The wheat gamble has failed. The oil gamble has failed. The gamble of the Five-Year Plan has failed." The answer is that, granted the expected increase of 36% in total production during this year, the Five-Year Plan will be completed in all its essentials within four years. The oil section of the Five-Year Plan, aimed at the achievement of an annual output of nearly a thousand million roubles, was completed in two years and a half. The only "oil gamble" was the "gamble" of the British interventionists who captured the Baku

wells in 1919 and failed to retain possession of them. Nor is there any uncertainty about the reclamation of vast areas of virgin land and the generally increased wheat yields of the collective farms. The talk of a "wheat gamble" has no sounder basis than the fact of a comparatively poor crop in Siberia due to bad climatic conditions. Is the Gosplan expected to regulate the climate?

Let us turn now to the question of "intervention." The hopes of the interventionists have been brightened by the establishment of the von Papen Government in Germany. Germany has long been one of the weakest links in the interventionist chain. It has been doubted whether its hostility to the Soviet Union would prove to be greater or less than its hostility to its capitalist neighbours and rivals and oppressors, France and Poland. The "Industrial Party" conspirators of 1930, in the course of their trial, mentioned this as one of the major reasons why plans of intervention had been delayed. (For a full account of this trial see Mr. G. T. Goode's excellent book, "Is Intervention in Russia a Myth?") The attempt by the White Guardists, Vassiliev and Stern, on March 5th last on the life of the counsellor to the German Embassy in Moscow was fully exposed as an attempt to stimulate German opinion in favour of intervention. But new developments within Germany itself have dispensed with the need for any further assaults on German ambassadors. The Melbourne Herald of June 7th quotes the Berlin correspondent of the Manchester Guardian as having said: "It is recalled that Captain von Papen last year visited Paris and discussed with French clericals an economic alliance against the Soviet's Five-Year Plan and the re-arming of Germany. It was agreed that the question of Germany's eastern frontier should remain in abeyance in order that nothing should interfere with the fight against Bolshevism, in which Poland was expected to join." Thus it appears that since the last issue of Proletariat one important obstacle in the path of intervention has been pushed aside.

THE CLASS FRONTS IN GERMANY

Since my last article on Germany, the situation in that country has developed to a higher and more intense stage. If the German situation is evaluated in the light of these recent events, then the Communist analysis must be said to have been correct. The chief aspect of such an analysis is the insistence upon the nature and rôle of the Social Democratic Party as a Social Fascist Party and an enemy of the workers in the ranks of the working class itself.

To show that Social Democracy is Social Fascism, let us consider the activities of the party during recent months. Its support of the Bruening Government on the grounds that it was "the lesser evil" to the Fascists, and the results of that support, should be realised. It is not necessary to point out here that

Meanwhile, the possible function of Japan as the spearhead of an interventionist attack has not been forgotten. That splendid constellation of the bright stars of imperialism, the League of Nations "Committee of Inquiry," including Lord Lytton, General Claudel, etc., has come and gone. The delay in its appointment, the delay in its departure from Europe, the delay in the issue of its report, all serve to emphasise the pleasure of the western Powers at seeing Japanese imperialism safely installed in Manchuria. Hardly ever before has any imperialist power been allowed so much elbow-room by its rivals. When, in 1929, in answer to intolerable provocations, the Red Army entered one corner of Manchuria for a few days, the Kellogg Pact was invoked. Now, when the days, the Kellogg Pact has been overrun by the Japanese whole of Manchuria has been overrun by the Japanese military for the purpose of permanent occupation, the Kellogg Pact lies quietly in the archives. So far, the patience of the Soviet Government (in owing to the patience of the Soviet Government on spite of the Japanese seizure of important points on the Chinese Eastern Railway, of which it is part the owner), no major clash has occurred between the Soviet and Japanese troops. But there are every day increased provocations from the Japanese side; and three leading British newspapers in one week lately prophesied that a clash would prelude to a general capitalist attack. As pointed out by the Manchester Guardian, "If the Soviets can be goaded into any kind of active support of the Chinese armies, the French, British, and American Governments will immediately take the Japanese side."

So the race between reconstruction and intervention goes on, the history of our time largely depending on the result. If reconstruction outpaces intervention, the storm may be delayed. If intervention outpaces reconstruction, the stage will be set for the Armageddon of Imperialism and the outbreak of world revolution.

—RALPH GIBSON.

in the name of that "lesser evil," they have rallied to the support of the capitalist programme of wage cuts, etc., carried through by that same Government against the working class. What should be dealt with is the question as to whether Bruening is the "lesser evil" to Hitler. Let us first of all realise that the "Democracy" that the Social Democrats claim they are protecting has become little more than a name, and is meaningless in the face of actual facts. That this is so is due mainly to the Bruening Government itself, which, by its "emergency decrees" and condemnation of the Fascists, is very little removed from Fascist rule. The fact that capitalism, in its decline, can only continue with the support of Social Democratic parties does not blind it to the fact that the cessation of the growth and influence of that party amongst the masses

results in the rise of a truly proletarian party. Consequently, the bourgeoisie are compelled, in order to save their rule, to set up a Fascist mass party to proceed to a forced development of their own fighting forces. It can be seen, therefore, that the Fascisation of Democracy must continue in a period of intense class struggle, to be finally overthrown and replaced by the naked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. So the Communist theory is that the intensification of the class struggle (reflected in the growing influence of the Communist Party) will demand the open Fascist dictatorship.

It may be well to point out at this stage that we do not for a moment consider that the Social Democrats, or even for that matter Bruening, are in complete agreement with the Nazis. As the Communist Party has put it in an official statement, the Communists do not believe that there is no difference between a government of the Social Democracy and a government of the National Socialists, between a government which, in addition to terror, functions above all by deception, and a government which, in addition to deception, functions above all by terror.

But the Communists declare to the masses that both the Social Democracy and the National Socialists fulfil and will fulfil only the will of Finance Capital. The bourgeoisie are divided amongst themselves as to which party to support, and their allegiance to a party is dictated by the immediate situation. But what is never lost sight of by them is the tremendous counter-revolutionary value of the Fascists. It is further pointed out by the Communists that the rise of the Fascists and their influence amongst backward workers is, to a large extent, due to the policy of the Social Democrats during and after the war, and especially their administrative activities. During the revolutionary period that followed the war, the Social Democrats held the workers back from the fight, and the revolutionary mass organisations of their party were subjugated to the needs of the opportunist tactics of their renegade leaders*; this has directly resulted in the Fascists harbouring the idea of shattering the Labour Movement in Germany, an idea which neither Bismarck nor Wilhelm the Second could ever have thought practicable.

Let us illustrate our case with concrete examples of Social Fascism. Under an emergency decree the Nazis were ordered to disband their storm troops. Previous to that decree Hitler had openly declared that he would carry out Germany's obligations under the Versailles Treaty, and expressed his desire to seek an understanding with France. France looked with suspicion on the military activities of the Nazis, and, quite correctly, appreciated the danger of these mass troops getting ahead of their leader; this gesture— for, as we shall soon see, it was nothing more than a gesture—was necessary to placate France. As a mat-

ter of fact, this suppression was welcomed by Hitler, and he was fully aware of it beforehand. The following statement by the Minister for Agriculture, Herr Treviranus, clearly reveals what the Nazis' leaders think of the decree:—"For the rest, I know for a fact that the Nationalist Socialist leaders are exceedingly grateful, as they, of course, must be, for the removal of this danger of disturbances in their own ranks. In addition, the prohibition means for them release from an extraordinary financial burden."

To retain the value of the storm troops for intimidating the revolutionary elements, they were disbanded in such a manner that they could be easily reunited; and furthermore, certain important sections were allowed to exist in a concealed form as sport organisations. The fact that the Nazis made no attempt to resist the decree is clear proof of the collusion that exists between the Fascists and the Bruening Government. But the Social Fascist portent lies in this typical epilogue. The Social Democratic army, the Reichsbanner, consisting of workers who realise the menace of Fascism, received an order to dissolve its Defence Corps. The Social Democratic leaders accepted this order, dissolved these troops, as "there no longer exists the necessity for the Reichsbanner to remain in a state of preparedness." So the Social Democratic leaders disarm their own workers and blind them to the Fascist danger. One could not wish for a better example of Social Fascist tactics, which assist and pave the way for the Fascist reaction. The full depth of this crime can only be gauged if we realise that recently Hindenburg lifted the ban on the Nazis troops for the purpose, to quote the Manchester Guardian, "of terrorising their opponents during the forthcoming elections."

The final betrayal, and what may possibly mean the political eclipse of the Social Democratic Party, came with their support of Hindenburg's candidature for the Presidency. During the elections they used the slogan "Every vote which is given to Hindenburg is a vote against Hitler." To-day we see the results of that policy. Hindenburg suddenly decides that he will not sign any more emergency decrees, dismisses Bruening, and calls upon von Papen to form a Ministry. Von Papen is a noted Fascist and militarist who agrees with France that war against Russia is the primary problem.† It should be noted that Hitler took part in these conferences, and that he is constantly in touch with the French Government. This obvious manoeuvre on the part of the German bourgeoisie to replace Bruening so as to facilitate Hitler's conquest of power explodes finally the theory of the "lesser evil." Now all the talk of Hitler being "dangerous," is replaced by talk of "making him fit to govern." Thus the Social Democratic organ, the Vorwarts, of the 30th April, writes as follows:—"Is it not understandable that there exists a lively desire to give to the National Socialists an opportunity to bring their words into harmony with hard facts? Meanwhile the wish must remain coupled with a condition: the damage resulting from such an experiment must not be irre-

* Of the non-bourgeois parties, the Social Democratic . . . is the one that cares least about remodelling the State in the socialist sense. . . . It is proletarian in name, but actually the individuals who compose it have attained a greater degree of middle-class security than have many of the old bourgeois."—Roch-Welser, Foreign Affairs, April, 1931.

† See article on "Reconstruction and Intervention" in this issue.

parable." They go on to say that the danger is "that Hitler will not respect the rules of the Democratic game" (1). This is flunkeyism of the most shameless kind, and represents nothing more than the complete bankruptcy of the Socialist Democrats in the face of the rise of Fascism. An even more striking statement comes from the April number of *Current History*, in an article on the Presidential elections in Germany: "Hitler has long been shifting from his original extremist doctrines to a more moderate attitude, and it may well be that this oath of allegiance really marked the abandonment of his earlier anti-republican position. He has also emphatically declared that while he would put an end to the payment of the 'tribute' of reparations, he would scrupulously respect Germany's obligation to pay in full the interest and principal of all Germany's private debts." The conclusion is unescapable that the German bourgeoisie, by modifying Hitler's programme and by presenting him in a different light, are preparing his road to power by making him more presentable to international finance capital.

As for the future, the Communists will undoubtedly gain more followers from the disillusioned rank and file of both the Social Democrats and the Nazis. The Social Democrats have clearly disclosed themselves as Social Fascists, and the Nazis, by their statements declaring their willingness to meet the reparations payments and their compromises with France (the country which they have consistently told their followers is Germany's bitterest foe), have demonstrated

that Fascism is not a national movement at all, but is primarily an anti-working-class movement, wearing the patriotic cloak to hide its reality. This fact is clearly understood by Knickerbocker, who, in his book on Germany, points out that the greatest danger of the Fascists attaining power is the fact that they will expose themselves in the eyes of their followers. In last *Proletariat* stress was laid on the fact that amongst the rank and file followers of Hitler there were many who were very close to the Communist Party, but who were behind Hitler because they thought he was really fighting the hated France and the Versailles Treaty. If the Communist Party takes the opportunity to broaden its appeal so as to bring itself before the already partly disillusioned Nazis, whilst at the same time receiving the ever-increasing drift of Social Democratic workers, it should double in numbers. The moeratic situation arising during the possibility of a revolutionary situation arising during the elections should not be lost sight of. Hitler's storm troops will be used to terrorise the Communists on a larger scale than ever before. Since Social Democratic workers inevitably unite with the Communists in their street fights with the Fascists, the position may arise wherein the Communist Party can take the lead of the whole of the working class on a really united front and on a gigantic scale against the Fascist Government. Such a struggle will be linked up with the fight against imperialist war, against intervention on the Soviet Union, against the Versailles Treaty, and the capitalist way out of the crisis, and for a free Soviet republic in Germany.

—SAM WHITE

FROM COMMERCE SCHOOL TO COMMUNISM

The orthodox economists, in their (aptly expressed) Marginal Futility theory, have made their last attempt to evade the Labour theory of Value by a complicated system of describing the use values of different quantities of the same commodity. Even they, however, are forced in the final analysis to admit that exchange value must tend to correspond to "cost of production," a term which, on examination, resolves itself into the amount of labour embodied in any commodity.

Exchange value is simply the expression of the relation between commodities; that is to say, the value of any commodity is the proportion in which it exchanges for others. In order to discover what this relationship will be, commodities must be reduced to some common basis. The one thing all have in common is that they are the products of labour, so that their value must be expressed in terms of the amount of labour embodied in them. This labour includes not

only the direct labour of the workman, but also a part of the labour already crystallised in the instruments of production, such as machines, tools, etc. From this, Marx states his law that "the values of commodities are directly as the times of labour employed in their production and are inversely as the productive powers of the labour employed."

Price is simply the expression of value in the terms of one special commodity, money. Market price is therefore an indication of the average amount of social labour which is necessary under prevailing conditions of production to supply the market with the required amount of any article. Monopolies, tariffs, and other causes of fluctuations in supply and demand may result in the deviation of price temporarily from value, but in the long period the two must correspond very closely. Capitalist profits cannot, therefore, be made by the sale of commodities above their value.

Labour power is a special instance of a capitalist commodity. At the close of the feudal system of land holding in England in the early 17th century, the feudal lords obtained full ownership of the land they held. Their property was again increased by the Enclosure Acts of the 18th century. This resulted on the one hand in the growth of a landless proletariat, who were no longer able to make a living by working on their own plots of land; and on the other hand by the growth of a capitalist class in which was concentrated the ownership of all land, machinery, and raw materials. Therefore, in order to have access to the means of production formerly owned by the individual labourers, the workman is forced to sell his labour power, as if it were a commodity, to the capitalist.

As with other commodities, the value of labour power is determined by the quantity of labour necessary to produce and also to reproduce it. In order to work, a man must have his material needs (e.g., for food, clothing, and shelter) satisfied; he must also receive enough value to produce offspring to replace him when he is no longer fit for work. An example of this subsistence theory of wages is in the difference between the wages paid to men and women. In all parts of the world, whether wage regulation or free bargaining is the rule, men and women are paid different rates of wages, not because of any differences in productive ability, for these are eliminated under highly specialised power machinery, but because as a rule a woman's wage is to maintain herself alone, and a man's to maintain a family. Again, if the workman is to acquire skill or technical equipment, value must be expended on his training, and since different quantities of labour are expended on the production of labourers with varying qualifications, some kinds of labour (e.g., highly skilled) will be better paid than others.

The labourer must sell his labour power to the capitalist, and in exchange he will receive the value of his commodity—that is, sufficient to maintain him and his family on the standard prevailing at the time in his district, plus an addition to cover the value of any labour expended on his training. Assuming that the daily needs of the worker take four hours to produce, and their price is 10/-, then 10/- will be the daily wage paid to the labourer when he sells his labour power to the capitalist. If, then, he worked for four hours daily, he would exactly replace the commodities used by him (including the instruments of production), but he would not create any profits for the capitalist.

The capitalist, however, has not only bought labour power at its value, but also he has bought it for the full legal working day. Marx says that "the value of labour power is determined by the quantity of labour labour power to maintain or reproduce it; but the use of labour power is only limited by the active energies and physical strength of the labourer. The quantity of

labour by which the value of it is limited is not a limit to the quantity of labour performed." The same idea is expressed by the orthodox economists from another point of view in the theory of Consumer's Surplus. They show that the use value of any commodity is almost invariably greater to the buyer than its exchange value. Although the worker can reproduce his value by four hours' work, this is no reason, as far as the capitalist is concerned, why he should not work for eight hours if that is the usual working day. The extra four hours are surplus labour in which the surplus value produced accrues to the capitalist, although he has not paid anything for it. Since he pays a daily or weekly wage, he appears to pay for all the labour power expended, but in reality he is only paying for a part of it.

The method by which surplus value is obtained distinguishes wage labour from other historical forms of labour. For example, when slavery was the prevailing form of labour, it appeared that all the labour of the slave was given gratis, although in reality he received a living sufficient to maintain and reproduce himself. Again, under the feudal system, the serf was allowed to make his living part of the week by working on a plot of land assigned to him, on condition that he spent certain periods working for nothing on the land of the feudal lord. Only in the case of the serf is the distinction between paid and unpaid labour and the amount of the surplus value easy to ascertain.

Suppose we take a concrete example of profits arising from surplus value. If we analyse the cost of production of any commodity, we find that it resolves itself into the cost of raw materials, the instruments of production (machinery, etc.), and of labour power. The raw materials are bought at their market value. New Values are created by the use of labour power and machinery on these raw materials. The machine alone is unable to create value, and it can therefore only add its own value to the commodities produced. Hence it, say, the working life of a machine is ten years, the capitalist owner will set aside as depreciation one-tenth of its value yearly as being the amount of value consumed in production, and thus the full value added by the machine has been compensated for. Hence the profits made after depreciation has been allowed for, and wages and raw materials paid their market price, are the surplus product of labour, which has not been paid for, and accrue to the capitalist as surplus value.

To sum up: under the capitalist system, labour power is paid for at its value; the commodity produced is sold at its value. Surplus value (or profits) arises from the difference between the exchange and use values of the labouring power expended.

—JILICE STEWART.

TOWARDS FASCISM

AT THE UNIVERSITY:



THE DIALECTIC OF THE FASCIST.

IN SYDNEY:

Four New Guardsmen decoyed William Thompson, of Binnaway, from his home late at night, on the plea that their car had broken down. He was overpowered and driven away, and the letters "Red" were branded on his forehead.—See *Age*, May 16.

GERMANY:

The von Papen ministry is concentrating on an understanding with French and Polish militarism, in order that nothing should interfere with the fight against Communism. The Nazi storm troops will be used to terrorise the electors in the forthcoming elections.—See *Manchester Guardian*, June 6.

IN THE U.S.A.:

The following notice was posted by the Fascist organisation of the coal-owners during the recent coal strike:—

REWARD!

There will be paid to the person or persons delivering the body of FRANK BORICH, secretary of the National Miners' Union, to our headquarters, the sum of 1000 dollars. No questions asked.

Harlan Home Guard.

—*Monde*, April.

FORD ILLUSTRATES HIS IDEAL OF SERVICE:

Five thousand unemployed Detroit workers marched in an orderly, peaceful fashion to petition Ford for work and food. Police and Ford's thugs broke up the march with tear-gas bombs; some of the agonised workers threw stones, so the police opened fire. "Can you imagine them—murderers—talking about self-defence? After York and a couple of others had got shot, Goetz told us to turn back. Bennet (a notorious gang boss) came driving out the factory gate, and drove past the edge of the crowd shooting tear-gas. I let him have half a brick. At Gate 3 he stumbled out of the car and emptied his gat; I think he plugged two or three. And in a minute later the whole lot of them let go from behind the fence. They started bring when the men had turned to go. You can tell that because most of us were shot in the back. I'd gotten two in the back and one in the leg, so I just lay there watching the boys run, with those 'brave' cops emptying their guns into our backs." Ugly stories were circulating even in respectable circles that Ford thugs had clubbed Bussel to death. A Ford engineer said two of the wounded were left unattended for more than half an hour. Four were killed and 30 wounded. Forty thousand workers marched at the funeral. Over the grave will be erected "the towering figure of a workman, arm raised, fist clenched, to remind them that here lie together four of their fellows, murdered by the thugs of Henry Ford, who still, for a time, holds the living in subjection."—*New Masses*, April, May; *Inprecor*, April.

Ignorance and acquiescence are essential to the growth of Fascism, hence the Government's threat to outlaw the F.O.S.U. and the L.A.I. The F.O.S.U. tells the truth about Russia, counteracting the lies of the press. The L.A.I. shows the only effective way to stop war—turn your weapons on the war-mongers. These bodies are presumed guilty—that is, peace and truth are declared worse than murder or rape, in which crimes innocence is presumed. Behold already the jurisprudence of open Fascism!

LITERATURE OF THE REVOLUTION

Radical Liberalism:

Tawney, "Acquisitive Society"; Russell, "Principles of Social Reconstruction."

Social Democracy:

Shaw, "Intelligent Woman's Guide."

Scientific Socialism and Communism:

Engels, "Socialism, Scientific and Utopian"; Marx, "Communist Manifesto"; Bukharin, "ABC of Communism"; Lenin, "State and Revolution"; Stalin, "Leninism."

Economics:

Marx, "Value, Price, and Profit" (short); Marx, "Capital"; Lapidus, "Outline of Political Economy"; Hobson, "Economics of Unemployment."

Imperialism:

Lenin, "Imperialism—the Last Stage of Capitalism"; Bukharin, "Imperialism and the World Economy"; Trotsky, "Whither England?"

Russia:

Reid, "Ten Days that Shook the World"; Hindus, "Red Bread"; Dobb, "Russia To-day."

Periodicals:

English—"Labour Monthly," "New Leader," "Anti-Imperialist Review."
American—"New Masses," "New Republic."
Australian—"Worker's Weekly," "Soviets To-day," "Labour Daily" (Sydney).
"International Press Correspondence."

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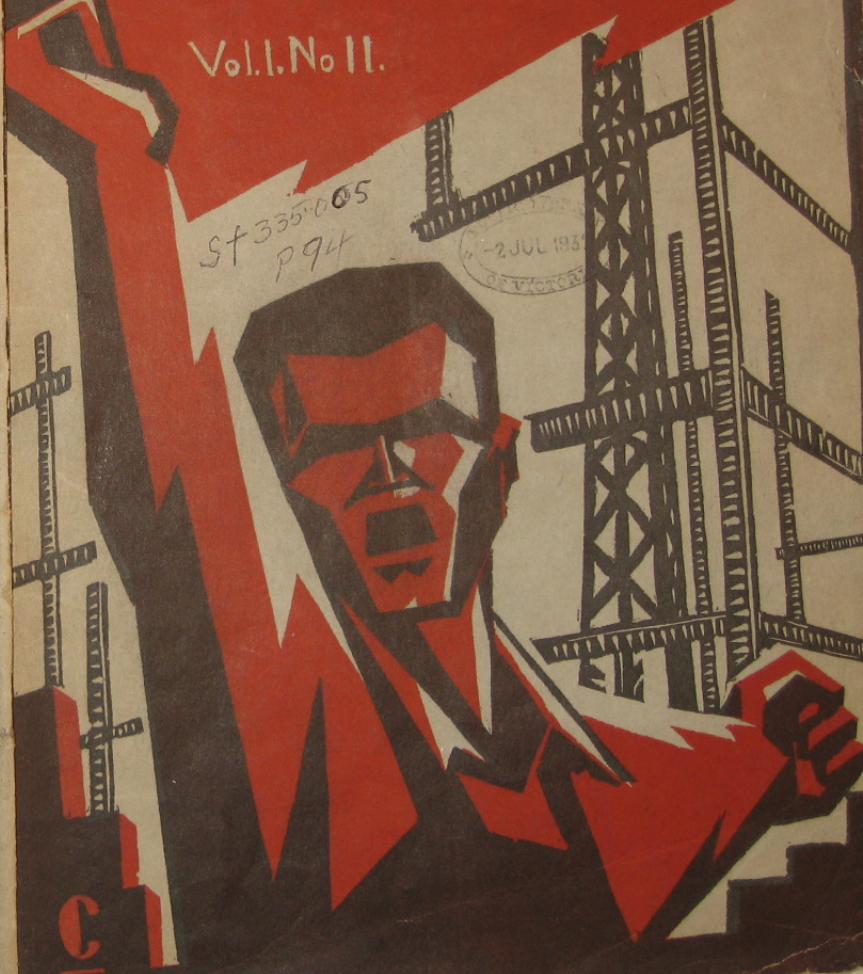
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PROLETARIAT



Greenmount, West Australia.
9th August, 1932.

DEAR COMRADES,

May I say how delighted I was with "PROLETARIAT," and to know of the organisation of students responsible for it?

For so long, the indifference of the young people of our universities to the economic fermentations of the age we live in, and the causes underlying those fermentations, has been a reproach to us. In the universities of Europe organisations of students have always associated themselves with the revolutionary movements of the working people. Marx himself graduated from such an organisation. And in the darkest days before the dawn in Russia, city student organisations did much to stir and maintain the spirit of the peasants and city workers against the injustices and oppression of their time.

In his "Letters," Tehekov says: "Only those young people can be accepted as healthy who refuse to be reconciled with the old order and foolishly, or wisely, struggle against it—such is the will of nature, and it is the foundation of progress. . . ."

He was referring to student disturbances in connection with a demand for: "Free right of entrance to the university without distinction of religious denomination, nationality, sex and social position; freedom of meeting and students' associations; the establishment of a university and students' tribunal; freedom of teaching; the abolition of police duties in respect of the universities."

This at a time when, Tehekov continues, "they flog in our police stations; a rate has been fixed; for peasants they take ten kopecks for a beating, from a workman twenty— that's for the rods and trouble. Peasant women are flogged, too. Not long ago, in their enthusiasm for beating, in a police station, they thrashed a couple of budding lawyers."

As a sign of the times, Tehekov mentions that, "the cabmen approve of the students' disturbances."

When a number of students were being taken to prison, at night, the populace fell on the gendarmes to rescue the students from them, shouting: "You have set-up flogging for us, but they stand-up for us!"

In Germany, France, Spain, Scandinavia, England and America, revolutionary organisations in the universities are standing behind mass movements of the working and workless people, realising that unemployment, wage cuts and legal injunctions are taking the place of the Tsarist knout to flog desperate people into acceptance of all the injustices perpetrated against them by a decadent and tyrannous system of exploitation.

Lenin said: "Less intellectual talk . . . and closer contact with life."

"Fewer pompous phrases and more every-day work . . . less political clatter and more attention to the simple, but tangible facts of Communist construction."

"Upon the youth organisation falls the gigantic task of struggling for revolutionary internationalism, for true socialism and against the dominant opportunism that has gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie."

Our universities have been lethal chambers for the painless extraction of youthful vigour, enterprise and independent ability. They have been standardising factories, stuffing students with lore of the ages, accepted formulae, ideas, designs, platitudes—afraid for youth to make its own voyage of discovery; have any contact with the stirring tides of every-day life in their own time. Whereas knowledge, to be of value, must be related to life with Promethean valour and integrity.

"PROLETARIAT" breaks through that stultifying atmosphere with its gay and gallant waving of the torch. I could cheer the splendid, defiant spirit of youth, till the hills echo, on this bright, sunny morning after rain.

How can the dry-as-dusts and their moles of victims prevail against it? By duckings, kidnappings, excommunications? Not in the least!

In "Candide," Voltaire relates: "After the earthquake which destroyed three-quarters of Lisbon, the wise men of the country could discover no more efficacious way of preventing a total ruin than by giving the people a splendid auto-da-fé. It was decided by the University of Coimbra that the sight of several persons slowly burned in great ceremony is an infallible secret for preventing earthquakes."

As ceremonial burnings to earthquakes, so duckings and police prosecutions to the debacle of Capitalism and Communist reconstruction.

KATHARINE SUSANNAH PRICHARD.



PROLETARIAT

THE ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB
(A Minority Group Within the University)

Editor: GEOFFREY SAWER :: PUBLISHED MONTHLY

Volume I.

SEPTEMBER, 1932.

No. 3

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EDITORIAL



N the Editorial prefixed to our first number we ventured a sad prophecy. We predicted that the advent of "Proletariat" would not "disturb by so much as a ripple the immemorial tranquility of the University mind."

We were in error, though we erred on the side of wisdom. When the student body ran down to the lake-side like so many Gadarine swine, a psychic as well as a physical ripple was set in motion, upon which a total calm has not yet supervened. There was much talk about the rights and wrongs of total immersion, and from that it was a short step to the rights and wrongs of communism. "Proletariat" played a very subsidiary part in bringing to pass this surface ripple. But still, a ripple it was, and that is more than we had predicted.

The issue then, is raised, but we cannot feel satisfied with the grounds on which it has been fought. Whenever there is talk of Communism in the University, the question seems to be whether it is a Good Thing or a Bad. If it is a Good Thing, let us embrace it. If a Bad Thing, we shall have none of it. Away with it! To the lake with its advocates! It is as though the student body were to debate in all solemnity whether it ought to rain on Saturday. Such moral predicates are no doubt valid, but in the world of action they have never yet made much impression on that old champion, Necessity.

The assumptions of this specious moral politics are the assumptions of Idealism. Idealism from Plato downwards has been a University product, and in whatsoever ways the Universities have enriched the world, they have certainly left it blighted with this curse. University-trained statesmen to-day are complacently trying to create a machine for the prevention of war, and setting it up in Geneva for all to see, a fabric of admirable ideas and aspirations. Even the architects of the Tower of Babel were not more grimly funny. It is absurd to imagine

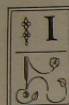
that any fabric of ideas or treaties or Zolvereins can deflect for a moment the economic destinies of nations. There are University-trained statesmen who, like our own undergraduates, spend a very great deal of time deliberating on whether Japan's entry into Manchuria is a Good or a Bad Thing, as though they or anyone else had some real choice in the matter. In reality, so great is Japan's economic necessity, that the gentlemen of Geneva can no more control the situation than Canute could command the sea.

The enemies of communism exemplify this very well. Communism is a Bad Thing, they say, because it involves the doctrine of class war. There shouldn't be a class war, they say. And the fat goes forth from the strongholds of Liberalism: "Let there not be a class war!" But the class war remains a stubborn actuality. Some say Communism is a Bad Thing because it involves violence and bloodshed. These must be blind to the facts: the status quo involves bloodshed and worse; the present crisis involves a clash, not of statesmen who might be persuaded to shake hands, but between the economic destinies of nations, and this clash can be resolved only by bloodshed, so long as economics rests on "competition," i.e., conflict.

In brief, we are distressed, though not surprised, to find that local undergraduates are so badly corroded by the old blight of Idealism, choosing between ready-made policies as between apples on a dish, embracing this policy or that because it is ethically sound, or "progressive," or because it conforms to some kind of individual standard. It is because the Student Christian Movement has adopted this point of view that it is in general so amiable and so futile.

The moral is this: You can perhaps reason with Old Man Necessity, perhaps he can be bent a little this way or that; but to wrestle with him is a supreme folly. The only effective way of dealing with him is to collaborate with the old gentleman. S.C.M., please note!

The Roman Church and Communism



IN 1891, Leo XIII. issued the Encyclical (*Rerum Novarum*) on the Condition of Labour. The translation is published by the Australian Catholic Society, July 31, 1931. On page 9 we read: "There is nothing more useful than to look at this world as it really is and look elsewhere for a remedy." On p. 2 the troubles are stated: "The misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor." The remedies suggested are just wages (p. 10), charity (p. 12), State regulations (the chief thing to be secured is the safeguarding of private property) (p. 20), a sufficient wage (p. 23), workman's associations founded on religion (p. 29). "Communism is robbery" (p. 5). The reason given being "that the results of labour should belong to him who has laboured."

In 1931, Pius XI. issued the encyclical (*Quadragesimo Anno*) on Labour and Capital. Claims are first made for the practical benefits created by Leo's effort. (1) Christian Social Science (sic) (p. 8). (2) Adoptions of his ideas by leaders of nations after Great War. (3) Increase of charity and health laws. (4) Growth of Catholic workers' associations. Still, after all these vast benefits (sic), "the few hold excessive wealth and the many who live in destitution constitute a grave evil in modern society" (p. 23).

Profit sharing suggested (p. 25), work must be supplied (p. 27). Harmonious relation between agrarian and industrial prices must be maintained (p. 28), syndicates advocated (unions of employers and employees), strikes and lock-outs to be forbidden (p. 33).

Now pp. 36, 37: "Free competition is dead, economic dictatorship has taken its place." There is "international imperialism in financial affairs." Communism is condemned: "Communists shrink from nothing and fear nothing when they have attained to power; it is unbelievable, indeed it seems portentous, how cruel and inhuman they show themselves to be" (p. 38). Socialism receives a milder condemnation (pp. 41, 42). "Modern factories and the present economic regime pose obstacles to the family life and family life—dead matter leaves the factory ennobled and transformed where men are corrupted and degraded" (p. 47). Remedy: (a) Economic life must be improved by Christian principles (p. 47). (b) The law of charity must operate (p. 49). In sum, all must become good Catholics.

In 1932, another encyclical, "Cristi caritate compulsi," published in *Tablet*, May 28 and June 4. Pope Pius XI. observes that "Distress is increasing and the host of men in affliction by enforced idleness grows greater."

The origin is the "unhappy heritage of sin." Communists are "waging war against religion and God—labouring diligently by all means—cinema, gramophone, books, radio—they mix the struggle for daily bread with their war against God."

"Now we must unite for or against God. Use, above all, prayer." "If therefore those who, through the excessive production of manufactured goods, have fallen into unemployment made up their minds to give the proper time to prayer, there is no doubt that work and production would soon be brought within reasonable limits." To prayer we must also add penance and frequent communion. "Let the poor and all those who at this time are facing the hard trial of unemployment and the scarcity of food, let them in a like spirit suffer with greater resignation the privations imposed upon them by these hard times and the state of society which divine Providence in its inscrutable but ever-loving plan has assigned them—let them with a humble and trustful heart accept, from the hands of God the effects of poverty."

The considerations of these encyclicals may be made under four headings (if their perusal is not of itself sufficient).

(1) Attacks on Communism and Communists. Leo XIII. shows a total misconception. The precise aim of Communism is to give the results of their labour to the labourers and to abolish parasitism.

The attack on the character of Communists is not in good taste from the head of a Church whose history includes the inquisition. It must be admitted that Communists, Christians, Mohammedans, etc., when at war, are not readily distinguishable. Still, white terror has generally exceeded red terror.

(2) Suggestions for patching up Capitalism, such as profit sharing, syndicates, wage fixing, prohibition of strikes and lock-outs and price regulation. Under the Pope's nose in Italy all these things have been done, and Italy's unemployment is three times greater than in 1929 and misery prevails. Marx is again confirmed, as usual, by fact.

(3) So our good Pope Pius recommends that we all become good Catholics, and if we all followed the law of Christ, Mammon would not prove so hard a master. Surely after nineteen centuries this may be termed fantastic and impossible. Even now the wealthy Catholics who support the Church do not carry their religion into their business. The most they do is to get their wage slaves to do the dirty work. In business, where success means getting a great deal for nothing, Christian morality must be suspended. Listen to St. John Chrysostom (Tim. 1, Hom. 12): "Dives aut iniquus aut heres

iniqui!"—"A rich man is either unjust or the heir of an unjust man." And still business proceeds not unbled by the Church.

(4) The final remedies: prayer, penance, communion, and the pious acceptance of God's will.

This in the year 1932 in a human problem which is undeniably material, and is already half solved. The problem is to supply man with sufficient material means of existence. Science has already given man the power to produce them in abundance. Distribution is the problem now to be solved by five-sixths of the world. In Russia the problem has already been solved by the workers seizing the means of production, distribution and exchange. This seizure was enforced upon them by sheer necessity, and to all appearances the same necessity will compel the workers of the rest of the world to follow their example and apply the same sharp remedy. There is no other.

As in Diphtheria to-day we inject antitoxin, and by a sharp, painful process destroy and dislodge the parasites; no longer saying it is God's

will and resorting to prayer. No, we use the knowledge gained on this earth and find it our only help.

Casting aside multiplied words and phrases, clichés of piety, what is the root idea of the Encyclicals? The security of private property. See page 26 (*Rerum Novarum*).

This must be secure, though man be corrupted, degraded and starved in the midst of plenty. If Rome is full of prostitutes and Moscow empty, it is God's will. The same applies to our youth driven to insanity, disease and death.

This attitude makes the Roman Church materially the enemy of the workers. In return the workers should deprive the Church of their material support.

Let the workers look well (with the aid of Marx and Lenin) at this world as it really is, seek the remedy where it lies; in action, not in prayer; in a scientific, planned economy—not in supine Christian resignation—in this world, not in the next.

G. P. O'DAY.

Notes on Australian Unemployment

Cessation of Loan Expenditure.

ONE employee in every five in Australia was in 1929 dependent upon overseas borrowing. A total of at least 200,000 persons received £47 million in wages. "However the world recovers, there can be no purchasing power for these men except from work." Before they can obtain employment they "must wait for new production." "Land now unpayable must somehow be made payable. 'Potentialities' must become realities, both primary and secondary. Prices must be within the reach of the multitude. Australian-made goods must be made, and sold. All this means that costs must fall, and all costs: not merely labor costs." These facts and quotations are taken from "Economic News," issued in June by the Queensland Bureau of Economics and Statistics. (See pp. 112, 97, 36, 87-8.) What do these facts indicate in relation to the ending of the "depression"?

It is frequently said that the Australian Governments will be unable in future to borrow on the former scale. Unless conditions grow very much worse than they are at present, this may be accepted as true. At all events, the maturing in 1933 of foreign loans will not permit new loans to be raised until after that year. On the basis of the figures quoted, the 200,000 mentioned cannot be re-employed from money obtained from loans until 1934 at the earliest. And eighteen months is quite far enough ahead for us to look.

If the total unemployment for Australia is put at 500,000, and if the 300,000 dependent upon internal revenue for their employment, were to become re-employed, what would be the position of the 200,000 formerly dependent upon overseas loan income? Let us consider the Queensland Bureau's proposals.

New production is required to provide new jobs. But the difficulty is: new production of what? There is already far greater capacity to produce than can be used. And although Australia is technically backward, there is a definite improvement in organisation and production. Important, too, is the fact that under the whip of the depression, the output per worker has increased. Again, whence would be derived the capital for new—and unnecessary—enterprises, when dividend prospects would be more than doubtful? With goods produced at a lower cost, and wages chasing (if not preceding) them, who would buy the increased quantity of goods?

The first conclusion to which these considerations inescapably lead, is that there can be no additional, new production for the purpose of employing a greater proportion of the workers until existing plants have been more fully utilised. It is, of course, assumed that the Queensland Bureau contemplates only economically sound production enterprises of maintaining itself on profitable business lines. The significance of this conclusion is that, even if 300,000 now unemployed obtained work, there would still be 200,000 unemployed. It is, however, expecting

too much to imagine that the whole 300,000 should regain employment, so that the position is still worse, and, under the present control and organization of industry, 200,000 is too small a figure for future Australian permanent unemployment.

Demoralising the Unemployed.

At first sight it appears that the trade unions and the Labor Party, as the bodies to which the mass of the industrial workers have given support, are the proper organizations to assist the unemployed. Yet the fact is that neither the unions nor the Labor Party has satisfactorily met the unemployed "problem."

To unions unemployment is a state of affairs of an incidental character. It is met by the payment of benefits of a small amount over a limited period. The union machine as a whole has been designed to arrange the terms of employment. For this the workers have been brought together in unions, and for this alone they are equipped. When unemployment became, not an incident, but the condition of a considerable proportion of the members—a majority, in some cases—the unions were utterly unable to meet the new situation. The common needs of the unemployed led to various organizations of unemployed. The position of a union secretary or organizer was an unenviable one. His policy may be summed up in the slogan, "Wherever you trade buy Australian made," which meant helping Australian capitalism to obtain some profit, more profit, or even monopoly profit.

The unions, acting in conjunction with the Trades Hall Councils of the large cities, and the Labor Party, strove to keep within reasonable bounds the clamor and agitation of the unemployed.

The result of the Labor Party's policy has tended to lead sections of the unemployed to acquiesce in their condition and to wait for to-morrow. Hosts of good working-class fighters have been slowly and almost imperceptibly demoralized. And, one may ask, for what? To make Mr. Hogan's path easier? But when it is realised that there are many in the unions who are quite as "bad" as Mr. Hogan, it will be plain that to draw any sharp distinction between the Labor Party and the unions is impossible. In both the policy is the same. A show must be made to keep the unemployed quiet, they must be brought into action on high-days and holidays, bedewed by an occasional tear, given sufficient to separate the soul and spirit of the man from his body, and kept under sufficient control to prevent them from developing into a support for a militant policy. But the irony of the situation for the Labor Party is that in demoralizing the unemployed, it undermined a considerable portion of its own foundations.

"If Winter Comes . . ."

ABOUT ten years ago the "best-seller" was a book of this name. It is a question which is now put daily: can this terrible unemployment continue very much longer? Surely, something must happen! Can we not by some scheme get round the corner into prosperity?

By common consent, Australia's problem is but part of a world-wide condition. But because it is a world-wide condition, it is quite wrong to say, as does the "Economic News," that "The world problem is not for us to solve" (p. 9). Similarly it is quite wrong for the unemployed man to say that he is helpless. True, an Australian wheat-grower cannot make any one buy his wheat, nor an Australian carpenter his labor-power. But there are other ways of regarding the matter, other views as to what constitutes the "problem," other solutions.

The view of the economists may be regarded as being that of the intelligent capitalist who seeks to establish a balance between the variable elements and economic life with a view to the preservation of existing privileges.

Some evil tendencies must be curbed, the long view taken, and all will be well. The alternative view is that the world's problem is not merely a depression, due to "disequilibrium" of economic forces, but the last stage of capitalist society.

In the last stage of capitalism, the capitalist, who has most to lose, calls for equal sacrifice. This the worker and the unemployed must both refuse. The reply of the working-class must be "inequality of sacrifice." For if the man on the lowest rung of the ladder goes any lower, his head will be below water, and unequal conditions can be met by the greatest sacrifice by those who have most. Around this claim of inequality of sacrifice, those in and out of work must be organized. The objective must be to contribute in Australia to the ending of the social system which implies unemployment. Now is the time when the ending of the system is necessary. Notwithstanding the statement of a former Labor M.H.R. that this is not the time to "envisage" (wonderful word!) socialism, this is in fact the time not only to envisage it, but to strive for it. In relation to the unemployed, that does not mean to help the capitalist State to reduce the unemployed to a condition of dove-like resignation, but to encourage in them the utmost resentment, the utmost understanding, the utmost organization towards the ending of capitalism.

Finally, there are many who attach to the fact of unemployment more weight than is proper. The real point is: To what extent does unemployment lead the workers to abandon existing standards? To what extent do the

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SOVIET SONGS



THE first shock-brigadier of the universal republic of Labor," as Romain Rolland describes Gorky, had so very little doubt in his mind, when he contributed a preface in 1914 to the first collection of proletarian verse published in Russia, that the workers and peasants of the world would eventually create their own culture. In the past, cultural activity has been restricted with very few exceptions to the leisured class and the patrons of aesthetic teas, to use Carlyle's admirable phrase. So that, when for the first time in history a proletarian literature and art and, above all, a proletarian criticism began to raise its shaggy head, it was not at all surprising that our literary pundits refused to treat it seriously and were as much impressed as a successful portrait painter would be by the competition or criticism of a pavement artist. But Maxim Gorky has always been the friend and adviser of the workers and peasants of Russia; and so it is that in this preface, after pointing out that they were handicapped in their efforts by their unfamiliarity with literary technique, he added: "I am absolutely convinced that the proletariat is able to write its own artistic literature just as it has produced with great effort and enormous sacrifice its daily press."

To-day, fifteen years after the revolution, we are beginning to see the first real fruits of their creative work. In fact, the bolder writers are gaining such confidence that Gerasimov, a poet and a man of action, whose revolutionary activity has made him familiar with the goals of more than one country, can write with fervour:

To proud daring there is no limit,
We are Wagner, Leonardo, Titian,
On the new museum we shall build
A cupola like that of Mont Blanc.

Some will be inclined to dismiss this assertion as the ranting of an over-enthusiastic propagandist; others who remember how the scepticism and scorn which greeted the announcement of the famous five-year plan changed to admiration and concern within the space of two years, will be more cautious. For Russia, the land of rye steppes and turbulent factories, the land of "chintz and rusticity of iron and concrete," is engaged in the mighty task of building a new civilization. So far there has been little time to spare for the imaginative and artistic expression of the revolution—the major problems have been of a constructive and scientific type; and the task of taking over the means of culture—the schools, theatres and factories, combined with the gigantic attempt to liquidate illiteracy (a phrase that has now become famous)—would seem sufficient for one generation to accomplish.

Many of the men from whom imaginative work might have been expected are at present far too interested in other matters. The artist in Russia does not boast that he is merely an observer of life. Tretiakov, the author of the powerful play, Roar China, is engaged in industrial problems on the collective farms in the south. Lunarcharsky is Commissar of Education, though a writer of plays as well. Mayakovsky was a designer and propagandist, though more famous as a poet. And Demyan Bedny, the "bolshhevik whose weapon is poetry," like many another among the proletarian writers, occupies a responsible position in the attempt to bring knowledge to the mass of the workers and peasants.

But a society based on collectivism, a society which hopes to make individuals think socially, must create its own culture if we agree that culture, broadly speaking, organizes the aims and ideals of the community and gives these artistic expression. And the proletarian poets are writing in letters of fire across the whole of bourgeois culture—Philanthropy, Romance, Reform, Individualism, are not enough. The art that is based upon the expression of individual experiences alone, however full of genius and splendour and humanity, must give place to an art which is social and recognises the relation of the individual to the community as a whole.

It is clearly true that the proletarian writers have an historical material to work upon which is completely new in the world, and they themselves are thoroughly aware of the fact. They know that life without creative activity, both artistic and scientific, can have little meaning; and the interest of the workers and peasants of Russia in artistic problems and artistic technique is proved by the activity of the numerous literary groups throughout the country. Proletkult, an organization for cultural activities in the industrial centres, was established in 1918; many of its leading members broke away and formed the kuznitsa, which soon became the most audible champion of the theories and practice of proletarian art. Since then numerous cults and groups have been brought into existence, expressing all kinds of tendencies.

In Russia art is feverish, as is to be expected, and perhaps a quieter time must come before the true masterpieces will be written. But the age-old misery has departed. The unrelieved gloom of pre-revolutionary literature, which might well have taken the name of Gorky—bitter, miserable—for its symbol, is replaced by an ecstatic and joyful tone strangely in contrast with the spirit of cynicism and detachment to be found in the literature of the rest of the world to-day. The hostile reader

will consider that the peasant poet, Essenin, has no good reason for his joy when he chants:

"The sky is like a church bell,
The moon like a tongue,
O mother country mine,
I am a Bolshevik."

But there is no feeling of anti-climax in his mind. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven," cried Wordsworth, and Kirillov, more than a century later, gives expression to the same triumphant feeling:

Everyone was a head taller,
Everyone was brave and strong,
I believe even the constellations hear
These days' rousionate song.

Life, it seems, is no longer a sad experience to them, for they feel the doors of the world have been opened, though every step they take through them "may be painful and full of torture." I know nothing more remarkable in contemporary verse than this sustained note of joy which bubbles with excitement because the writers are so conscious that they are forging a new life. Here is indeed the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings, though at times it may be couched in a false rhetoric.

The blue-bloused workmen of Russia are singing at their jobs. The shavings fly and the hammers beat. The atmosphere of clean and healthy work, not at all of the artist's studio, is in everything they write. Filipchenko's verses on the blacksmith rising to the hoisterous assertion that "He who is not a blacksmith is not a man," or Sadofev's curious poem, "At the Lathe," are not the works of intellectuals, but of men who have discovered the answer to a riddle which has puzzled critics all over the world. We have grown familiar with the criticism that poets have not been able to keep pace with the modern world of science, and with the answer that it is impossible to connect poetry with machines and factories in an industrial age. There is a false theory prevalent, especially among contributors to popular magazines, that beauty is only to be found in a world of medieval romance or among moons and nightingales. The result has been that people have come to believe that poetry cannot deal with the ordinary everyday things of life. It is true that a number of our more serious poets have endeavoured to keep in touch with the world in which they live, but for the most part they have only expressed the terror, the oppression, the monotony of the machine and the factory. They have had no opportunity to show the beauty of the creative work of man. Now for the first time the proletarian writers of Russia have discovered this new world. No word is said of "sordid farms and joyless factories," but Kazin can describe "The heavenly factory"; Gerasimov can say:

There is tenderness in iron,
The frolic of snowflakes,
And love glitters, when it is polished . . .
There is Autumn in iron.

The cold bluesness
Amidst the rusty pine twigs,
There is the scorching summer heat
Clad in a mirage
Of the fervent, flowering spring. . .

In the past the poet has only tolerated the city, because there he has been enabled to watch the moving spectacle of life. He has always been an outsider, a man with his heart in the hills; but Loginov can speak with the rapture of a lover of "the noisy and vigorous city where the new source of life begins"; just as Sadofev can exclaim: "I loved then the factory—the fount of all striving." The Russian poet, whatever else he may be, is no machine wrecker. See how Kirillov describes The Iron Messiah:

Wherever he walks he leaves a trail
Of rising iron rail,
He brings joy and light to us,
A desert he strews with blossoms.

Some critics have felt that, in order that they might give fitting expression to the new world of machines, the poets required only a new technique. But the terror which the forces of nature inspired in the old English poets only gave place to a realisation of beauty and joy when man had conquered the sea and subdued the night. This new attitude which can find romance in the workshop and on the bench is only explicable when one remembers that for the first time man has become master of the machine, and in Russia is using it for his own benefit. This is the reason why the factory stands "triumphant and bright like the sun" before the eager eyes of these poet workmen.

The verses of the peasants, of course, breathe a different spirit. They know "the murmur of the ringing corn that ripens in its sleep," and Oreshin laves

. . . the aftermath of green,
The rust of sickles and the blades sheen,
The rowing whirl of the vagabond wind
Amidst the silvery birch trees.

Here is to be found a softer, but less original note, which is more likely to appeal to the reader who cherishes the idea that all poetry is nature poetry. The peasant still loves the ancient customs of his forefathers and keeps alive the legendary tales of old Russia. He is a son of the soil and in "his songs there sing the earth and the rye," though the brooding melancholy which was so marked a characteristic of pre-revolutionary peasant verse is departing.

The silver-haired yesterday
Will be reaped and mown.

For a new light is shining upon the monotonous landscape which the peasants have known so long. We in Australia may feel more sympathetic towards this poetry dedicated to a countryside so like our own, when we remember that as Louis Esson has observed, more than one writer has suggested a resemblance between Russia and Australia—Havelock Ellis and Maurice Baring, to mention but two. And Vance

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Social Democracy and Fascism

SIXTY YEARS OF REVOLUTION—1789-1848



THE development of Capitalism to its last stage, Imperialism, involved a change from "free" competition to control of the world economy by several financial oligarchies. These partitioned out the world among themselves for exploitation, continually clashing along their lines of contact. This change in the economic form of capitalism had a correspondingly profound influence upon the class-struggle—an influence which disrupted the united ranks of the proletariat and complicated the whole structure of society.

Before the decade 1870-80, the struggle was developing along relatively simple lines. It is important to realise that, in the main, the contest was revolutionary in character. The sixty years following 1789 had seen the triumph of the bourgeoisie—but a triumph darkened by the forebodings of future successes of the rising proletariat. The year 1848 saw a powerful proletarian revolution in Paris and a successful bourgeois uprising in Germany and Austro-Hungary. In these latter countries the situation was extremely complex because of their mixed economic conditions—in parts highly industrialised, in others completely feudal; but one thing was common to all sections—the necessity for a change. A revolution took place, the bourgeoisie combining with the town workers to overthrow the ruling feudal class. In this they were successful for a short time, but the advancement of the industrialised section of the workers led the proletariat further than the bourgeois aim, and the latter found that they were compelled to unite with their former feudal foes against this new and dangerous force. Thus it was that after the successful rising of March 18th "the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the supporters of the overturned system was concluded on the very barricades of Berlin"* The same thing occurred in a more confused fashion in Vienna. It was this alliance which prevented the overthrow of the monarchy and maintained the old State apparatus almost entire.

In England, far more advanced capitalistically, the working class was naturally more developed and better organised. There was a powerful Chartist movement and the bourgeoisie was compelled by the mass pressure of the workers to pass the Ten Hours' Bill. This advanced state of the English working-class corresponded

with a similar advancement of the bourgeoisie who had gained their final victory in the struggle for power by the Reform Bill of 1832.

Thus we can say that the years 1789-1848 were characterised by fierce and confused struggles between all three main class groups—landowners, bourgeoisie and proletarians—which took very different forms in different countries, depending on the stage of economic development of each. In England and France the result was victory for the bourgeoisie—in the latter despite the seizure of power by Louis Bonaparte and his band of financial adventurers. In Germany and the Central European States reaction set in temporarily, but the rapid development of capitalism there brought about a more peaceful bourgeois triumph during the next twenty years. At the same time the proletariat began to get better-formed ideas of its class position, and had made several attempts at independent revolt.

How, then, are we to account for the "softening" of class antagonisms which, in general, took place in Europe, and later in America, during the second half of the 19th Century?

The Expansion of Capitalism and the Growth of Opportunism.

In England the parallelism between these two tendencies appeared earliest and in its most outspoken form. This was due to the fact that England during the forty years preceding the year 1860 had practically a monopoly of the European market. The profits resulting from this monopoly enabled the British manufacturers to grant greater privileges to the working class as regards working hours and conditions, wages, etc., and even made it advantageous for them to do so. The two sections which benefited especially were the factory hands and the great Trade Unions. Engels, writing of the new era which opened about 1850, said that the best proof of the improved conditions of the workers was that "out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests as the only means of securing a reduced production." This marked the origin of the "aristocracy among the working class" who "have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final."* That is, the British monopoly of the European market led to the formation of a "bourgeois proletarian side by side with the bourgeoisie."

*Marx: "Revolution and Counter-revolution in Germany," pp. 46-7.

*Engels: "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1884." Introduction. (Written in 1892.)

However, Britain's aspirations towards being the permanent workshop of the world were shattered by the rapid development of France, Germany and America, and the expansion of economic life from a national to a world scale—“free” in other words, by the replacement of trustification and competitive capitalism by concentration and financial monopolies. And the working class of these countries enjoyed, in more or less degree, a share of the profits of imperialist expansion and its exploitation of native races. In apparent contradiction to this stands the fact of the Paris Commune of 1871, but it must be remembered that this followed the collapse of the power of the adventurer Louis Bonaparte and the crushing defeat of the French bourgeoisie in the Franco-Prussian war. Once suppressed the proletariat was not permitted to make any independent revolutionary movement of importance, and very soon overseas expansion enabled the bourgeoisie to follow the same lines as the English ruling class.

The attitude of the European proletariat towards Imperialist colonial policy was much the same as that of their masters. They regarded the exploitation of the Hindu, the Negro, and the Chinese with the same complacency as the shareholders in big concerns. The important thing to realise is that this section of the working class, because of its superior education, greater leisure and closer contact with the bourgeoisie, became the leaders of the working class as a whole, and thus infected the whole Labour movement with its bourgeois spirit and bourgeois methods. In Engel's words, “they are very nice people nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.”* (1885.)

It was from this background that the Second International sprang. The First International, formed by Marx in 1864, was dissolved in 1873 because of the growth of power of the “bourgeois” proletariat and the internal dissension of an Anarchist faction led by Michael Bakunin. Nevertheless, it was an International revolutionary in character, as seen by its manifesto on the Paris Commune, which was criticised only on the grounds that it was not sufficiently revolutionary in its activity. The Second International, on the other hand, was infected with all sorts of Liberal Reformism, Radical Constitutionalism, etc., and its policy was mainly opportunist—that is, its whole activity was devoted to the attainment of small immediate advantages, completely obscuring the main issues of the class-struggle. It further turned its back on the old proletarian party by adopting constitutional methods in preference to forceful means and relying on the use of the bourgeois machine to grind the bourgeoisie out of existence—a

*Letter of Engels to Marx, 1858.

process requiring “gradual education of the workers” as “preparation for socialism.”

In brief, the effect of Imperialism during its “expanding phase” was the transformation of a section of the proletariat into the lowest stratum of the bourgeoisie; this section became the leaders of the working class and substituted opportunism and liberal reformism for the bitter antagonisms of the class-struggle.

The Collapse of the Second International.

In the twenty-five years between 1889 and 1914 the Second International spread its influence throughout Europe. In every country, under all sorts of different guises, opportunism was the characteristic of the working-class leaders. In Russia as Menshevism, in Germany as Revisionism, in France as Ministerialism, in England as Labourism and Fabianism, the reformist policy was leading the workers astray, blinding them to the increasing contradictions in capitalism and emasculating proletarian activity against the bourgeoisie. The chief theoretician of the Second International, Kautsky, even during the Imperialist war of 1914, a war forecast by socialists (including Kautsky) for many years, brought forward his ridiculous and traitorous theory of “Ultra-Imperialism” which implied the formation of a gigantic world trust with “softening” of the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat and consequent gradual liquidation of the class-struggle! With much learned phraseology he attempted “to justify the opportunists, to present the situation in such a light as if they did not join the bourgeoisie, but simply ‘did not believe’ in introducing socialism immediately because they expected a ‘new era’ of disarmament and lasting peace!” It is not surprising that such “socialists” became “socialist-imperialists” and voted for the German war credits, thus supporting the butchery of the workers of all countries!

So much for the opportunists who showed the feeble nature of their class-consciousness in the era of Imperialist crisis, who openly declared their interests to be identical with those of “their own” bourgeoisie, and who demonstrated their determination to “protect” themselves from imperialist invaders in the period when it was the duty of all honest socialists to declare that the Great War was an Imperialist war, the inevitable product of the contradictions of capitalism—a war actually forecast for years and placed foremost in the Basle Manifesto signed in 1912 by socialists of all countries. This subservience to the bourgeoisie can only be explained by reference to the preceding fifty years. Such reference reveals the petty-bourgeois nature of the Social Democratic leaders.

In short, the ideology of the Second International arose from non-proletarian sources.

*Lenin: “Collapse of the Second International,” p. 23.

When those ideas became, of necessity, rules for practical application in the period of capitalist crisis they revealed that a rift had occurred in the proletarian ranks, the larger group being led by outspoken “socialist-imperialists,” the smaller by a resolute body of socialists who realised and clearly stated that socialism had been betrayed, that opportunism became naturally converted into patriotism, and that an era of imperialist wars and hence of proletarian revolutions was approaching.

Social Democracy and Fascism.

We have seen how Social Democracy inevitably betrayed the workers in 1914, we will now consider the greater crimes committed since then by the same party. For it is to their treacherous counter-revolutionary action in 1919 that we must attribute the growth of Fascism.

In the early part of November, 1918, the united masses of the German workers seized power in the principal ports and Berlin. Thence a successful revolutionary wave spread through the country. Then a split occurred in their ranks. The Spartacists wished to go ahead and complete the revolution; the Social Democrats desired to proceed cautiously and constitutionally, because they thought that the workers could not maintain power. This, although the German bourgeoisie was at its weakest following its defeat in the Great War, although the Allied bourgeoisie were almost equally weak and could not rely on their proletariat to fight again, as they also were beginning to revolt, and finally although the German workers were completely equipped and armed with all the instruments of war. It is obvious that all the necessary conditions were present for a successful proletarian revolution. But the stronger party, the Social Democrats, assumed power in a bourgeois parliament and despatched armies which murdered thousands of militant workers. By so doing they gave the bourgeoisie the respite they needed and paved the way for the direct introduction of Fascism.

Fascism was born among the petty bourgeoisie, who increased greatly in numbers in the first, or ascending period of imperialism, but inevitably began to disappear during the declining period, which dates roughly from the war. The vacillations in the views of this class were brilliantly exposed by Marx in 1852: “Its intermediate position between the class of the larger capitalists, traders and manufacturers, the bourgeoisie properly so-called, and the proletariat or industrial class, determines its character. Aspiring to the position of the first, the least adverse turn of fortune hurls the individuals of this class down into the ranks of the second. . . . Humble and crouchingly submissive under a powerful feudal or monarchical government, it turns to the side of Liberalism when the middle-class is in the ascendant; it becomes seized with

violent democratic fits as soon as the middle-class has secured its own supremacy, but falls back into the abject despondency of fear as soon as the class below itself, the proletariat, attempts an independent movement.”*

These “democratic fits” occurred in Germany during Hitler's march on Munich in 1923. With the rapid growth of Communist power since then the Nazis have changed their attitude. Pressed by the proletarians from below, they have identified themselves more and more with the general aims of the bourgeoisie and now, with a huge following of 13 million, they seem likely to take power at any moment, in one last desperate attempt to save German capitalism. Using the Nazi forces as a flail and supplying them with all the necessary munitions, the bourgeoisie is engaged in a most ferocious onslaught on the workers. And all this is due to the Social Democrats! Fascism in Germany must be blamed on them, for it was they who betrayed the revolution in 1919, at which time there was little or no Fascism. There is no general rule that Fascism must appear before every successful revolution because the proper activity of the proletarian parties, especially after defeat in war, should result in a comparatively easy revolution. We can assert that Fascism and Social Democracy are but two aspects of a powerful machine used by the bourgeoisie against the workers.

Since 1919, Social Democracy has twice again played traitor on two major issues. In 1925 the Locarno Pact was signed, thus averting imminent revolution—the “socialists” in control of parliament worked hand in glove with the Finance capitalists in France, America, and Britain to restore decrepit German industry. Again in the past few weeks, when the course of events forced the bourgeoisie to declare a state of emergency and military dictatorship, the Social Democrats, instead of answering force with force, “appealed” and “protested” against the military power. They refused a general strike on the ground that the Nazis would enter and run the factories! By striking they may have precipitated a revolutionary crisis, but once more they showed their kinship with the bourgeoisie.

Internationally the Second International has played the same role in every country. In England they wrecked the general strike of 1926. In Russia, 1917, they actually aided the counter-revolutionary forces in the Ukraine with munitions. The character of the machinations of the Social Democrats was further revealed during the recent trial of the Menshevik saboteurs in the U.S.S.R. Everywhere to-day the steady upsurge of the revolutionary proletariat is forcing the Social Democrats to speak in a more “Left” fashion; but their actions still betray

**“Revolution and Counter-revolution,” p. 7-8.

the workers. A high official from the Melbourne Trades Hall Council recently informed unemployed workers at Essendon that they should go on fighting against work for the dole, but that nevertheless the struggle was a hopeless one! Thus does subservience to the bourgeoisie display itself on the international sphere.

The class-struggle throughout the world and in every country is becoming more and more intense—on one side brutal Fascism, and on the other the revolutionary masses. The capitalist crisis is urging the whole world onwards to the second great imperialist war, which has already commenced in the East. With this war must

come a great revolutionary wave with a struggle infinitely more bitter and more intense than before. Once more the Social Democrats throughout the world are attempting to disguise the true situation, substituting opportunism for the true revolutionary action. Now more than ever before it is necessary to have in mind Lenin's slogan:

"Long live a Proletarian International free from Opportunism!"
which we can now re-write:
"Long live a Proletarian International free from Social Fascism!"

—IAN MACDONALD.

"Fascism"—Germany

THE contradiction between oppressor and oppressed in the Hitler party is the Achilles' heel of National Socialism. But an Achilles' heel is not in itself a wounded heel—the mortal wound must first be inflicted.

The increase in the antagonisms and in the aggressiveness of imperialism in international relations is reflected in the internal relations of classes in the capitalist States, in the intensification of the class struggle and the oppression of the bourgeois dictatorship which is more and more assuming open fascist forms of suppressing the toilers. Political reaction, as a system of administration, has uninterruptedly increased in all capitalist countries in proportion to the development of imperialism and has become the other, or internal side of imperialist aggression. The fascist regime is not a new type of state: it is one of the forms of the bourgeois dictatorship in the epoch of imperialism. Fascism organically grows out of bourgeois democracy. The process of transition of bourgeois dictatorship to the open forms of suppressing the workers represents in substance the fascisation of bourgeois democracy. The modern capitalist states, taken as a whole, represent a motley conglomeration of fascist states (Italy, Poland) and bourgeois democracies streaked with the elements of fascism in various stages of fascisation as, for example, France or England.

Marx said that bourgeois democracy is a "form of revolution" and not a conservative form of existence of the bourgeoisie. With this form the bourgeoisie was able to purchase the active co-operation and participation of the proletariat in bourgeois-democratic revolutions. But on the day following the capture of power by the bourgeoisie this form began to evolve in the direction of political reaction.

The establishment of a fascist dictatorship

may proceed in various ways: gradually by the so-called dry road, where a powerful social democracy, having disarmed the proletariat by mockery, calling upon them to keep within the law and surrendering one position after another to by surrendering one position to capitulation fascism, leads the working class to capitulation before fascism, as was the case in Austria. German social democracy has striven to usher in the fascist dictatorship by the "dry road." But precisely because there has been a strong Communist Party in Germany which from day to day mobilised the masses, for the struggle against the bourgeois dictatorship now in the process of fascisation, the Austrian method of ushering in the fascist dictatorship cannot be applied there.

Another type of the establishment of the fascist dictatorship (Italian, Polish) is linked up with a fascist *coup d'état*. But both in the first and second cases the establishment of the fascist dictatorship is equally a preventive counter-revolution.

Fascism is not a belated historical miscarriage of the middle ages; it is a product of monopoly capitalism based on the concentration and centralisation of capital, the growth of trusts and cartels which leads to the tremendous centralisation of the whole of the apparatus for the oppression of the masses and the inclusion in it of the political parties, the apparatus of social democracy, of the reformist trade unions, of the co-operative societies, etc. The reason why its ideological forms bear this freakish character is that it is the political superstructure of decaying capitalism. But this retrograde ideology is interwoven with all the ideological attributes of bourgeois democracy of the epoch of monopoly capitalism, with the theory of "organized capitalism," of "industrial democracy," "peace in industry," the theory of "state capitalism as a new era in social relationships," the theory of the "non-class state," etc. Fascism, which did

not invent gunpowder, did not invent these ideas: it borrowed them ready made from social democracy and clothed them in medieval formulae. And this community of ideas is the best evidence of kinship between fascism and social fascism. "Socialism differs from Fascism only in its methods. Both represent the interests of the workers," said Albert Thomas, secretary of the I.L.O. Their relation is proved also by the fact that Social Democracy is changing, and that it is more and more orientating itself on those strata which serve as the mass basis of Fascism. Nowhere is this better exemplified than in Germany to-day.

Social fascism (social democracy) and fascism fulfil by different methods the same social task—the task of shattering the class organizations of the workers by supporting and consolidating capitalism. But this does not in any way mean that there exist no differences between the social democrats and the national socialists, and that they are united in everything. The community of ideas and the common social basis are determined by the fundamental factor that both fascism and social fascism equally serve the interests of decaying capitalism in the epoch of its general crisis. Social democracy is not simply the apologist of capitalism in general, but a decaying capitalism; it takes full responsibility for its existence with all its contradictions and consequences.

In order to retain its following of extremely fluctuating and motley elements, and in order to recruit certain strata of the working class to its side, Fascism must resort to crude demagoguery, a combination of the wildest reactionary demands with quasi-socialist phraseology. The existence of the Soviet Union, which ushered in the new era of world proletarian revolution and the growth of revolutionary temper among the masses, compelled fascism to adapt itself to the spirit of the times, to call the masses to revolution against "prostituted bourgeois democracy." Playing on the needs and misfortunes of the masses, drawing the passive strata of the population into politics, destroying the influence of Social Democracy—one of the pillars of capitalism—destroying by its policy of open violence the deep-rooted prejudices of bourgeois legality, fascism, itself a product of the crisis of capitalism, increases the instability of the capitalist system and paves the way for its own doom and the doom of the whole of capitalism.

The diverse roles played by social fascism on the one hand and fascism on the other, and of relations to one another, have been and are of the greatest importance for the fascist development in Germany. The alternative employment of these two forces by finance Government of the one side in the Prussian Government of the Socialist Party of Germany, and on the other side in the Thuringian and Braunschweig government of the Nazis. Not only has the

policy of the social democrats prepared the way for the Nazis, but the role of social fascism has been formally that of auxiliary police of fascism. By its support, which was alleged to have prevented a Hitler Government from coming into power, the social democracy has formed the Parliamentary buttress of the Bruening Government. By its action Social Democracy, in reality, gave the Nazis a certain amount of manoeuvring room so that the latter were able, by means of a sham opposition, to acquire a broad mass basis. On the other hand, the Nazis in all questions of foreign policy, but partly also in home policy, represent the most important extra-parliamentary mass basis for the bourgeoisie in carrying out the fascist policy.

With the growing revolutionary situation there also increases the importance of the armed counter-revolution as a mass movement of the bourgeoisie; but only the Nazis and not the social fascists can adequately perform this role. Even during the Noske period the armed counter-revolution, although politically set up and led by the majority social democratic organizations, but by the volunteer corps, the germ cells of the present-day Nazi Party. Thus, with the aggravation of the class struggle, and on the other hand the constant decline of the mass influence of the Socialist Party of Germany, the role of the Nazis increases.

Without doubt the above facts regarding the fascisation of Germany constitute a new, higher phase compared with that state of development which existed in the first period of the Bruening Government after the Socialist Party had been superseded.

The Bruening Government was overthrown on June 2nd. Says "Pravda" of June 3rd:

"In the 26 months during which it held office unemployment in Germany, according to official statistics, increased from 3,100,000 to 6,100,000; the number of unemployed in receipt of unemployment benefit has been reduced from 68 to 26 per cent.; rates of benefit have been reduced; the wages of employed workers have been reduced by 33 per cent.; the average weekly wage of an individual worker, taking into account the losses through unemployment and tax reduction, has declined from 42.20 marks to 22.45 marks. In the 26 months of this Government, milliards of marks squeezed out of the starving masses were played into the hands of the big bankers, the heavy industrialists and the Prussian Junkers, in order to salvage their bankrupt undertakings and big estates. This is the social content of the policy of the Bruening Government of emergency decrees. This Government of emergency decrees and expropriation of the toilers in the interests of finance capital. The workers of Germany are faced with a Government of open reaction, whose programme contains an unexampled enslavement of the toiling masses."

Bruening has been replaced by his colleague of the Catholic Centre Party, the big landowner, Franz von Papen, the biggest shareholder of "Germania," who during the war was military attaché in Washington. The new Government is a Government of heavy industry and of the junkers with the closest co-operation of the Reichswehr generals, who have in their hands all the means of terror for suppressing the resistance of the workers. The German bourgeoisie has decided to substitute terror for deceit as the "chief means" of overcoming the resistance of the masses and maintaining its class rule. In foreign politics, however, the national sentiment will have to take into account that national sentiment which has driven many millions of petty bourgeois in the towns, peasants and even individual workers into Hitler's camp. These millions voted at the Presidential and Prussian elections, not so much for Hitler as against France and Poland. German national sentiment is being daily outraged by attacks upon the right of self-determination of the German people on various sectors of the German frontiers. The recent actions of the Papen group have considerably modified the methods of deception in this quarter, and show another step towards open fascist rule.

The middle class of Germany form the bridge which national Socialism needs between the employers and the workers to set up the "community of the people." Proletarian in mode of living, bourgeois in ideas, striving to avoid falling into the ranks of the working class, and dreaming of rising to the level of the bourgeoisie—with whom they still feel themselves connected, in spite of their empty stomachs. Their traditions, their school drill, their lack of political training, lack of understanding of economic things, veneration for big leading personalities, contempt for the "lower orders"—all this renders them ripe for national socialism at a time of fearful crisis of the capitalist system. They stand helpless. Communist propaganda has so far only partly succeeded in reaching them. National socialism demands of them less mental exertion. Hitler promises salvation. He promises bread for all, abolition of the crisis, reduction of taxes. Hitler, his partisans shout, will drive out the Marxists, who handed over the country to the Jews and the French, who enslaved it to finance capital. The Nazis have achieved great successes among the clerks, the middle classes in the country, the peasants and the civil servants, including the upper and lower grades. The peasant was everybody's beast of burden. The social democracy paid as little heed to him as to the handworkers. Then came Hitler. This argument that the present governing powers are responsible for everything was crude, but illuminating—Marxists, Jews, French. The peasant was easily suscep-

tible to anti-semitism as a result of his experience with corn and cattle dealers.

The repeated wage cuts had simply driven the lower civil servants into the arms of the Nazis, while among the higher grades the incitements of the Nazis against those civil servants who had been given the easiest and most lucrative posts simply because they were members of the social democrats or Centre parties, fell on fruitful soil. After the revolution of 1918, the social democracy maintained intact the whole of the monarchist apparatus and appointed to positions in it only a number of their own followers. When National Socialism grew stronger and had prospects of coming into power, then in order to retain their posts a large number of civil servants and officials joined the ranks of the Nazis. By divers means were the unemployed attracted to the Nazis. Some were disappointed in the S.D. party, others in the Centre, some even in the German Nationalists, while others were formerly indifferent. Among the Nazi electors are many who think that Hitler's coming into power will more quickly bring about chaos and collapse. These see in national socialism a weapon against capital, as capital sees in national socialism a weapon against the proletariat.

Under all these circumstances, the successes of the Hitler movement are not surprising. National Socialism promises the workers higher wages, the employers lower ones; the consumers lower customs duties, the big agrarians higher ones; to the workers socialism, to the employers the inviolability of private property. The peasants are promised land, the agrarians the safety of their property; the peasants lower rents, the house owners higher rents; the nationalists the cessation of reparations payments, the Entente the fulfilment of all obligations, the disinherited, the fight against finance capital, the foreign capitalists the payment of interest, the Republicans the Republic, the monarchists the restoration of the Hohenzollerns, the workers in the factories the revolution, and the employers the counter-revolution. Thus the employers see in Hitler their rescuer from Bolshevism, the dictator over the rebellious masses; the petty bourgeoisie see in him the solver of the crisis, the emancipator from the foreign yoke, the leader to new national revival; the peasants see in him the protector of agriculture, the intellectuals the purger who will cleanse the Augean stable of corruption, whilst the misled proletarians see in him the revolutionary fighter against international finance capital and the emancipator of oppressed Germany.

With the seizure of supreme political power by von Papen it would appear that the power of Hitler and the National Socialists had gone, but it is clear that the Papen group of junkers, big agrarians, financiers, and industrialists, have the

support of the National Socialists. Correspondence dated June 6th, and sent out by the Herren Club, to which Von Gayls, Minister of the Interior, and other Ministers belong, carries the following:

"The new Cabinet is not only tolerated by the Nazis, but has also the express approval of the leader," etc.

That Hitler is responsible for the emergency orders and also for the agreements concluded by Papen at Lausanne is beyond doubt, and the results of the very recent election indicate a clearer demarcation of the division of Germany into two opposing class interests—the National Socialists and the Communists. The "accord a trois," with its threefold plan of (i) an economic alliance against the Five Year Plan; (ii) re-armament of Germany; (iii) the agreement between Germany, France and Poland, is obviously aimed at the growing power of the revolutionary movement in Germany and its sympathy with Soviet Russia. There is no longer

any need for the crude demagoguery, the deceitful tactics—the time is ripe (with the aid of the outside imperialist groups) to crush ruthlessly the growing power of the masses.

An increasing number of the German Social Democratic workers realise the treachery of the slogan, "A vote for Hindenburg is a blow at anti-Fascism." Conferences and congresses of anti-Fascist action "are being attended by delegations from the local organizations of the Social Democratic Party, from the reformist and the Christian trade union branches. The pressure of the Social Democratic masses upon the leaders in favor of a united front of the whole working population is growing intense. To the German worker there are two alternatives: the organization of the whole into a united "iron front" against the ever-increasing attack from without and within or the misery of starvation. Fascism and war—such is the prospect opened up by the capitalist way out.

—JOHN FINLAYSON.

Soviet Songs--Concluded from page 8.

Palmer has stated, according to Mr. Esson, "that the farms and cattle, the landscape, the common interests of workaday people, all recall the familiar life of the bush." The feelings of the peasantry the world over are much the same; and it would be well for those among us who feel that Russian thought is alien to us, or who feel that there is no freedom of religion in Russia to-day, to read the peasant poetry which is still filled with a mysticism that is close to the soil and religion that is simple and child-like.

But not only the glory of iron and steel and the beauty of the land of rye and oats are the themes of Russian poetry. Its most significant feature is to be found in the chants of collectivity. These are sung by the proletarian poet, who feels himself in actual fact a member of "the family of the working commune." The peasant is still inclined to see himself against a background of the sky. But it cannot be said that it is only in the hymns of Demyan Bedny, who has brought poetry to the masses in a way that no other man has ever done, or in the vigorous works of other proletarian poets who are striving to make us hear the voices of the millions of blue-bloused workmen, their comrades, that this spirit of what the first manifesto of Kuznitsa calls the industrial collectivism is felt. It is also to be found in verse of every description written by men who are aware of a new background in their lives, who are beginning to think first of the welfare of all, not of themselves, and by sinking their own individuality, are learning to assert it. They are of speaking of "we," and not of the first person singular. Because on so many vital mat-

ters they think in unison they continually refer to the masses, the collectivity:

We shall take all, we shall know all,
We shall pierce the depths to the bottom,
And drunk is the vernal soul,
Like May, golden with blossoms.

These songs of the masses are not the songs of blood-thirsty fomenters of strife, as some would have us believe, but of simple-minded, child-like human beings who are laying the foundations of a new life.

To these young poets the world has grown young again and is no longer bowed down beneath the weight of an intolerable burden. No doubt the unsympathetic critic, forgetting that we are dealing with the first fruits of the new proletarian writers, will find much crudity in their verses. They have much to learn, but not so much to unlearn as we in a land where is found, as Bernard O'Dowd says, "all old sin in full malignant flower."

For those who are not frightened of fierce attacks on all our sacred monuments to individualism and class privileges, or of new ideas in poetry, there is to be found in these songs of the Soviet a picture of mighty Russia announcing the freedom of the human spirit to create, and taking the first step towards a culture that shall be really human and give full play to the human personality in a human society. This is the best news I have heard of Russia; here is a form of internal evidence. When statistics fail to impress, when engineering feats do not convince, and when the contrast between Russia in construction and the rest of the world in depression falls on deaf ears, listen to what the workers and peasants have to say about their own life in their own songs.

H. WINSTON RHODES.

THE TIMES CHANGE

"The continued domination of finance—capital means either the complete annihilation of civilized society or an increase in exploitation, slavery, political reaction and armaments, leading to new devastating wars."—Lenin.

CAPITALISM.

"IN THE UNITED States a special law was adopted in a great hurry last year (1930) against the import of goods produced by prison labour, or with the assistance of forced labour . . . but,

"These provisions shall not apply to commodities of any kind, even if they should be produced, manufactured, transported, carried, loaded or unloaded with the assistance of forced labour . . . providing such commodities are not produced in the United States in such measure as to satisfy the demand for such commodities in the United States."—*Molotov*.

FORCED LABOUR!

HE, who, being unemployed, shall refuse to work, shall receive no sustenance.

SOVIET DUMPING . . .

FOR 1930, Soviet export trade was 1.9 per cent. of the world's total export trade. "Can one really seriously speak of the effect of 'Soviet dumping' on the steel industry, which is experiencing an unparalleled slump at the moment? The Soviet Union does not export metals. On the contrary, it imports metals."—*Success of Five Year Plan, 1931. Molotov*.

AUSTRALIAN DUMPING.

"SENATOR McLACHLAN said: . . . Queensland consumed only 6 per cent. of the sugar she produced. The other five States absorbed 46 per cent. (at £27 a ton); and the remaining 50 per cent. was shipped overseas (sold at £10 a ton)."—*Age, 25/8/32*.

CLASS WAR.

ARGYLE ADDRESSING city people at the Town Hall:

"I cannot tax you more—I am not prepared to borrow more money because that would be uneconomic . . . ; then, the community itself can come to our help and see what it can do."—*Argus, 24/6/32*.

In all quotations the author's comments are bracketed: (500).

like), but no sign of under-nourishment (compare with Riga news). . . . None of our willowy, boyish figures—solid, robust, healthy, they swam and sunbathed and enjoyed themselves."—*A Scientist Among the Soviets—1931. Julian Huxley*.

And these people were WORKERS.

RUSSIAN FAILURE.

WORKERS STARVING.

Published in "The Times."

RIGA, August 30.

" . . . The Five Year Plan . . . is an incident in a long series of plans; it is a symptom of a new spirit, the spirit of science introduced into politics and industry."

"It heralds the birth of a new kind of society, a society which is coherently planned, and has not, like Topsy and the out-of-hand individualisms that constitute our Western nations, 'jest growed.'"

"Science is an essential part of the Russian Plan."—*Julian Huxley*.

THE CHURCH.

"WE AS A CHURCH want to bring our people back from the consideration of all our problems in terms of material wealth—riches and poverty, employer and employed, profits and wages—to the moral question of the right to serve to full capacity. Then men will listen when we remind them that what comes first is not the wage, but the good work for which the wage is given. . . .

To-day we have gone too far in repressing the freedom of the strong man, whether employer or workman, in the interests of the weak."—*Archbishop Head, Address to Synod.—Argus, 29/9/31*.

We would add:

"Never mind the housing problem, Heaven is our home."

There are some millions of unemployed.

The picture of US restraining the freedom of Rockefeller, in the interests of the weak, tests the imagination beyond its limits.

"The amount in the fund (the Supernumerary Fund of the Methodist Church of Australasia) was £713,665, the actuarial reserves were ministers, and ministers' widows' claims were £663,063—an excess of funds over reserves of £50,602. The sum had accumulated over many years. In 1931 the fund had earned an interest rate, after expenses had been deducted, of £5/10/10 per cent., and the surplus had been £1/10/-. The surplus earnings for three years

had been £13,005, and the bonus payments in that period had been £19,755. Much less interest might be earned in 1932."—*Argus, 25/5/32*.

The conference, after discussing this small aspect of its financial affairs in such churchman-like spirit, passed this pious and useful resolution:

"The conference views with concern the grave problem of unemployment.

"The conference is aware that much unemployment results from the intrusion and interference in industrial fields of leaders whose avowed purpose is to disrupt society, and also from the attitude of mind and spirit of elements among both employers (sic!) and employees. . . .

"The conviction of this conference is that, rather than the giving of sustenance, productive work ought to be made available."

It then proceeded to resolve regarding its loyalty to King George and all constituted authority.

In view of the Churches' temporal interests it is possibly significant that Monk, because he would not agree beforehand "to work harmoniously" with capitalists, was excluded from the State Employment Council as workers' representative. His place was filled by the philanthropist, Rev. J. H. Cain.

2,000 GUESTS FOR CIVIC BALL.

NOVEL WRITING ON CARD.

—*Herald, 23/7/32*.

THE DOLE.

"IF WE HAD NOT the dole there would have been a revolution in this country long ago. . . . You would not keep a dog on your premises unless you had a bone to give him."—Lloyd George: *Manchester Guardian, 7/1/31*.

"The Minister in Charge of Sustenance (Mr. Kent Hughes) has determined that imposition shall cease, and he has designed the social index system, which is to be brought into use next week, with the object of making detection of impostors much easier and more certain than it has been in the past."

"When the new sustenance rates came into operation on 7th July, 34,079 family units in the metropolis were receiving assistance at a weekly cost of £19,502. Now there are 30,579 family units receiving sustenance at a cost of £17,602. Thus £1,900 a week has been saved in sustenance payments. A simple process of checking proved sufficient for the removal of 1,100 names."

"In addition to the 1,100, a further 2,400 names have been struck off the lists. A large percentage of these were men who either re-

fused to accept relief work when it was recently offered to them, or failed to report when called up for work."—*Age*, 27/8/32.

Australian capitalists are determined to starve the dog. He will turn on his myopic masters.

ANOTHER £13 FOR BLANKET FUND.

Successful Bridge Parties.

—*Herald*, 9/7/32.

EVICTON PHILOSOPHY.

CAIRNS SHOWGROUNDS eviction of July, 1932. The Home Secretary thought "that proceedings for evictions should be through the courts. That might have taken months, and have prevented the holding of the Show. So a strong band of Cairns people (500) decided to take a short cut and hence the brawl. It was soon over, with a few broken heads, and the grounds were soon cleared. Thus we have a lesson that if a job of eviction is necessary it is better to apply primitive methods. . . . There's nothing like law and order."—*Age*, 25/7/32.

OTTAWA.

NEW PAGE IN HISTORY.

KING'S MESSAGE:

"Empire Can Give Lead to the World."

—*Herald*, 22/7/32.

RUSSIAN WHEAT dumping in Britain has aroused a strong Australian feeling."—*Herald*, 23/7/32.

"The 'Chicago Tribune' . . . reports that Mr. Bennett demanded complete exclusion of Soviet wheat and lumber, but that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Chamberlain) squelched this proposal by declaring that Britain's hands were tied by the millions of sterling credits advanced to Russia and by Trade Treaties. . . . President of the Board of Trade replied: 'Oh, dear, no. . . . We have 42 treaties with 'most favored nation' clauses, and these are the basis and backbone of our export trade.'

"No Canadian newspaper reports this alleged dialogue."—*Herald*, 25/7/32.

The probable causes of decline of the sterling rate include—

"The technically improved condition of the dollar."—*Herald*, 9/7/32.

"Economic and banking advisers at the Ottawa Imperial Conference have reached a momentous decision regarding the Imperial Cur-

rency question. If the Ministers accept their recommendations, the effect will be instantaneous and world-wide."—*Argus*, 9/8/32.

"I have never seen such a scramble of interests," declared Mr. John Bromley, chairman of the Trade Union Congress and an adviser to the British delegation, on his return from Ottawa. "The delegates to the conference exhibited more desire for what they could get from it than for the glory of the Empire, the revival of world trade, or any other consideration."—*Argus*, 29/8/32.

DISARMAMENT.

ADDRESSING JOURNALISTS at Geneva, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald drew a parallel between Creation and the Disarmament Conference.

"Mr. MacDonald prophesied that the three-day would come on which work would be accomplished worthy of being recorded in the most illustrious pages of history."—*Argus*, 25/4/32.

"They used to call him the Loon of Lessor-mouth, this erstwhile poor Scotch lad, who can look back over half a century and perhaps marvel at the strange destiny which has brought him to become the Peacemaker of Europe—perhaps of the world!"—*Herald*, 12/7/32.

We would add that this former leader in the Second International, may, very appropriately, wear the mitre before his respectable career closes.

"One of the lessons he had learned from his visit abroad, Latham said, was that the real work was now done in private conversations between the leaders of the delegations.

"If the actual figures brought to Geneva by some of the nations had been made public, Latham went on, everyone would have thought it was a re-armament and not a disarmament conference."—*Report on Lecture*, "Disarmament," at Auditorium, 5.8.32.

—*Worker's Weekly*.

U. S. A. ARMAMENT reduction proposals: . . . Air forces—all bombing planes should be abolished . . . Navy—number and tonnage of aircraft carriers and destroyers to be reduced by one-fourth. . . ."—*Argus*, 28/6/32.

"Although I am an enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations, the position to-day gives us many grounds for doubt (sic!) whether the nationalism of each nation has not really crippled the hands of the League. . . .

"Each nation also grandiloquently offers to give up what she fears most; for example, England surrenders submarines.

"In other words, we have evolved machinery for peace . . . but have we evolved the will for peace?"—Prof. Paton: *Herald*, 25/7/32.

CONTRASTS:

"ANZAC COMMEMORATED

25,000 Men March.

SPLENDID SPECTACLE IN CITY.

In the Churches: Large Congregations.
Anzac Spirit is Christian."

—*Argus*, 26/4/32.

"COMMUNIST MARCH.

Anti-War Demonstration.
Six Men Fined."

—*Argus*, 10/8/32.

And in the Churches—"God protect us from the menace of the Reds. Bless, Oh Lord, our Army and our Navy."

COMMUNISM IN CHINA.

THE STAMPING OUT of Communism is the most formidable problem for China. In her central provinces there is a large Communist army. Suppressed in one place it bobs up in another. When this menace, and banditry, have been crushed—Dr. Stuckey (missionary) believes—China should be able to move ahead and take her place among the nations."—*Herald*, 25/7/32.

Communist control in China extends over one-fifth of the territory in which there are 80,000,000 people.

CONCLUSION.

MOLOTOV, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, in *The Success of the Five Year Plan* (1931), writes:

"It must be admitted that the bourgeois economists are in a difficult position. They are incessantly obliged to find fresh explanations for the present 'economic crisis.' Incapable of grasping the Marxist—that is, the actual scientific recognition of the causes of the crisis—these economists are lost in a maze of endless contradictions.

"We have landed in an incredible chaos," states the well-known English economist, Keynes—"For whilst having to do with an ex-

tremely sensitive machine, whose laws are unknown to us, we have committed some bad blunder."—*Wirtschaftsdienst* of 19th Dec., 1930.

. . . The distinguished German economist, Bonn, . . . declares:

"In the minds of thousands of people an extremely naive question has arisen: Does the capitalist system still possess any right to exist, if it is incapable, in the richest country in the world, comparatively thinly populated, with industries and capable people, of securing for this population the means of living in accordance with the demands developing in human beings by modern technique, without from time to time forcing millions of people to suffer deprivation, or to resort to charity and night shelters? The import and meaning of the American crisis lie in the fact that at the present juncture it is not merely a question of economic leadership or politics, but of the existence of the capitalist system as such."—*Die Neue Rundschau*, Feb., 1931.

. . . The organ of the Austrian big bourgeoisie, the *Neue Freie Presse*, wrote in its New Year Survey (1931): 'Many are troubled by the question whether the capitalist economic system is not to blame for all this misery.'

"Professor Gregory was convinced that the problem of falling prices, 'if it is going to be solved at all, must be solved by the agency of the central bankers; but I am bound to admit,' he added, 'that the process of solving this problem is much more heart-breaking than it appears at first sight.' The events of the last two years have lent a gloomy emphasis to my learned predecessor's admission."—*Australia's Share in International Recovery*: Davidson.

This misery is ended by "the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized, by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter on the mode of production which has arisen and flourished with and under it. Centralization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with the capitalist husk. The husk is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

—*Marx: Capital*.

"Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

ALAN FINGER.

Women In The Soviet Union



“**A**CHICKEN is not a bird and a baba (woman) is not a human being,” runs the old Russian proverb. So it was in Czarist Russia. Now woman's position is changed. No longer is she a possession—as her longer is she a possession—as her father's daughter, then her husband's wife; no longer is she given in marriage to the highest bidder, then commanded by the Church to fear the husband she cannot divorce; no longer is she forbidden to control her property; and no longer is she forced to work in the field and factory—abused and scarcely paid—carrying water, cooking, washing clothes, spinning, weaving, and bearing and losing her babies in filth, besides. War, revolution and civil war changed the position of Russian women. In the turmoil thousands flocked to the factories; they fought side by side with men; 2,000 were killed and wounded in the Red Army; 28 received the Order of the Red Banner. In all, 4 millions of the 14,300,000 victims of war, epidemic and famine were women. Virtually, Russian women won their own emancipation. It only remained for the Soviet Government (the Kerensky regime did nothing for women) to legalize their status. The first working women's conference, representative of more than 50,000 women, had met at Petrograd in March, 1917. From its discussions the Government filled in the detail of its own proposals.

Lenin said: “A victory for Socialism is impossible until a whole half of toiling mankind, the working woman, enjoys equal rights with man.” All the legislation of the Soviet Government, concerning women, has aimed at securing for her equality with man. Nothing that law can do to prevent the discrimination against woman has been left undone. To make possible equality, society itself has had to be radically re-constructed.

The most sweeping changes are in the laws concerning marriage, divorce and the family. The decrees of December, 1917, codified in July, 1918, were revised in 1926 as a result of the development of life and customs in the Soviet Union. At first only civil marriage was recognized, though the religious ceremony was not abolished. Polygamy was forbidden. If both desired it, divorce could be effected by the stroke of a pen in a Registry Office. The new law, which came into operation on January 1st, 1927, went much further. Its most important changes were the legalization of the defacto marriage and the provision that property accumulated during marriage should be jointly owned. Thus registration of marriage is unnecessary—except for statistical purposes. Co-habitation and marriage are synonymous. All children are legitimate. If husband or wife desires divorce he or

she is able, without further ado, to secure it. The Government asks no questions. It has placed man and woman on an equal footing in marriage. Its only concern is that there shall be adequate provision for the offspring of their union.

Most important is woman's economic emancipation. The equality she has attained in every direction would carry no significance if she were not materially independent. Material independence makes possible mental independence. For the first time, women, both in industry and the professions, have been placed on a level with men. Under conditions of equal skill they must be paid equal wages. Many women in the Soviet Union receive much less pay than men, but only because the majority are less skilled. Only 16 per cent. of the women in industry are skilled; 37 per cent. are semi-skilled. Women are admitted to all industries with the exception of a few dangerous ones. Even here the doors are slowly being opened at their demand. During the first six months of 1931 the percentage of women in heavy industry increased from 17.9 per cent. to 21.9 per cent. Women are street-car conductors and motormen, plumbers, locksmiths, lathemen, engineers, electricians, architects, Red Army officers, and even captains of ships. To a greater extent each month women are becoming workers. From 1/1/31-1/7/31 women in industry increased from 30.7 per cent. to 31.7 per cent.; in transport, from 9.1 per cent. to 10.1 per cent.; in public instruction, from 52.3 per cent. to 54.4 per cent.; and in trade institutions, from 25.7 per cent. to 28.3 per cent. All the labour legislation concerns them vitally—the seven-hour working day, prohibition of night work except in special cases, labour inspection and the provisions that none under 14 shall labour, and that four hours be the maximum of practical work from 14-16 years, and six from 16-18. Much investigation as to woman's suitability for certain work is being made. Already special appliances are lightening her labour. Especially concerned with women is the wide scheme of social insurance. This enables them to enjoy sanitarium treatment, an annual vacation on full pay, medical attention, and not less than a month's holiday on full pay before, and a month after, the birth of their children. It also provides an allowance for the children and places at the mothers' disposal factory crèches, where the children were cared for during their mothers' working hours. These benefits extend to workers' wives and to women who have been employed. Peasant women are not yet included in the social insurance, but for a small sum Mutual Insurance Organizations give them maternity aid.

The Soviet gives motherhood full recognition as a social service. In January, 1918, it organized all institutions for the protection of motherhood under the Institute for the Protection of Mother and Child, and placed Dr. Lebedeva in charge. The work of the Institute—which yearly extends despite the various setbacks it has received, falls into three sections—medical, legal and social. Maternity aid is unlimited. In Moscow, clinics are equipped to care for 6-10,000 women yearly. In 1917 there were only two maternity hospitals in all Russia. Moscow alone had 21 in 1928 and 30 in 1931. These cared for 68 per cent. of the city's new mothers; 85 Points of Medical Consultation examine 7,000 different children yearly. Hostels for Destitute and Homeless Mothers and Hostels for Mothers and Children educate as well as shelter women. A Prophylactorium of Prostitutes has been established, but its inmates decrease each year. There were 10 per cent. fewer in 1931 than in 1929. Prostitution will disappear entirely when women are capable of enjoying their rights and attaining economic independence. Free legal advice on all subjects is given women at the Judicial Consultation rooms attached to most of the Mother and Child Institutions. On the social side the Institute's chief work is educational. It gives profusely illustrated lectures on all social subjects—hygiene, birth control, etc.—and generally aims at enlightening women. Home visitors pay about 40,000 visits a year—to inspect homes, advise women and urge them to attend their lectures. The crèche combines all the best aspects of the Institute's work. Expert medical attention and educational training is given the children of mothers whose work occupies them all day.

In 1919, Lenin told a convention of working women that: “For the full emancipation of women, and to ensure her real equality with men, it is necessary that household functions be socialized . . . ; even with full equal rights women are still oppressed because on their shoulders falls the entire burden of the household.” Since then, changes have occurred. The crèche relieves the working mother of her child-care during the day. In 1931, Moscow possessed 120 crèches, through which a minimum of 13,023 children pass each year. The fact that these are less than 10 per cent. of the city's children shows that the crèche is still in the experimental stage. Plans to cater for 75 per cent. of the workers' children in 1932 have been made. No other social institution attracts so much attention from the outside world. Perhaps crèches will tend to break it up. But as other things are tending to break the bondage they enable women to escape from the bondage of the home—if they so desire. Laundries and public dining-rooms, too, are becoming more popular. In the Soviet Union are more than 1,230 public dining-rooms organized by the Government and the co-operatives. These served

17 million courses in 1930 and 37 million in 1931. The solution of the housing problem will mean much to women. Of the 25,700,000 persons who in 1928 made up the urban population of the U.S.S.R., a nominal per cent. lived in buildings rented at a nominal price from housing co-operatives. The socialization of household functions is not nearly universal; but each year brings the Government's objective nearer.

Illiteracy in pre-revolutionary Russia was three times as great among women as men. In 1917 there were only 25 literate women in all Turkmenistan. Under the Soviet all persons of 18, irrespective of sex, faith, or nationality, engaged in socially useful labour and not exploiting others for personal gain, have the right to elect or be elected to the Soviets. Few women could use these rights. Education was necessary first. The younger generation enjoys every opportunity. Education is compulsory and, for the most part, free. Of all the school children, 35 per cent. are girls. Industrial education is obtained in Techniciums, where 45 per cent. of the students are women; 31 per cent. of the college and higher technical school students are women. And women are in the majority in medical and pedagogical colleges. The older generation is the problem. Workers' Faculties prepare for higher institutions those who have had little or no education. In 1927 women comprised 20 per cent. of the adult educational classes who go through the adult educational classes each year, more than a third are women. The Genotdel—the Women's Section of the Communist Party—whose chief work is educational, does much through its system of women's delegates. It also publishes journals, written in simple language and well illustrated. These even contain fashion pages—as a means of popularizing them.

With education, woman is finding her true position. She can now take part in public life; 8 per cent. of the members of the All-Russian Soviet, the chief governing body, are women. Since 1919, when the Genotdel was formed, its membership has grown from 6,499 to 400,000 in 1932. These women, as much as the men and Communists, are advancing the revolution and promoting its work in every corner of Russia. One-fifth of the Comsomol (Young Communist League) and one-half of the Young Pioneer girls. Boys and girls are not separated; unlike their elders, they are enjoying equal education. The Soviet expects most from its youth—girls and boys alike. Women comprise more than one-quarter of the membership of the trade unions, but only 6 per cent. of their higher administrative branches; 20 per cent. of the members of factory committees are women, members of Women are taking their place in the however. 1,018 were elected to the People's Courts as judges in 1927. Scores of women have been elected to the chairmanship of town and city Soviets. For the first time in history

a woman has been ambassador in a foreign land. She is Alexandra Kollontai who after serving in Mexico is now in Sweden.

Progress towards the complete fulfilment of the Soviet's schemes is necessarily slow—especially in the villages. Moscow is foremost in women's institutions, but such institutions are springing up even in remote regions. Economic, social, cultural, legal, political and social equality

with man have been won by Soviet women. Only time is necessary before woman can take full advantage of her new position.

BEATRICE M. PITCHER.

Chief References: Jessica Smith, "Woman in the Soviet Union," Alice Withrow Field, "The Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia," International Press Correspondence, Vol. XII., No. IX.

Communism v. Civilization

THERE is no conflict between Communism and Civilization, as is frequently said. The fact is that that what are called cultural activities and spiritual values are being undermined, restricted, destroyed or rendered decadent by being pent up in the outworn forms of capitalism. The intellect and feelings of mankind cry aloud for the opportunity for free growth, and are told to be content and await

the return of prosperity. There is much in existing culture that a new age will assuredly reject with scorn. But, in this connection, the aim of communism is to save all that is worthwhile from destruction, to make it the possession of all people, and to provide opportunities for the development by all men of their manifold aptitudes.

A.T.B.

Capitalism Prepares for War—cont. from p. 21.

ence was created. The Preparatory Commission held regular sessions for six years, and even then it could make no concrete proposals to guide the Disarmament Conference, which was finally summoned in February of this year. Instead of figures to indicate how far the powers should disarm the Commission left blanks in the Draft Convention which it presented to the Conference. But (if they did nothing else) deliberations of the Preparatory Commission and the Disarmament Conference illustrate the view that the capitalist States will not and cannot disarm. Litvinov attended the Preparatory Commission for the first time in 1927 as head of the Soviet Union Delegation.* He immediately brought forward a scheme for complete disarmament, which was rejected by the Commission in its next session in March, 1928.

On the same day that his original motion was negated Litvinov brought forward a proposal for partial disarmament. Consideration of his plan was indefinitely postponed. At each session of the Commission, Litvinov's proposals for partial disarmament have been brought forward and rejected. Finally, the Disarmament Conference met in February of this year. After six months of more or less fruitless discussion it was finally adjourned—after rejecting all the proposals brought forward by the Soviet Union for disarmament. It was at the Disarmament Commission that Litvinov was charged with indulging in "propaganda for peace"—an end which was beyond the purview of the other dele-

gations at the Conference. At such a gathering it was only natural that the sincerity of any delegate making practical proposals for disarmament should be challenged.

The Imperialist Powers are Preparing for War.

We are now in the midst of the longest and most acute crisis in the history of capitalism, a crisis which is a phase, perhaps the final phase, in the general decline of the system. In every capitalist country we observe repeated attacks on the standard of living of the workers. Yet at the same time the size of military budgets becomes more colossal year by year. Money that is "saved" by reductions in unemployment insurance, wages, and social services is spent on preparations for another world blood bath. How are we to meet this position?

First, by recognising that capitalism involves, on the one hand, a struggle between national groups of capitalists for markets, raw materials, and fields for investment; and also the exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples abroad and the working classes at home. Viewed from either of these angles, war is the inevitable product of capitalist antagonisms. The preparations for war in our own era are peculiarly intense, because to-day these antagonisms have taken peculiarly acute forms. This analysis leads to the conclusion that in order to abolish war we must first abolish capitalism, and if the mass action of the workers is unable to prevent the outbreak of a new imperialist war by the destruction of the system, then the slogan of every socialist must be:

"Turn the imperialist war into a civil war."

Rembrandt and Revolution



ELBOURNE University Labour Club, at its vacation conference, has been devoting some attention to the subject of proletarian art. Accordingly, it may not be amiss to recall to readers of the Club's magazine the case of the great artist, the three hundred and twenty-sixth anniversary of whose birth has lately passed by. For in his case we have a world-historical example of the extent to which the permanent posthumous fame of an artist is determined by his position in regard to the class struggles of his day, and of the extent to which all aesthetic judgments that forsake this firm ground fall into crazy contradictions.

Rembrandt was already so much forgotten during his life that it has been possible to establish the year of his death only with the greatest difficulty. Subsequently, however, he has been esteemed, in text-books on the history of art, as the "most typical artistic genius the Germanic world has produced." In this connection Franz Mehring, the well-known Socialist historian, tells us of a thick book, written by a raving Germanophile over forty years ago, dedicated to the "better of the cultured people of Germany," and entitled "Rembrandt as Educator." In this book Rembrandt-worship was recommended for the "cultivation of a specifically German sentiment," and Rembrandt's art was extolled as the bringer to the "spiritual life of the German people" of salvation "from a condition of slow, some opine even swift, degeneration." Since this bunk coupled worship of Rembrandt with worship of Bismarck (who had been dismissed from office in 1890), it actually enjoyed in a single year some thirty or more editions; to be sure, every trace of it has since vanished, nor is it likely to emerge from the waters of oblivion.

But, on the subject of the "most typical artistic genius of the Germanic world," let us now listen to that aesthetician, who is said, again in text-books on the history of art, to be the "most typical critical genius of the Germanic world." In a passage not devoid of a certain difficulty of translation, Lessing writes concerning Rembrandt: "The Rembrandtian manner is very well suited to lowly, odd and ugly subjects. Through the deep shadow, which is frequently enforced by the artifice of smudging (unreinen Wischens), we divine with pleasure (a thousand things), we divine with pleasure at all. The that to see plainly is no pleasure at all. The tatters of a worn-out coat of a Wille, would rather and exact graving-tool of a Wille, would rather offend than please; if, however, in the free and easy style of Rembrandt they really please, this is because in the latter case we only imagine them to ourselves, while in the former we would

actually see them. On the other hand, I would not approve of treating lofty, noble subjects in Rembrandt's style, excepting those lofty, noble subjects in which the lowly and the noble are combined; for example, the birth of a God in a stall among oxen and asses, and the like, with which the darkness is bound up." Thus wrote, not, perchance, the young and still unripe Lessing, but the Hamburg dramaturgist, the author of Laocoon, who conceded to "ugly and lowly" subjects only a very limited place in art at all, and thought it by no means bad that the ancient Greeks had placed "painting of mullock" (to translate "Kotmalerei" by Australian slang) among police offences.

Contrariwise, a man whom convention has been wont to deny any understanding of the chaste and deep secrets of the Germanic character, namely Napoleon, was a great admirer of Rembrandt's. He found in Rembrandt precisely that impetuous greatness and strength, to representation of which, in Lessing's view, the Rembrandtian manner is unsuited. A favourite figure of Old Rembrandt's was Samson, the hero of the Old Testament. The painter accordingly depicted the scene from the Book of Judges, in which Samson thought to enter his wife's chamber, but found the house shut up. In response to his knocking, the father-in-law has opened a window-shutter on the first floor, leans out and puts off his son-in-law with these words: "I verily thought that thou hadst utterly hated her; therefore I gave her to thy companion." In mien and bearing he betrays no less mock regret and sham sympathy than the furious Samson, with wrathful glance and powerfully clenched fists, manifests raging thirst for revenge and dreadful anger. This picture was a favourite of Napoleon's, though it is scarcely one of Rembrandt's masterpieces, and, moreover, a century and a quarter ago bore the senseless caption: The Duke of Guelderland threatens his father, whom he caused to be thrown into prison! Napoleon took it from the Berlin Gallery, and decorated his study at Saint Cloud with it. Here Blucher found it in 1815, and so it gave a start to the process of restoration of the art-treasures carried off by Napoleon to Paris.

These striking examples show sufficiently well how, in the case of Rembrandt, aesthetic judgment has swayed backwards and forwards, and how little such phrases as the "most typical low little genius of the Germanic world" can tell artistic genius of the Germanic world in the history of art is rather to be explained by the circumstances that he was the greatest painter of the Dutch Revolution, and likewise its most vital historian, insofar as in his works there

*Fischer, page 749.

lives again for us the generation that the first modern revolution shaped. All that differentiates the art of Rembrandt in epoch-making wise from the art of his predecessors is of revolutionary origin. Out of the self-consciousness and pride of the bourgeois revolution arose the monumental art of the works portraying shotmen and rulers; the victorious bourgeois did not demand battles or State ceremonies from his painters; the individual portrait and the group portrait formed the modest sphere of this historical painting; yet we must agree with Treitschke when he says: What fulness of historical life is in all these nameless "Jan and Maurits," who here check accounts in the guild hall, or, festively attired, make for the shooting-grounds, or solemnize the end of an octogenarian bourgeoisie with a sumptuous meal. And so, too, the living content of the Biblical material is transformed under the hands of Rembrandt and his pupils. They no longer painted religious pictures destined to decorate altars and awaken pious reverence; the bourgeois church disdained ecclesiastical art. Their religious pictures were destined to adorn the bourgeois home, and under the light veil of Biblical tradition they depicted the bourgeois life of their time in all its powerfully upsurging freshness and vigour.

Even the technique of Rembrandt's painting has been influenced by his art's revolutionary origin. It is already a considerable advance on Lessing's "smudging" when Treitschke traces

back the famous "chiaroscuro" (light-dark) of Rembrandt "to the land of the semi-overcast skies, of the glorious sunsets, of the eternally changing play of lights." But then the question arises: Why did these natural phenomena of Holland first impregnate art precisely in the century of the Dutch Revolution, and not earlier or later? The right answer was given by a bourgeois historian of art when he wrote: "While Reubens belongs to the antipodes of world, Rembrandt stands as the Italian Michelangelo and Raffael. If the latter, as the godly in an epoch that saw God in brandt, the son of an epoch that made the great cosmic whole of nature, made the great cosmic forces of air and light his ideal. As the great Italians group form-masses, so he groups colour-masses, and knows how to give, through the harmony of his tones, unity and clarity to the composition." In point of fact, Rembrandt was a countryman and contemporary of Spinoza's.

Three hundred and twenty-six years after his birth, adherents of proletarian art, the revolutionary art of to-day, may still take off their hats to Rembrandt, not as the "most typical artistic genius of the Germanic world"—such phrases are made by wordmongers—but as the first Germanic artist to have created immortal life out of the first modern revolution.

—G. BARACCHI.

"If Winter Comes..." Concluded from page 6.

unemployed become ungovernable? For until these questions can be answered by "very largely," the importance of unemployment as a factor in ending the capitalist system is merely potential. The winter is long, the path tortuous, and spring is far behind. Yet if man cannot influence the seasons there is not the least doubt that he can play a great part in changing the organization of society to end unemployment.

Peaceful or Revolutionary Methods.

HOW to achieve communism, by revolutionary or peaceful methods, has been a much-argued question in the Labor Club. But this is a false opposition, and the problem does not so arise. Any change from capitalism to communism must be revolutionary. This is a basic proposition and is derived from a general examination of the relationships, associations and institutions of society. The character of the revolution may then be considered and, if desired, the question asked: is it likely to be violent or peaceful? Again, one must go to the facts for the answer. It is not for those who profess communist beliefs to say which it shall

be. Their desires are of small consequence, though it should be clearly understood that every communist desires a peaceful revolution. But in a class society the character of the action of one class is not determined by it alone, but by the interaction of the two classes, and by groups within the classes. In times of social decay, the utmost confusion in thought and action is to be expected. But broadly, the action of the capitalist class and its many and widespread middle-class supporters is directed against the working-class. And it is of importance to recognise that it is the capitalist class that begins to use coercion and creates an atmosphere of moral justification for the use of violence against the workers. But the question whether revolution is likely to be violent or peaceful obscures the real issue. This is communism or capitalism. To the communist, methods are of secondary importance, to end capitalism primary. Those who dispute about the methods of revolution while mentally rejecting capitalism are, in effect, in alliance with capitalism against the workers in their struggle for the emancipation of themselves and of society at large.

A.T.B.

Red Vienna



N Schilling v. Melbourne (1928 "Argus" Law Reports, p. 203), the Victorian Supreme Court, decided that the Melbourne City Council could not provide parking space for cars. In *Roberts v. Hopwood* (1925 Appeal Cases, p. 578), the House of Lords decided that a socialist borough council could not pay what wages it pleased. Legal difficulties, such as these, added to the property franchise of most Australian local bodies, have made municipal socialism a dead subject in this country. It is otherwise in Red Vienna.

Austria is a Federal State, and Vienna is not merely a city, but a Federal Province; the mayor and council are also the organs of a provincial government. Hence the Viennese municipality is in a peculiarly favourable position for socialist experiments, having (i) a uni-cameral legislature, (ii) wide legislative and fiscal powers, (iii) a varied and extensive region to control, including forests and farms, and (iv) a politically advanced proletariat with full representation in the City Council. On the debit side are: (i) The economic chaos produced by the splitting up of Austria-Hungary into separate States, with tariff barriers; (ii) the strong control of international finance—capital, operating through the League of Nations and the international banks; (iii) the opposition of the Austrian Federal Government, where conservative parties usually hold the power.

The Austro-Marxist Party—(left Social Democratic)—has held a strong majority in Vienna since 1919. It has carried out an extensive program of municipal socialism, including municipal housing, penetration into private business, penalisation of private enterprise, land ownership, and heavy taxation of economic rents. Most requirements are provided by municipally owned or controlled services, from antenatal care and motherhood endowment to a crematorium. Finance is ingenious and involved. House property in the slums was rendered almost valueless by moratorium acts; the slums were then bought up, and huge workmen's blocks built, with communal kitchens, gardens, libraries, crèches, medical services and meeting halls.¹ Rents are very low²—(3% of wages as compared to 20% in most countries). Heavy taxes on house-rents, beer, hotels, advertisements, bachelors, motor-cars, servants, luxury-restaurants, etc., provide a large income for the many services not run for profit; the Austrian

capitalist, in strange contrast to our own pundits, complains that the Vienna Council operates too much on income, and does not borrow enough! Wage-fixing and price-fixing are used to prevent the burden of these taxes being placed on the workers. The achievements of Social Democracy may be summed up: Many free or cheap services, creation of highly communised workers' groups, and government completely free from graft.³ Moreover, these gains were at the expense of the capitalists. They cannot be explained as "concessions," of "expanding capitalism," since Austrian capitalism has been bankrupt almost continuously since the war, with the exception of a brief boom period in 1926.

Nevertheless, the Social Democrats have failed in three ways: (i) They have not secured workers' control of either industry or the State. Twice since the war the failure of large banks controlling industry has led to international loans on stringent conditions, duly passed on to the backs of the workers. Bitter attacks on living standards have been carried through, in accordance with the demand that Vienna become the cheap-shop of Europe. "A perfect craze for economy must prevail," said Breitner, socialist finance minister. Thus it is said that in Europe only Spain has lower-paid workers than Austria.⁴ (ii) They have not been able to fight the crisis better than capitalist governments. Unemployment is about 25 per cent., and rationalisation goes on apace.⁵ The government is completely bankrupt; interest on foreign loans is unpaid, and civil servants are receiving their salaries in instalments. (iii) They have played definitely social-fascist roles on at least two occasions: once, when they opposed the Hungarian soviet republic, and more recently, in allowing the Federal Government to carry out terrorism in Vienna. In 1927, the indignation of the workers at the rule of international finance led to mass demonstrations, in which the Palace of Justice was burnt. The Social Democrats stood by while the Federal Government sent in their Fascist police, gathered from the Catholic and reactionary provinces.

The workers of Vienna now know both the strength of socialism and the limitations imposed by working within the present State and international machinery. They will not be far behind Germany in the creation of a free Soviet State.

GEOFFREY SAWER.

¹ "It must be admitted that the management of the affairs of Vienna is model."—Basch. (Sources: "Current History," Feb., 1931. "Spectator," Sept. 28th, Oct. 5th, 1929. "Imprecator," Jan. 15th, March 12th, 19th, June 11th, 25th, Sep. 17th, Oct. 8th, 1931. "Austria and its Economic Existence," Basch and Dvoracek, Encyclopaedia Britannica.)

² Wage indexes for world capitals are:—Vienna, 100; Berlin, 150; London, 231; Sydney, 315; Philadelphia, 426.

³ This case is judicial confirmation of the Iron Law of Wages.

⁴ Compare Lang's position in Australia.

⁵ Municipal officials being thus directors of many large companies.

⁶ 140,000 workers live in these buildings. See a lyrical description in "Spectator," Oct. 5th, 1929.

J'ACCUSE!

Henri Barbusse to the French Murderers



ACCUSE all French Governments which have been in power since the end of the war of having encouraged, aided, financed and armed, those associations of the White Guardists now entering into the foreground with increasing openness, this international organisation of criminals, whose aims are murder and war.

Hundreds of millions of francs were squeezed out of the French taxpayers and distributed—thanks to the favours bestowed by Clemenceau and Millerand—among these abominable white hordes of Koltchak and Wrangel who devastated Russia by fire and sword. The main masses of the white army—200,000 men, ready to commit any deed—are concentrated in France. General Miller acknowledges "this would not have been possible without the readiness to help shown by the French Government."

I accuse these Governments of being responsible for the repeated murderous deeds committed by these bandits, whose innumerable and financially powerful groups stretch out their tentacles over the whole world.

Under Tardieu's Government, the contact between the general staffs and the Czarist emigrés was strengthened by the activities of General Sekretov, who was closely connected with General Weygand—hence the orders by Japan to Panhard-Levassor, Hotchkiss and Schneider. There is a whole squadron of one-time Wrangel soldiers employed in the Schneider-Creuzot works. The White Guardists practise musketry on the rifle ranges of the French army. The Banque du Crédit Mutuel takes part in finding appointments for White Guardists and in financing their operations.

I accuse in particular the Tardieu Government of being responsible for the assassination of President Doumer by the White Guardist, Gorgulov, who was in touch with the Paris police.

Direct calls for murder appear every day in White Guard papers—"Kill the Communists! Do not permit even the children of this serpent to remain alive! The people's Terror—this is the sword of God!" "Everyone who supports the Soviet power is the enemy of the Russians, and such foreigners will be reduced to dust." "Let us change our target, and shoot the foreigners, the advantage is obvious: a revolver shot fired at a foreigner can get the Bolsheviks into serious trouble, and even cause political complications." "A holy terrorist action for the defence and the rights of the people." Gorgulov said: "I wanted to force France into a collision with Russia." Tardieu and his police knew this policy of the White Guardist, they knew Gorgulov, yet Gorgulov was able to approach President Doumer without any difficulty during a ceremony, and so wound him fatally by numerous revolver shots—10 to 15 seconds separated the shots—the attention of the police was drawn to Gorgulov's strange conduct before the shooting, but they did nothing.

I accuse Tardieu of having played a comedy rather more utterly base than ridiculous in this affair, in that he made use of the means of propaganda and corruption available to him in the press for spreading the rumour that Gorgulov was a Bolshevik, or an instrument of the Bolsheviks—a despicable lie, which was nevertheless exploited by all the foes of the working class.

Gorgulov was the son of a large landowner expropriated by the Revolution, then a White Guard officer, and founder of the landowners' Fascist party, the Green Peasants' Party. The first article of the program of the Greens is war against present Russia. (Inprecorr. V.12., n. 32.)

The false statement that Gorgulov was a Red was repeated by the Melbourne "Sun"—Saturday, September 3rd, at p. 7.



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PROLETARIAT

UNIVERSITY LABOR CLUB MAGAZINE

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the correct cry, "Against the capitalist offensive," to mislead the workers, the successful one-day strikes organised in support of the unemployed, the development of agitation for general strike which forced the union leaders to call the A.C.T.U. (only to crush the agitation and thus assist Capitalism), the stifled movements of shearers, miners, textile workers (N.S.W.), the growing demand for action on the waterfront and the successful agitation against the dismissal of married school teachers, are all further evidences of growing radicalisation as a result of the offensive of the capitalist.

New methods have been used in all these struggles. The tactics of the Red International of Labour Unions put forward by the Minority Movement (the Australian section of the R.I.L.U.) have been used even if imperfectly. Growing distrust and resistance to the class collaboration policy of the Trade Union bureaucrats has been the feature of the workers' struggle. The efforts to build the Minority Movement have met with considerable success; but, nevertheless, the Australian workers are only beginning to forge the correct weapons for struggle.

THERE IS A vast amount of discontent which has been made manifest in eviction fights where the solidarity of the workers is clearly shown, in struggles against work for sustenance, etc., but much of the unrest has found no organised mass expression.

The deepening crisis has not only forced the workers to struggle against the oppression of the capitalists, but the smaller farmers are rapidly realising themselves to belong to the exploited class, and are uniting for action in their own interests. In Western Australia the dairy farmers secured a partial victory by strike action, and the wheat farmers engaged in a strike which was prevented from growing to victory through the betrayal of the opportunist leadership of the wheat growers' union. Group settlers in the south-west of W.A. are actively engaged in a campaign against the Agricultural Bank for the right to sell their own produce.

The "catastrophe" so much feared by Australian capitalism implies a great social upheaval. Capitalist "vigilance," besides providing for economies at the expense of the working class, has met the developing revolutionary struggle of all oppressed toilers in very definite fashion. It anticipates further struggle and prepares to combat or avert it with grim determination.

Legislation has been passed, the Amended Crimes Act, 1932, under which it is made possible to "legally" do anything whatever to militant working-class organisations and to militant workers. The police forces are strengthened in Victoria, in spite of the record low crime level last year. Political squads of police are formed; these have been active, for example, at the

November 7th Soviet anniversary demonstration in Melbourne, 1932; in W.A., where the Communist party was attacked last year. Open-air meetings are continually interfered with. The military machine is strengthened, partly in preparation for imperialist war (as seen by the fortification of Darwin), and partly in anticipation of "internal trouble." Mr. Latham was able to assure the frightened Federal Parliament that Australia's military preparedness was very adequate.

The militia is boosted; its troops are trained in street fighting. Fascist organisations, such as the Silent Knights and the New Guard, have risen among the petit-bourgeoisie. They receive the "moral" support of the governments, which do nothing to suppress them. They prepare feverishly to preserve "law and order" by force, and declare that all Communists (i.e., militants) shall be ousted.

MORE SUBTLE FORMS of hindering the organised struggle are used. These are most potent weapons, especially among those toilers whose discontent has as yet had no organised expression. The press is used to discredit militant action, not only in Australia, but the world over. The workers are kept in ignorance of the struggles of workers in other capitalistic countries. Attempts are made to eliminate any sources of direct information about the U.S.S.R. (the dismissal of Mullins, of Beatrice Taylor, and the banning of the Five Year Plan film).

The smaller farmers are misled in organisations (the Primary Producers' League, etc.) which are really controlled by the big farmers and the banks.

The organised struggles of the workers are diverted by the leadership of the official Labour parties and the treachery of the Trade Union Bureaucracy. The so-called working-class leaders resort to more and more "radical" talking which is exposed by their actions. Due to the leftward swing of the masses in N.S.W. the Lang Plan is now being abandoned and a new left plan for Socialism is being put forward. But these socialisers put forward only capitalist solutions for the crisis, such as Socialism without revolutionary overthrow of the system, and all the fake currency nostrums.

The economic crisis is deepening; the capitalist class will press on in its attack on the working class in order to find a capitalist way out. To prevent this is the task of the Labour Movement. Capitalism's manoeuvres of wage-cuts, war, and fascism must be defeated. And they can be defeated if the broadest possible united front of all oppressed elements is organised to struggle. By struggle, in the full and correct sense of that term, the Australian working class will be finally victorious.

E. M. HIGGINS, M.A. (Oxon.).

JAPAN AND CHINA

LENIN, IN HIS WORK, "IMPERIALISM," 1917, wrote: "While Capitalism remains, the excess of capital is not put aside to raise the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decrease of profits for the capitalists: but it is used to increase those profits by the export of capital abroad to the backward countries. There the profits are generally higher, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively small, wages are low, raw materials are cheap. The possibility of the export of capital is created by the entry of numerous backward countries into international capitalist life: the most important railway lines are either built or being built there: the elementary conditions for industrial development are in existence, etc."

CERTAIN VERY DEFINITE methods alone are available for capitalism to overcome its crises. These are, firstly, to reduce production and production costs (meaning wage-cuts and unemployment); secondly, to exploit existing markets to the utmost (leading to tariff wars); and thirdly, to find new markets, if necessary taking those of other powers (by tariffs and war). The finding of new markets and the re-division of colonies for supply of raw materials had become difficult at the beginning of this century. This development led to the outbreak of large-scale imperialist war.

The new division of the world which resulted after 1918 has proved to be as incapable as the old to solve capitalist contradictions; everywhere the inter-imperialist and class struggles intensify.

Japan, sharing the common fate, has been able to seize part of the only remaining field for (doubtfully) profitable capital investment.

JAPAN IS AN INDUSTRIAL-agricultural country in which industry has been rapidly developed at the expense of less profitable agriculture. Capital investments have increased from 1,983 million yen in 1913 to 13,161 in 1928. In this process of capitalist development the workers and peasants have been shamelessly and crushingly exploited. Wages are one-third those of European workers; fifty per cent. of workers are women, paid half the rates of men; the colonial workers and those in the many Japanese factories in China get half the rates of the home workers. (1)

Japan's penetration of China is well advanced. This process, like all imperialist penetration, has been a bloody one. Japan has fought many wars in the past forty years, and in consequence she has a military clique of considerable power. Her constitution is naturally semi-feudal. There is now a great concentration of capital in the hands of a very few large trusts and concerns. These are "interwoven with the feudal class in which the power of the bureaucracy, military landlords and financial oligarchy is supreme." (2)

The workers in industry, and the agricultural workers, are destitute. They are revolting in an ever-increasingly organised manner. In the colonies, especially Korea and Formosa, there are intense national movements of the workers and peasants. Japan is thus faced with impending revolution.

AS A SPHERE OF investment China affords Japan a vast and little exploited field. The total interests of Japanese capital in China amount to \$250,000,000. This is controlled mainly by monopoly groups in textile, mineral, railway, agricultural, forestry, manufacturing and banking concerns. As example, Japan controls 45 per cent. of the total cotton goods output of China.

As a source of raw materials China is indispensable to Japan in her contest with the other powers. Japan is poor in iron, coal, oil, metals, wool, timber and cotton. She imports a great part of China's raw material output.

As a market China is very important to Japan, whose exports to China are valued at 532 million yen a year. China absorbs a large proportion of Japan's light goods, and, with increasing internal industrialisation, an increasingly important proportion of heavy goods.

To sum up: "Thus, China represents for Japanese imperialism both an important market for the export of Japanese capital, a source of raw materials and a market for the sale of industrial products. Japanese capitalism has deeply entrenched itself in the economic life of China; it virtually controls a large part of the tentacles of its powerful banks and sucks out its tremendous riches." (3)

JAPAN'S SPECIAL interest in Manchuria lies in the facts that it is a country close to her, of twice her own area, half her own population, at present largely agricultural and only half developed in that; a country of vast food, mineral, oil, wool and timber resources in which many railways are built, 40 per cent. being

under Japan's direct control, and in which the building of more railways will not only provide fields for investment, but is vital for its preparation as a military base. In addition, Manchuria has abundant supplies of cheap labour power and is a more than convenient immigration field for dispossessed peasants and revolutionary workers from home and the colonies. By 1932, 1,200,000 Koreans and 200,000 Japanese had migrated to Manchuria; 200,000 Koreans are deprived of their land yearly, and in Japan itself the number is still greater; the workless are sent away from the revolutionising influences at home to be used in Manchuria.

Manchuria has increased in economic importance to Japan at the relative expense of the rest of China. Her exports to Japan have increased fivefold since 1913; those of China have only trebled.

Her economic subjection is essential to Japan, who, however, can retain her in the face of U.S.A. only if she is made into a military base. Japan's designs in Asia are openly announced; she was forced to relieve her internal condition, and to do this had to go to war; and, having taken Manchuria, she has to entrench herself against probable American attack. Then, from this more secure base, she will be able to strike at Siberia to the north, Mongolia to the east, and China to the south.

THE TOTAL investments and loans held by each power in China are:—Japan, 2,321 million yen; England, 1,893 million yen; U.S.A., 327 million; and France, 203 million.

France is too isolated from China to have aspirations of any magnitude there. England is weakening in China; her naval power cannot assure her of victory from a conflict in the Pacific, although she prepares for struggle there, and her internal affairs keep her capitalists occupied at home. Japan's Chinese interests are absolutely vital to her. In direct opposition to Japan's interests are those of U.S.A., which dreams of control of the Pacific and bordering lands. American influence in China is already great; she is gaining control of railways and financing the building of new lines, especially in Manchuria; she has a strangle-hold on the developing civil aviation service, on road-construction and the motor trades; her banks are established with a network of branches, and she controls the Kuomintang, the Nanking Chinese National Government. At American behest, this government, in 1931, declared all the trade agreements with Japan off and imposed new and heavier tariffs.

As an example of the complexity of the capitalist world, it is an amazing fact that, while Japan and America are bitter rivals in the Pacific and its bordering lands, America absorbs 49 per cent. of Japan's exports.

IN ORDER TO ESCAPE from internal crisis; in order to divert the attention of its awakened exploited; in order to preserve its interests in China against the ever-increasing rivalry of U.S.A., and against the Chinese Revolution, Japanese capitalism was forced to attack Manchuria.

Internally Japan's position was very desperate. She had been compelled to abandon the gold standard in 1931; of her former 1,163 banks, 380 had failed altogether; workers' nominal wages were less than in 1929 by 600 million yen; imports were restricted by 57.7 per cent. over the same period, and agriculture was in a desperate plight. Strikes were of frequent and violent occurrence, 4,788 in 1929-June, 1931, and the unemployed had increased to 35 millions. The struggles between peasant and landlord were more frequent and more bitter.

In the face of this grave position Japanese capitalism raised the cry of the "foreign danger," and under that pretext deluded the masses into financing the war.

The stage had been thoroughly set. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of Britain, then in the painful throes of abandoning the gold standard, and America, then a very concerned observer of Britain's labour, and with the co-operation of France and her vassal European states, Japanese capitalism launched its bloody attack into a prepared country. In the preceding months, Japan had carried out two political-military moves. She took advantage of the antagonisms between Chinese militarists who were always willing to be bought, and inspired an attack by General Sze Yu-hsiang on Peiping and Tientsin. This led to the withdrawal of troops from Southern Manchuria. She promised support to the Canton group of militarists against the Kuomintang in Nanking. Thus she hoped to weaken China internally in preparation for future invasion. She had previously given help to Kuomintang generals in return for promises that things would be made easy in Manchuria.

Taking advantage of the murder of a Japanese officer as a pretext, she commenced hostile relations. Chinese soldiers were blamed for slight damage done to the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway by Japanese agents, and Manchuria was invaded in the arranged manner on September 16th, 1931. Japan attacked Mukden, the political and military centre of the country, and, after a campaign made all too easy by the disguised co-operation of the Manchurian generals, she was able to establish "control" through agents among the Manchurian bourgeoisie. She sought to delude the people by establishing an "Independent State." She has encountered brave resistance from the peasants and workers of Manchuria. "More than half a million Chinese and Korean armed peasants

are already fighting against this Japanese counter-revolutionary action. (The invasion precipitated the revolt of the Manchurian oppressed. Now Japan, having the support of the bourgeoisie, has to fight that revolution.) They not only helped in May last (1932) to prevent the commencement of the action against the Soviet Union, but they are also proving to be forces preventing the Japanese from establishing "law and order" in Manchuria." (4) These troops are the "bandits" who are so useful to the League of Nations, whose mastery and sympathetic inactivity allowed Japan to pursue her policy with the approval of the Powers (even America for some time).

The complete treachery of the Kuomintang, which had piously raised its filthy, palsied hands to the Geneva Joss, and had sold Manchuria, was exposed to the people. The masses of Chinese people had awakened to the role of the "civilising nations" in past years; now their eyes were opened more fully to the role of their own bourgeoisie. They had begun to revolt, they had already established Soviets covering 800,000 square kilometres with a population of 75-80 millions. There were already Red Armies which had successfully resisted four campaigns of the Kuomintang.

JAPAN'S ACTION had the effect of stimulating further anti-Japanese feeling in the Chinese workers. This was favored by America and Britain, who saw the opportunity to grab more trade. A Japanese boycott began.

By December, 1931, Japan found her important Chinese market completely gone; her mercantile fleet was idle. The need for a large army in the North further embarrassed her, and her own masses were more discontented. She was forced to war again. On 21st January she attacked Shanghai. She then bombarded the workers' quarter, Chapei, for the workers were her enemy, not the Kuomintang (she knew that America wished to avoid war). Japan met with gallant resistance from the 19th Red Army which, when ordered to retreat by the Kuomintang generals, refused and stayed the Japanese advance, despite the support the latter obtained from the other powers by being allowed the use of the "neutral" International Settlement as a base for bombardment of adjacent Chapei. Chiang Kai-shek, the Kuomintang general, sabotaged the defence of the Red Army by refusing reinforcements, arms, etc. In the rear, rumours of peace were spread and the government sought to delude soldiers and the people with the lie that diplomatic relations were to be resumed with Russia. The resistance was broken by the government, but in the meantime, America had compelled Japan to withdraw by threat of economic pressure, backed by the presence in the Pacific of 199 war vessels

"equipped for any emergency." Since this last exposure of the Chinese government the Soviets have advanced triumphantly and a fifth intervention, inspired by Britain and America, has been successfully withheld.

AS STATED ABOVE, Japan made her attack at a time when Britain and America were concerned with grave internal affairs. America was not prepared for war; such action on her part might easily precipitate a revolution. France was busy taking advantage of the situation by consolidating her position in Europe; she was favorable to Japan in return for Japan's approval of her hay-making. Since France controlled the League of Nations (through her control of many representatives) Japan was in a good position.

Britain is pro-Japanese. Her influence in China is waning, and thus she pits Japan against America. America, desiring to avoid war, sees in the situation a means of weakening Japan, and this at the expense of the common enemy of the powers, U.S.S.R.

Knowing Japan's designs on Siberia, America has directly incited Japan to attack that country. This would serve American ends. The proofs of these statements are many. As examples:—A section of the American press referred to the advantages of such an attack as a means of "mitigating the crisis" and securing "war profits." The American press supports false accusations made of Soviet support of the Manchurian traitor, Ma (who was actually supplied with arms by the Japanese). It spreads lies of the Soviet's "sinister" intentions in Manchuria.

The role of the League of Nations is clearly shown in its treatment of the matter. The "disinterested" Lytton Commission found no "imperialism" in Japan's actions. It found that the Chinese revolution, an expression of an "normal bitterness against foreign influence" (5), is a thing to be crushed out by "international co-operation in the inner transformation of China" (6), that is, by imperialist intervention. The League's role is best exposed by Strate, the chairman of the association of journalists working in Geneva. Writing in the "New York Times," 18th September, 1932, he said that there were two tendencies re the Lytton Report: First, that the League should accept the Report despite the possible resignation of Japan (which would ruin the value of the League as an international smoke-screen); second, that events should be awaited and decision postponed. "This policy (the latter) is based on the supposition that the further developments of events in Japan, whether in the form of financial bankruptcy, of revolution, or of open war with China, will lead to Japan's giving way." (7)

THE NEW YEAR HONOURS LIST.

FOR MEN LIKE THESE

*The fatted men of leisure,
The gnomes of gold—no gorging can appease;
We work earth's treasure.*

FOR MEN LIKE THESE

*The grey ones, dry of soul,
The pimps, the righteous and the sodomese,
Our love pays toll.*

FOR MEN LIKE THESE

*For Fortune's Favourite Sons
The gartered thugs and surpliced pharisees
We bore our guns.*

*Our day will come.
We'll raise a gibbet-maypole from tall trees
And the last time beat a drum—*

FOR MEN LIKE THESE. —H.A.L.

tegic importance of this region. There are many people in Japan who believe it is necessary to be powerfully fortified against the possibility of an attack from the Soviet Union." (5) This commission deliberately ignored any consideration of the clash between American and Japanese interests. It devoted a great deal of attention to the "interests of the Soviet in Manchuria." It deliberately lied in accusing U.S.S.R. of aggressive intent. This lie, made "without prejudice," is direct propaganda against the only country whose representatives at "Disarmament" Conferences can offer honest plans for disarmament. They are listened to in scornful silence.

There is no doubt that the imperialist Powers are agreed on the necessity for wiping out the revolutionary movements of the Chinese masses. There is no doubt that they would like to see the U.S.S.R. crushed. Its existence as an example to toilers of all countries is a menace. The difficulties of obtaining a united front for their attack have been insuperable, not the least difficulty being the existence in every country of a revolutionary movement which the outbreak of imperialist war can only accelerate.

Workers of Australia, you will be called upon to fight; you will be called upon to "defend our (!!) glorious Empire"; you will be called upon to be sacrificed in bolstering up the dying system under which you are exploited. Let your slogan be:—*Not a man, not a ship, not a gun.*

References.—(1) These facts and most of the following statistical data are found in "Japan and Manchuria," S. Dashinsky, 1932, Modern Books Ltd. (2) Ibid. p. 7. (3) Ibid. p. 12. (4) Inprecorr., Vol. 12, No. 44, p. 936. (5) "Argus," Jan. 24, 1933, p. 7. (6) Report of the Lytton Commission. (7) Haddock, "Report of the Lytton Commission," Inprecorr., Vol. 12, No. 46, p. 950.

—F. H.

Official Union Leadership

WE SHALL SHOW by two examples what is meant by social fascism. These examples are typical of the treacherous conduct of workers' struggles by the Union officials. Afterwards a definition of social fascism will be given.

In 1928 the waterside workers were prepared to resist the proposed application of the Beeby Award, which would take from them all that twenty years' struggle had gained. An All-Ports' Conference of waterside workers was called. This instructed the branches to accept the award. The workers in Fremantle, W.A., in Adelaide, the Deep Seas Branch in Melbourne and Brisbane, with all Queensland ports except two, refused to accept this decision and struck. Despite this definite stand by a great majority of its members, the Federal Council of the Waterside Workers' Federation tried to bring about surrender on the grounds of "the inevitability of defeat." Great leaders these! The strike was broken, largely by the action of the Sydney workers. In 1917, Sydney had been invaded by scabs, and these had only recently been admitted to the union. They continued to work the cargoes requiring skilled labour for all ports. The General Council was quite aware that, without Sydney, the fight was lost. As a result of its not forcing these men out, unity was lost and the necessary solidarity was impossible to achieve.

In Victoria the part played by the A.C.T.U. was clear. The motion to declare Victoria Dock black, thus supporting the strike, was put. Four officials voted for it; four against. The revoting went against the motion, as two officials changed over because Turley, Federal Secy, and Bates had voted against it in the first place. Turley, who received £10 per week as secretary (now £9), has carried out the same policy ever since. He has never adequately exposed the bad conditions of the men in the courts, although he knows of men repeatedly working from 48-60 hours, only stopping for meals.

At the special A.L.P. Conference in 1931, when the waterside workers' delegates, Harland and Jones, did expose these conditions, Turley tried to discredit them to the Federal Government and assured the Attorney-General, Mr. F. Brennan, that they occupied no official position in their union. But, as a result of their exposure, the Federal Government passed regulations under the Transport Workers' Act, so that no more than nine hours could be worked in each twenty-four (since repealed).

Turley is carrying out a determined campaign to reduce the membership in the branches. The ship-owners are attempting the same thing. The difference in methods is the only one between these two. Turley wants the branch committees to eliminate unfinancial members (this in a time of widespread unemployment and poverty); the ship-owners want the right of selection; the move would eliminate many militant unionists.

Recently, Turley and the Federal Management Committee unconstitutionally suspended the State Executives, thus freeing the committee from the last vestiges of rank and file influence. The N.S.W. Branch appealed in the court against this; Turley won the case by revealing a past criminal record of one of the branch delegates. This is not working-class leadership. Solidarity is only a cry with the Trades Hall Bureaucracy.

As a result of this manifestly corrupt leadership, aided by the opportunities for discussion while waiting in mustering places, the waterside workers are becoming concerned and are re-acting under rank and file leadership.

THE OTHER CASE is that of the Tramway Workers of Melbourne. At a general meeting on January 15, these workers decided to send a delegation to the Tramways Board to insist on the restoration of the 10 per cent. wage cut imposed in 1931, and to demand the discontinuance of rationing. The idea of the deputation was essentially that of the militants, but, by maneuvering, union officials were elected to head. The delegation received a "sympathetic hearing" from the board and returned to report to the meeting of January 22. At this meeting a motion was put forward that if no reply or an unsuitable reply were received from the board before the next Wednesday, the Board's Rules and Regulations should be rigidly adhered to from the following morning, until such time as the board grew tired of their strict interpretation. This was amended by Stapleton, the recently defeated president of the union. He suggested that the decision of the executive be awaited. This was carried. It must be remembered that a large proportion of unionists are content to follow leads; the various devices of their demagogues suffice to blind them and the officials rely upon gaining their support. Another Trades Hall official moved that decision be postponed pending knowledge of the attitude of other unions. This amendment, made in order to introduce the idea of officially arranged unity, was defeated.

On Thursday, February 2, the Trades Hall Council met to discuss this position, among

other matters. In "The Labor Call" of February 9, it is recorded that:—

On behalf of the Executive, Assistant Secretary Monk moved:

That this Council congratulates the members of the Australian Tramway Employees' Union upon their action in opposing continued wages reductions and their effort to regain the 10 per cent. reduction imposed by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, comments to all members of affiliated unions their inspiring example, and expresses the hope that the workers of Australia will unite in a determined opposition to further wage cuts.

The Executive was of the opinion that the stand which had been taken up by the Tramways Union was a step in the right direction. It was one which should be supported by the Trade Union Movement.

An amendment, subsequently defeated, was proposed as an addition to the motion:—

"And furthermore, we pledge ourselves to give the Tramway Union our full support, should it decide to use its organised force to demand the restoration of wage cuts."

The discussion which followed this gradually led to a frank statement that the T.H.C. could not support the Tramway men without consulting the various unions. This process would take months, since many unions meet infrequently, and the T.H.C. made not even a gesture of attempting to hasten the process. So the tramways workers' efforts were sabotaged. But it is a peculiar fact that the T.H.C. overlooked the fact that the Tramways Board was meeting to consider the delegation's requests on the following Monday.

The Tramways Board did meet. Sure now that the T.H.C. would not support the men, it refused all their requests, and to prove its benevolence offered not to reduce wages further by eighteen pence in accordance with the basic wage reduction.

On February 12, the men met and the official attitude had been spread sufficiently for them to accept the board's ignominious proposal. In the "Argus," February 13, there appears this statement by the president of the union:—

Although the wages of men on the basic wage, and those receiving less than £400 a year, had been reduced by 33 per cent., 94 officers on the official staff of the board, whose salaries were up to £2,000 a year, had suffered a reduction of only 10 per cent. The Preston workshops had cost £326,300, but it was now a "white elephant," and only between 200 and 300 railway men were employed there. The board had a surplus last year over working expenses of £703,000, and £108,000 had been absorbed by what was known as the statutory payments. To restore the 10 per cent. would mean £90,000, or £18,000 less than the statutory payments.

The matter of the tramways is not finished with. The tramways workers, like all workers, are realising that their struggles are not led,

but misdirected, by the Trades Hall officials, whose functions are the prevention of organised struggle, and, where it does arise, its diversion into channels which serve capitalist ends.

These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. It would require a more detailed analysis of these cases to show how it is possible for such treachery to be perpetrated.

Social fascists are those who, while pretending to be anti-fascist, play, in effect, the same role as the openly fascist leaders. They cry that they are against capitalist dictatorship. They are actually only "opposed" to the openly violent fascist form of that dictatorship. They recognise that they are of special service to the capitalists only so long as they can deceive the workers into easy submission to capital's dictates. When exposed by their actions, such leaders often become openly fascist (Ramsay Macdonald) and are branded for what they are, working-class enemies.

But before their exposure, the essence of their policies lies in dressing their fascist policies in shallow "socialist" garb (specialisation movements). For instance, the Premiers' Plan wage cuts, pension cuts, and social services restrictions were initiated by Scullin and Lang upon the excuse that if they were not accepted Australian economy would crash and there would be no wages, etc. In this they obviously denied the possibility of any alternative to capitalism.

Workers, awoken to the fact that your self-styled leaders are your enemies in reality. To win your struggles you must direct them yourselves. In your united efforts lies the solution to your problems. Your officials belong to a capitalist organisation which makes you bear the brunt of depression. Workers, unite to fight, but lead your own struggles.

CHARLES SILVER.

MR. L. MULLINS, A.R.U. delegate to the U.S.S.R. last year, returned to find the Union leaders cowed by the recently amended Crimes Act. The Union officials had bound him by contract to lecture only with their consent. Now he found that they censored, then sabotaged, and, finally, disallowed his lecturing. He was released from his contract, the Union claiming no responsibility for his utterances.

He was dismissed from the railways. His union officials have done nothing about the matter. The Railways Department gives no reason for its action. Only by mass protests can this injustice—obviously political in motive—be remedied. The case of Beatrice Taylor is proof of this possibility. Workers! Unite against this Fascist act.

Public Opinion—Its Nature and Origin

PUBLIC OPINION is a vague and popular phrase, which conveys more by suggestion than it ever can by precise definition.

Nevertheless, it is exceedingly important to analyse it, in order to find its meaning and its relation to the whole complex of social life; and that for the following reason. There is a type of political theory rampant at the present day, which appeals to this very public opinion, under various guises, as the controlling factor in, or at any rate the ultimate sanction for, the maintenance of the authority of the state. Thus, to take a few examples, MacIver argues that the state is an association which is the outcome of the "general will" of the community—that order be preserved in that community—the "general will" being the underlying texture of public opinion, which persists irrespective of the transient control of majority or even minority. Green and Bossinquet would exalt this "general will" to the position of an embodiment of the common good of the community. Again Duguit would regard the statutes of the state merely as legal embodiments of public opinion, differing only from custom in the fact of explicit statement. And so on. It is this type of theory, then, that introduces the need for an examination of the nature and origin of public opinion. For, firstly, most of these theorists fail to analyse this public opinion, or even indicate its most important types, and, secondly, they refuse to treat it objectively, as something which has an origin or cause. What follows consists of some brief suggestions on both these lines.

We can approach the subject in this way. There is at present—in Australia, at any rate—no political revolution in progress. In other words, most people are obeying most of the laws of the state. People must have motives for such obedience. These motives are mental states—ideas in the minds of men. We might call them the psychological basis of the state's authority. But the complex of such motives as it exists in the mind of every individual, is not as such public opinion. Public opinion consists, surely, only of those ideas which are common to the whole group in question. It does seem to be true, as MacIver argues, that people who live together tend in time to have thoughts, to feelings, valuations, interests in common, to form, in a word, a community. And people living within any geographical area over which a state power is exercised, do in a sense live together.

Thus we do find that texture of common ideas which is called public opinion; and the interests which these common ideas imply, principally the interest in maintaining an order

in which these ideas can find expression, would seem to be among the main motives in the acceptance of the state's authority. We must notice, however, that "living together" can mean more than living within a given geographical area. There is a division within the area between owner and worker, rich and poor. And as a man's environment in production differs radically according as he is an owner or a worker, and his environment in consumption, as he is rich or poor, we can see that people live together according to class, just as much as according to geographical area. There are common ideas which go to form a class community, just as there are common ideas which go to form a territorial one. Thus it is that here, at any rate, there tend to be motives for obeying the state which differ radically according to class. What, then, are the motives and ideas which we can call truly public opinion?

Directly economic interests are clearly those which will tend to be class interests rather than community ones. They are frequently, it is true, covered over by what seem to be more general interests, but where they do consciously exist, we have, in the case of the working class, a "will" for the preservation of the existing order based on fear of economic destitution and political punishment; and in the case of the employing class, the desire to retain economic wealth and power. There is little room, then, for public opinion here. When we come, however, to that vast conglomeration of ideas that go under the name of custom, we seem to be coming to something more general. There are a large number of customary ideas, such as those for example which find expression in the ordinary forms of social intercourse and speech, which go to form a public opinion. It is true, of course, that whether you work eight hours a day or not, and whether you live on £100 or £1,000, do make a great difference in your customary modes of living; but still there would seem to be sufficient community of custom to justify its inclusion as an element of public opinion.

Concerning the interests of common culture, there is even less difference. Interest in science penetrates to all sections of the community. Likewise, in the spheres of art and literature, the same tastes will tend to prevail. People of all classes will whistle the latest popular tune, read popular novels, frequent the pictures, listen to the wireless, imbibe the mental attitude of the press. Here then there is a large field for common interests. We come, again, to patriotism and all forms of national feeling. To judge from the popular support given, say, in most countries during the last Great War, a feeling

for one's own country as against others still remain an element of public opinion within a feeling country. Moreover, it seems that the feeling has become stronger since the comparatively peaceful periods of last century. Religion, again, has always been a very powerful element in public opinion—frequently, indeed, the central one. At the present day, too, especially in Roman Catholic countries, the common bond of religion is to be noticed.

Finally, we have the general moral ideas and valuations which pervade a community. Are not honesty, thrift, good-heartedness, charity, independence, among the best of virtues? And is it not wrong to steal? Present-day public opinion would answer yes.

In thus glancing over the main types of the ideas and interests in a community, we find that we must admit a very considerable area of public opinion. We have also been able to see what are its main types. We must now turn, therefore, from its nature to its origin.

HERE WE TREAD on holy ground, for public opinion seems to be regarded as a political final cause by the theorists we mentioned above. Absolute idealists, turned conservative, derive its finality from its being the embodiment of the common good; personal idealists, turned liberals, leave it to its own spontaneous development; but we must treat it as political fact, the growth and change of which must be explained. Even when we take this step, we must be careful not to fall into that type of agnosticism which says that public opinion has thousands of causes, the analysis of which is tedious and futile. We must pick out what seem to be the governing factors.

Following this line, we are led to conclude that the ideas of men—of all men—in a country in any given period, are influenced and conditioned in a most pervasive way by the existing system of production; and therefore that changes in public opinion are ultimately due to changes in the system of production. In any such system, those who own the particular means of production have always been the economically powerful class. That system is to their advantage, and they wish to maintain it. A public opinion, therefore, which is moulded into conformity with the continued existence of the system, can be regarded in another aspect as one which is under an unconscious ruling class control. Thus it is that the very public opinion which to a certain extent supports the state, restricts its policy by the fear of thwarting it, and in our days of parliamentary democracy, even plays, or thinks it plays, a small part in controlling that policy, is itself so moulded by its productive and class environment that it becomes turned to the interest of the economically powerful class, or at any rate limited so as not to conflict with that interest.

Such is a self-consistent statement of the position. It remains to show its consistency with experience. Let us deal in turn with the main elements of public opinion which we mentioned. As regards custom, any of our customs which we choose to take we will find to be but a social habit—a common response to an environment; and as such they are all adverse to change. When then have customs changed? Only when a change in the methods of production has forced upon the people concerned an entirely different natural and social environment. The customs of the feudal lords and peasantry do not seem to have undergone radical change for centuries. It was only when the peasants were driven into factories, and the lords or their successors became big business men, that old customs were swept away, and new ones arose in their place. Again, do we not read of a change of custom in the Soviet Union accompanying the abolition of the capitalist method of production, sufficient to enable Hindus, for example, to speak of "humanity uprooted"?

In the sphere of culture, most literature and art, the pictures, the wireless, the press, in reflecting as they naturally do the "spirit of the times," accept the existing mode of production and distribution of economic power. And even where they do not do this, they unconsciously accept the common ideas moulded to that system, and thereby reinforce the ideas already in the minds of readers or spectators. When we come to patriotism, however, we find an extreme case of conscious class stimulation. Arising, as it probably did, from the need to protect one's country against invaders, it began to wane last century with the advent of the free world-market of capitalism. But with the growth of capitalist monopoly in the last few decades, an economic nationalism (which, on its offensive side, is imperialism) has been necessitated; and this in turn requires a patriotic public opinion. That such opinion has been stimulated, not only in the slow moulding of ideas, but also in conscious war propaganda, is, I should say, fairly apparent to all.

With regard to standards of morality, we may note how, in all class structures, property has become sanctified, how "honesty" has been considered a more important form of ultimate justice than, say, the equality of men, theft more unjust than the exploitation of man by man. Again we ask—Why was it that chivalry, and the "patriarchal, idyllic relations" (in Marx's phrase) between lord and serf, master and man, shone forth as the virtues of the feudal period? And why the above-mentioned thrift, charity, etc., as virtues of capitalism? Religion itself has ever been content to mould itself into the status quo; and has even in its time been an active ruling class organ, as when

[Concluded on page 27.]

The German Crisis

THE GREAT DAY OF THE Nazis has arrived. They have entered the government, and Hitler occupies the post of Chancellor! This re-grouping of the capitalist forces in Germany marks a further stage in the development of the fascist regime—a continuous development through Bruening, Von Papen, General Schleicher and Hitler. Each government in turn has more and more dispensed with the Reichstag and resorted to the Emergency Decrees of the President; the political rights of the working class have been whittled away; demonstrations are forbidden; the communist press is rigorously censored and prohibited; legal terrorism has been developed against the workers, who suffer brutal sentences for political offences. The Von Papen government sought to impose the death penalty for political activities of workers. Thus has been taking place a change to fascism, to open dictatorship in place of the dictatorship masked by parliamentary democracy.

Fascisation of the State apparatus has hitherto been supported from the outside by the Nazis, the mass party of fascism, which has engaged in terrorism against the working class, using the methods of civil war. As an independent force outside the government, the National Socialists had greater scope for their demagogic appeal to the mass of the petit-bourgeois and peasant voters supporting them. Direct responsibility for the government brings great dangers for the Nazis, whose strength has been built mainly on the ruins of the old bourgeois parties and whose organisation contains conflicting elements, and the germs of rapid disintegration once the policy of the party is put to the test.

The unreliability of the Nazi organisation was the chief reason for the former exclusion of Hitler from the government, despite the enormous voting strength of the National Socialists compared with the other bourgeois parties (13,745,781 in July, 1932, and 11,729,201 in November, 1932). Despite the "unreliability" of the Nazi organisation, the bourgeoisie are now compelled by the growing revolutionary upsurge to draw them directly into the government in order to broaden their social base. Von Papen had only 32 supporters to secure a majority had deputies, all attempts to secure a majority had proved futile. The change to General Schleicher was an attempt to broaden the social basis of the government, but it was intended from the first that the Schleicher government should be followed by a government including the National Socialists. Big industry, in the first place the Krupp group, set the Schleicher government a definite task:

"The purpose of the Schleicher Cabinet is to secure for German politics a breathing space of 12 weeks, during which negotiations can be conducted between the holders of power and Hitler. . . . The new government will place this chief aim in the foreground, and, while holding firmly to the great achievements of the Papen era, economic revival and Prussian counter-revolution must make concessions in all minor spheres to meet the need of the people, economy, and parties for peace." (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Dec. 5th, 1932.)

It is interesting to quote General Schleicher to understand his view that military dictatorship in Germany must have other support in addition to bayonets:

"If we understand under military dictatorship a government supported only by the bayonets of the Reichswehr, then I can only say that such a government would rapidly run itself down in a vacuum, and would be bound to end in failure. In Germany, perhaps more than in any other country, the government must be borne on a broad current of the people." (Schleicher's wireless speech, published in "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," No. 347.)

The rapid growth of the mass revolutionary movement of the workers, the fight against wage cuts marked by a big strike wave, accentuated the differences within the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

The dispute in the camp of the bourgeoisie over the share of profits was one of the main factors in the resignation of Von Papen. Big industry and commerce sharply rejected Papen's import quota plans, which favored the big agrarians. Hindenburg, in his letter to Von Papen, on the occasion of the latter's resignation, made an indirect attack against Schleicher, reflecting the quarrel between the industrialists and the big agrarians.

THE CENTRAL AND DECISIVE factor of German politics is the rapid growth of communism. The November elections secured six million votes for the Communist Party, which now has behind it the most important sections of the working class, in the main industrial centres. The fact that while the Communist Party gained 700,000 votes over the July figures, and that in the same period the Social Democratic Party lost 700,000 votes, reducing its total to 7,266,873, and the Nazis lost two million votes, is of tremendous importance. The Communist Party again led in Berlin, with 860,579 votes, which was 140,000 votes ahead of the Hitler Party and 214,000 ahead of the Social Democratic Party. The increase of the Communist vote was particularly good in those areas where big strikes had taken place under Communist leadership, including Berlin (the great strike of the traffic workers), Hamburg, East Dusseldorf, West and South Westphalia.

The heavy losses of the Social Democrats was due to their policy of capitulation to the bourgeoisie and strike-breaking tactics (the support to Hindenburg in the Presidential elections, the treacherous policy of the social democratic party and trade union leaders in the Berlin traffic strike).

Here, in the tremendous growth and strengthening of the revolutionary movement, is the explanation of fascism, its historical antithesis. The growth of fascism in Germany and the Chancellorship of Hitler signifies not the defeat of the proletariat, but the increasing instability of the rule of the bourgeoisie in the face of the revolutionary upsurge.

RECENTLY THE COMMUNIST Party of Germany published some of the "Letters to German leaders" (Deutsche Führerbriefe, Nos. 72 to 75, of 16th and 20th September, 1932), a private correspondence intended only for a select circle of less than 100 of the trust kings and bank magnates at the head of German finance capital, and edited by Dr. Franz Reuter. In these letters was contained a remarkable outline of the role of Social democracy, as the following quotations will show:

"Thanks to its social character as being originally a workers' party, the social democracy brought into the system of reconciliation at that time (1918-19), in addition to its purely political force, something more valuable and enduring, namely, the organised working class, and while paralysing their revolutionary energy, chained them fast to the bourgeoisie State."

"As, moreover, the social democratic capitalisation of the revolution into social policy coincided with the transference of the fight from the factory and the streets to Parliament, the Ministries, and the Chancelleries, i.e., with the conversion of the fight 'from below' into security 'from above', from now on the social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, and with them also that part of the working class led by them, were firmly bound to the bourgeois State and its power."

The "Letters to Leaders" compare the Hitler Party with the social democracy as follows:

"The parallelism is indeed striking. The then social democracy (from 1918 to 1930), and present-day National Socialism perform similar functions, in that they were the grave-diggers of the previous system, and then, instead of leading the masses to the revolution proclaimed by them, led them to the new formation of bourgeois rule. The comparison which has often been drawn between Ebert and Hitler is also valid in this respect."

These, and many other similar statements giving the views of German finance capital, prove the view that social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy are the main social buttresses of the bourgeoisie.

TWO DAYS before the November elections, Von Papen proclaimed as his special task "to destroy Bolshevism, root and branch." "Destruction of Bolshevism" was Hitler's main slogan. "War to the knife with the C.P. of Germany" was the first slogan of Hugenburg. All

three are now united in one government of bourgeois "national concentration." Press cables announce that Hitler has denied that he intends suppressing the Communist Party, a recognition of its strength among the masses. Nevertheless, it is clearly indicated that repressive measures are increasing, the prohibition of the press, the terrorism, and increasing armed clashes of police and fascists against the workers, has reached the stage of incipient civil war.

All hopes of escape from the economic crisis are in vain for the German bourgeoisie. The Hitler government will inevitably fail to alleviate conditions in the face of deepening economic crisis. The disintegration in the ranks of the Hitler Party will proceed more rapidly. The revolutionary upsurge of the working class continues. The revolutionary party leads mass actions, and constantly extends its leadership over broader strata of the working class.

The external contradictions are equally acute. The Nazis exploited to the full the national sentiment engendered by the Versailles Treaty, but the Versailles system will remain despite the vainglory of Hitler. Hitler, like his predecessors, will grovel to French and British imperialism in the face of the greater enemy, that of proletarian revolution. All the conditions for a revolutionary crisis are rapidly maturing. There are now 9,000,000 unemployed, and Germany is headed for bankruptcy, civil war, and socialist revolution. The advanced revolutionary proletariat of Germany will play the decisive role. The outcome will be, not the "Third Empire" of the fascists, or the "Second Republic" of the Social Democrats, but Soviet Socialist Republic of Germany.

—JOHN FINLAYSON.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

Australia Gains £136,543 in Year.

"Last year's trading has restored the balance in Australia's favor. Trading between the two countries is proceeding under conditions similar to those which apply to trade between Australia and other foreign countries."

("Herald," Nov. 22, 1932.)

THIS is strange. "Dumping" has no terrors to the importer.

FASCISM:—

Italy.
"One million idle, of whom only one-quarter are on the dole. Maximum, 5/6."
("Herald," Feb. 18, 1933.)

THIS IS THE OUTCOME of open Fascist rule. The Italian workers were deceived into giving up their strike victories in 1921, when power was almost theirs. And for this.

The International Labour Defence

IN THE LATTER HALF of 1929, in common with most other capitalist countries, industrial production in Australia suddenly slumped, and unemployment just as suddenly commenced to mount. Since then has been a continuous increase in unemployment, with the result that over half a million workers are now either wholly or partially idle. Comparing this situation with that in 1928, there is observable a great increase in the class consciousness and militancy of Australian workers.

To counter this an intense repressive drive by the ruling class has been made and continues. Early last year this drive was crystallised in all its intensity in the Amendments to the Crimes Act. By this legislation the Federal Government is enabled to outlaw any militant working-class organisation, and although all such organisations are still carrying on legally, a marked increase in the number of prosecutions against their members for working-class activities has taken place. Added to this oppression is the all-round 25 per cent. wage cut, with others pending, the frequent, and where necessary, violent evictions of workers from their homes, the cutting down of pensions and social benefits, and the curtailment of government relief.

In this period, therefore, the role of the International Labour Defence is made clear. Ten years ago the necessity for such an international organisation was clearly foreseen by the old and well-tried Bolshevik leaders, who had themselves suffered imprisonment and exile under the czarist regime. Mustering their forces in the Soviet Union, the M.O.P.R. came into being, and, within a short time, an international committee, the International Red Aid, was formed. This was for the defence, assistance and co-ordination of all workers in all lands. In November of last year the tenth anniversary of the I.R.A. was celebrated throughout the world by a membership of approximately twelve millions. This is the largest international working-class organisation in existence.

It was not until last year that the Australian section of the I.R.A. took up its tasks in a determined fashion. It then sought to co-ordinate various working-class bodies up till then independent, and it launched the I.L.D. There were in existence then the International Class War Prisoners' Aid, and the United Front Against Fascism, fighting against fascist and social fascist repression. These were merged in the I.L.D., which linked up their former activities with those of the Defence of the Soviet Union and the Liberation of National Minorities and Colonial Peoples.

In Australia, there are huge tasks facing the I.L.D. Due to the activities of the I.R.A. in America, the lives of the Scotsboro boys, accused of a framed charge, have been spared up to date. Throughout the whole of Europe, Asia, and America an energetic fight for the release of the Meerut prisoners, the Rueggs in the East, and the veteran leader, Tom Mooney, is being waged. Twelve million workers are demanding their unconditional release. In Australia the I.L.D. has rendered legal assistance to many members of the working class. Any worker or farmer who is the victim of class oppression can obtain legal advice by applying to the I.L.D. But in this period there is a great deal more than this to be done.

Imperialist war is raging in China, preparations for struggle are now made openly by all powers, the U.S.S.R. is being encircled by a chain of armed countries. The workers of all capitalist lands will be dragged into war to save the "glorious traditions" of their exploiters. The I.L.D. has as one of its tasks the organisation of the workers against this monstrosity of war.

The attack on the workers of the capitalist world continues. In Australia, there is ever-increasing curtailment of free speech and free assembly. Those who are in a position to tell the facts about the Soviet Union are victimised. Mullins has been dismissed without reason from the Victorian Railways, Miss B. Taylor has been dismissed from the N.S.W. Education Department. She has been re-instated as a result of mass protests. The Five Year Plan Film was banned, despite its having been shown for a long period in England and Europe. Working-class demonstrations are broken up or prevented by the political police; for example, the anti-war demonstration on last August 1, and the November 7 Soviet Anniversary gathering in Melbourne. Meetings are prevented in the suburbs, the police anticipating them with Black Marias, as at South Melbourne last winter.

To fight against these restricting bonds is one task of the I.L.D., which is conducted by workers, who must help to build it into a more effective organisation for united struggle. And the I.L.D. is international; it co-ordinates the efforts of the workers the world over. Workers of Australia, you must support and work in the International Labour Defence. It can protect you from the temptation to prevent your rising against them. You must be united in your efforts.

Alice S. Stewart.

The Times Change!

Strikers Bombed in Bucharest

BAYONETED BEHIND BARRICADES

CRISIS LOOMING

"Herald" Special Representative—(Feb. 17, 1933).

UNEMPLOYED.

SURPLUS WHEAT PROBLEM.

Wheat Cheaper than Sawdust.

("Sun" World Cables.)

Vancouver, Friday.

"In the coming winter much wheat will probably be used in farmhouse furnaces. In some places to-day it was quoted below the cost of a corresponding weight of sawdust."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 29, 1932.)

NEVERTHELESS, millions of workers starve in the Capitalist countries.

FAMILY "ALMOST STARVING."

"Stating that the wife and six children of Myles O'Farrell, Little Curran Street, North Melbourne, were almost starving, Maurice Morganti, sustenance officer, said at the North Melbourne Court on Monday that, because of the exceptional circumstances of the case O'Farrell's family was still receiving sustenance. O'Farrell was charged with having on September 19 made a false statement to the North and West Melbourne Unemployment Relief Committee."

("The Argus," Feb. 14, 1933.)

AND this family, existing on 24/- a week, was "almost starving." The "Argus" resents the suggestion. Workers, this case is not "exceptional." There are thousands such cases in Australia.

GIRLS TO WORK OR LOSE DOLE.

Placed on Same Footing as Workless Men.

"Girls and women who refuse employment will have their sustenance payments stopped. In this they will be treated like the men who refuse to work. This decision was announced by the Minister for Sustenance (Mr. Kent Hughes).

"Registry offices have complained that, although they have positions, these have been refused by girls and women out of employment.

"Unemployed girls are partly engaged at relief workrooms, and get a sustenance allowance. Some have stated they are better off as they are than if they accept some of the positions offered."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 29, 1932.)

THERE ARE SOME FACTS which may explain this peculiar independence. The jobs offered include many positions as domestics, at five, and ten shillings, a week. Girls at relief workrooms have received notes in their "pay" envelopes, telling them of some such position which must then be accepted unconditionally or no dole is forthcoming.

RELIGION.

CHURCH DENOUNCES SOVIET.

Campaign Against God and Mankind.

("Herald" Special Representative.)

London, October, 31.

"A Pastoral letter denouncing the Communist campaign and hatred of God and mankind, issued by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, was read in Scottish churches on Sunday.

"The power behind the persecution is no chance outbreak of fury against the Church, the letter says, but a relentless working out of a system center in Russia aiming at a universal anti-God campaign."

INSPIRED BY DEMONS.

"To accomplish this they will stop at no enormity," it adds, "and will not shrink from drenching the world in blood or grinding the entire human race in appalling misery."

"The letter also refers to the preternatural genius of the organisers of the campaign, which is inspired by demons."

("The Herald," Nov. 1, 1932.)

COMPARE this ranting attack with the following unbiased account of reality:—

The Church began by . . . leading a Holy War of counter-revolution against them (the Bolsheviks). In consequence, it suffered the same fate as its allies. This period is over. The Church acquiesces in the new order. The churches are open, and services continue unimpeded. The latest figures give 94 per cent. of the churches as still open. We entered and witnessed a variety of services. Congregations had dwindled in many instances to a handful of old women. The ordinary people were obviously not in the least interested in religion. There is an Anti-religious society . . . which conducts steady propaganda and runs anti-religious museums in the disused churches. Much of this propaganda would gladden the hearts of

stout Protestants, three-quarters of it is directed against the glaring corruptions of ecclesiasticism, including its unblinking sanction of imperialist war. The remainder is first, the vindication of science against obscurantism, secondly, the insistence of the first importance of the physical welfare of the people. A religion which definitely discourages efforts to banish disease and illiteracy because "Heaven is our home" is an enemy to be overthrown. It is, however, a first principle of Communism not to restrain men's religious beliefs, simply because, however wrong they are, the most futile way to eradicate them is by force; that will only confirm people in their superstition."

(Rev. John Lewis, B.Sc., Ph.D.,

From the "Christian World," 1932.)

REV. LEWIS, in company of Professor Julian Huxley and other members of the British-American Educationalists Delegation, made an extensive tour of the U.S.S.R.

MIDDLE-CLASS "LIBERTY."

"MIDDLE CLASS MOST VALUABLE."

"Has not been treated too well,"

says Mr. Latham.

Geslong, Monday.

"Discussing class conflict in various parts of the world at a meeting at Ocean Grove to-night, the Attorney-General (Mr. Latham) said that in Australia few people gave much thought to the existence of the class that was an object of animosity on the other side of the world.

"This is the middle class, which I regard as the most stable and valuable class in Australia," he added. "It embraces professional men, most farmers, producers, shopkeepers, a host of individual workers, including the skilled manual worker, who has not been treated too well in recent years."

"Australia is fortunate in not possessing a proletariat class, the existence of which is a reproach to any country. It is a class which the Communist seeks to create, to order to begin a revolution."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Jan. 17, 1933.)

OH! MR. LATHAM!!! You and your class would like to see the world's toiling millions as individuals un-united for struggle. Australia possesses no property-less people! Hence evictions, sustenance!

Mr. Latham, your imagination is too ripe. Did you draft the amendments to the Crimes Act in order to prevent the "creation" of the proletariat? And by the Communists! Oh! Mr. Latham!!

The Herald informs us that Mr. Latham believes wholeheartedly in "Liberty." His favorite reading is in Aereopagitica and Mills—"Liberty." But he considers communists to have forfeited the right to "liberty," freedom of speech and assembly. He loves liberty for his much maligned "middle-class"—for the exploiters and their retinue.

TALKING AND ACTING.

IF ARMS TALK FAILS.

Hoover says America will build to Full Strength.

"SUN" WORLD CABLES.

Washington, Thursday.

"Speaking at a Navy Day function yesterday, President Hoover bluntly threatened that America would have to build up to the full naval strength allowed under the London Treaty if the Disarmament Conference failed."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 28, 1932.)

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE did fail. America builds. Now Britain finds it necessary to build if the other Powers will not reduce.

"Well-informed naval circles regard the following plan as being essential to security:—The replacement of obsolete battleships by vessels of 25,000 tons, of moderate speed and heavy armour, with eight 15 in. guns; the increase by 25 per cent. of the number of British cruisers with guns heavier than six inches if foreign Powers exceed this calibre; the construction of from 12 to 16 destroyers a year for several years; and the increase of personnel by at least 10,000."

("The Argus," Feb. 14, 1933.)

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES have lost all their pristine value as "blinds" for the war-sick masses. They are acknowledged for what they have always been—Armament Adjustment Conferences.

CRIMINAL COURT STATISTICS.

Figures Lower than in 1931.

("The Age," Jan., 1933.)

AND at the same time the "inadequate" police force is being strengthened. Political squads are formed. Their purpose was made clear on Nov. 7, 1932, in Melbourne streets.

"We are not concerned with Communists as Communists," he explained, "but only as breakers of the law. Order must be maintained, and this applies to everybody—not merely to Communists. Because Communists have several times defied the law, several plain-clothes men have been detailed to watch their activities."

IN effect then, you most definitely are concerned with Communists, as such.

JAPAN IN MANCHURIA.

CIVILISING AIM CLAIMED.

No Invasion.

("Herald," November 21, 1932.)

THIS needs no comment.

FAIR PLAY IN INDIA.

THIRD INDIAN CONFERENCE.

Selection of Delegates Fairly Well Received.

NO PUBLIC SESSION.

("Sun" World Cables.)

Calcutta, Wednesday.

"It is officially announced that there will be no public session of the Third Round Table Conference on Indian affairs, which will open in London next month. The number of delegates will be limited to 40.

"The list of delegates has been fairly well received in India.

"The Hindu delegation commands the respect of the masses, and those who want to be critical of the Conference are finding it difficult to belittle Sir Tej Sagar or Mr. Kelkar.

"It is admitted that in Mr. Pandit, the Punjabi Hindus are well represented, and that Sir Purshot Amdas Thakardas is a strong appointment for Indian commerce."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 27, 1932.)

A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE !! The Indian masses are represented by such people as Sir Purshot Amdas Thakardas—business man enough for British Capitalism to recognise. Secret meetings!

Quite unexpectedly the delegates' list has been "fairly well received." These are the methods of British Imperialism. Anticipating trouble, the British Government made out an individual disturbance to be a new "terrorist" campaign which might need "suppression."

But:—

ORDER RETURNING TO INDIA.

Civil Disobedience Dying Under Firm Treatment.

It is becoming difficult for "maiconcontents" to keep vital the spark of the movement, of which it is evident the people are generally heartily sick.

GANDHI'S MEDITATIONS.

"Even Ghandi appears tired, and, according to one well informed source. "There are those who believe that in his long meditations Gandhi is undergoing further spiritual development, and the time will come when he will abandon civil disobedience forever, embrace co-operation, and devote himself to the task of promoting social unity in India."

"Be that as it may, the Government is taking no more risks of reviving the old civil disorder.

"What was believed to be a fresh manifestation of terrorism at Calcutta, in the form of attacks on European women, is now revealed as the work of a demented man."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 29, 1932.)

AND so once more Gandhi has fulfilled his role of diverting the popular national movement from anti-British ends. Britain does not need

its "terrorist" pretext, and scraps it. These are the methods of Imperialism.

And, feeling more secure, Britain conceded the following vast increases in the "democratic" franchise to the property-owning Indians.

London, November 21.

"The Third Indian Round Table Conference to-day agreed that a larger percentage of the depressed classes should be enfranchised, and that the percentage aimed at should be 10 per cent. of the depressed class population in each province.

... there appeared to be general agreement that an essential basis of the franchise should be the property qualifications proposed by the Franchise Committee, subject to such modifications of detail as might prove necessary.

"His report, presented in June last, recommended the raising of the present electorate for provincial legislatures from 2.8 to 14.1 per cent. of the population, and from 0.4 to 3.3 per cent. of the British Indian portion of the proposed Federal legislature."

("Herald," Nov. 22, 1932.)

THE masses still groan, but not without hope. Their revolts are diurnal.

"INCITED TO MUTINY."

WARSHIP'S SAIL.

("Herald," Nov. 8, 1932.)

In this case of the Australian Navy, the trouble was long in brewing. Serious results were averted by official welfare committees, and, these failing in part, by separating the ships, taking them to sea where trouble could be isolated and news of it suppressed. The sailors of the Australian Navy, like those of other navies, are awakening. The Javanese natives have just paid for peaceful demonstration against wage-cuts with 18 lives.

Batavia, Monday.

"The dissatisfaction in the Dutch navy because of the reductions in pay has led to many arrests.

"At Onrust, 32 European sailors and 150 natives are imprisoned, at Madura about 450 natives are prisoners, and there are 71 Europeans in custody at Malang.

"In future sailors will be forbidden to attend political meetings or demonstrations."

("Herald," Feb. 14, 1933.)

THIS, then, is the parlous state of Capital's defences. The revolutionization of the masses proceeds apace.

—A. F.

A Programme for the Farmers

THE EXTENT OF THE DISTRESS prevailing among Australian farmers can be gauged from the number of applications for relief made under the Farmers' Relief Act of South Australia, 1932, as given in the Auditor-General's latest report:—

Applications received	4267
Applications granted	3459
Applications withdrawn or denied	808

This means that in one year alone, probably one-third of the South Australian farmers were compelled to seek Government relief. What is, perhaps, even more important is the fate of those farmers who received advances.

Paid all creditors	5%
Paid dividend to first preference creditors	10%
Paid first and second preference and allowance for sustenance	15%
Dividend to second preference	45%
Partial repayment of advances	22%
Total failures	3%

Despite the so-called "relief" given to these farmers, only 5 per cent. were able to pay all their creditors! The dividends paid to their various preference creditors are not stated. No information is given concerning the 3 per cent. total failures, who presumably were sold up and forced to travel the roads on sustenance. This state of affairs is quite general throughout the country, South Australia's facts and figures being worked out in most detail.

The low prices ruling at present for all primary products are, of course, felt almost entirely by the farmers themselves. The big wheat-buying firms, especially the exporters (who are greatly aided by the exchange rate), are still making large profits, especially as China and Japan are at present buying much more Australian wheat.

Despite the great fall in the price of wheat, wool, etc., the cost of production has actually gone up. As is well known, the average prices of industrial goods have risen by about 15 per cent. since 1914, while primary products have fallen by approximately 10 per cent. The toiling farmer has to pay the price for his submission to monopolist financial control of wheat production and sale. In big industry the growth of monopoly trusts has enabled the manufacturers to keep up the prices of their products. The farmer has no such advantage, and hence, with the onset of the crisis, prices dropped to remarkably low levels. But, apart from the disastrous effects of this disproportion between the prices of the goods the farmer sells and those he buys, he is compelled to carry

the burden of interest, which is owed especially to agricultural banks and machine and fertiliser companies. The investigators in South Australia questioned a large number of representative farmers in the Eyre and Murray Lands districts as to the cost of production during the last season, and the total price obtained per bushel at the end of the season. The following are four typical answers:—

Cost of Production in Pence per Bushel.

No. of Settler	Working Expenses	Depreciation	Interest	Taxes	Total Cost	Price Obtained
1	11.1	3.8	17.0	3.0	34.9	36.44
13	6.9	2.0	22.4	2.6	33.9	30.4
24	8.8	3.2	8.9	3.5	24.4	32.3
38	16.7	6.7	13.3	4.0	40.7	29.8

IT WILL BE SEEN that in general, interest is by far the biggest item. These particular farmers were considered to have a chance of regaining their financial stability "with good seasons and good prices", so the condition of many more who were considered to be in a hopeless position can be imagined. In any case, with the prices for wheat as low as they are in this present season (1932-1933), it is obvious that the above farmers could only get further into debt. The average price obtained by the above farmers was 2/8. This season they will be lucky to reach 2/6, and in many cases will certainly average nearer 2/- . In a vast proportion of cases the Auditor-General estimated that prices of even 3/6 and 4/-, coupled with unusually good crops, would be of no avail in rescuing the farmers from complete bankruptcy. And certainly the number of evictions and forced sales is increasing rapidly.

The smaller farmers in Australia have been, and are being, forced down into a condition of slavery and serfdom, compelled to work for from 12 to 16 hours daily on their farms in order to produce interest for the banks and big manufacturing interests. They have lost all their former outward appearance of independent producers. The depression has revealed them as the victims of the loan and mortgage companies.

This fact is quite openly admitted by the capitalist class and given official recognition. The various State Governments in the past two or three years have conducted an active campaign directed towards facilitating the process of extracting profit out of the poorer farmers. This process has gone farthest in Western Australia, where a Royal Commission made a detailed investigation in 1931. It found the wheat-grow-

ing industry in a state of dissolution as a result of "lavish spending," etc.

To remedy this state of affairs it suggested, not that the industry be relieved by the cessation of all interest and debt burdens, but that the oppressed farmers be placed more securely at the mercy of their creditors. They aimed at giving the control of the farmer's income for the seasons 1931-32 and 1932-33 to his chief creditors (out of 14,000 wheat farmers, 9,000 have the Agricultural Bank as their chief creditor), the farmer being compelled to give him a priority over all other creditors. In other words, the big financial interests, especially those behind the Agricultural Bank, are making sure that, in this period of reduced profits, they are going to have first go at the meagre earnings of the farmer. (In actual fact, they are also making sure that small creditors, such as shopkeepers, do not get their money.) "The controlling director (i.e., the chief creditor) has the collection of crop proceeds, and the allocation thereof in briefly the following manner. After the costs, charges, etc., of the preparation and registration of the security and expenses of the creditor during the period of control (this may be a lifetime!) have been met, 5 per cent. (!) of the balance is to be paid to the farmer for his personal use; then debts for approved current supplies, services or advances incurred in connection with the ensuing crop or clip are to be met, followed by one year's mortgage interest, land rents, rates and taxes and one-quarter of the outstanding machinery balance within limits of £75 maximum and £15 minimum. Deficiencies in previous years' payments in connection with the same liabilities are next to be met, and so on till . . . the suspended liabilities of the settler begin to be liquidated." (!!!)

What could be clearer than that the Government intends to chain the primary producer to the land in order to produce wealth which will then be divided up among his numerous creditors? That is the whole object of this legislation which is hypocritically advertised as being "beneficial" to the farmers. Taylor justly remarks: "The only argument in favor of the adoption of the Commission's report is the time-worn one of necessity; on all other grounds it seems open to condemnation, and the beneficiaries of the plans—the settlers—bear more resemblance of a new species of serf, *adscriptus glebæ* (bound to the soil), by bonds of debt, than to free men." Certainly, then, "necessity" is a good excuse, and this same necessity has driven the Western Australian farmers into a heroic strike for relief from their oppressive burden. It is obvious that the Australian farmers must organise themselves and follow a definite programme in order to free themselves from what is really a disguised form of slavery. For at present they are certainly in the posi-

tion described in the song of the American Negroes—

"Slavery 'n freedom
They'st most the same
No difference hardly
'Cept in the name."

MANY ORGANISATIONS, such as the Victorian Wheatgrowers' Association and the Primary Producers' Restoration League, exist among the farmers. But these organisations, while claiming to represent all the farmers, in actual fact voice the interests of a few only, and, in the case of the Primary Producers' Restoration League, are organisations created by the big city bankers and bondholders to sidetrack the rushing tide of agrarian discontent into harmless and convenient channels.

Is it possible to have an all-inclusive farmers' organisation? The answer is, No; for far from there being a community of interests among the farmers, there is a definite cleavage between the few wealthy farmers on the one hand and the great mass of small, hard-working producers on the other. There are plenty of farmers who have share-farmers working under them, or who cultivate large farms employing many laborers. These wealthy farmers are large landholders whose interests lie more with agricultural banks, stock agents, etc. They are violently opposed to anything which would improve the lot of the poorer farmers, as this would necessitate a reduction in their own profits. This class-cleavage is well shown by the sizes of holdings and number of landholders in N.S.W.

Size of Holding (Acres)	No. of Settlers	Total Area
Under 51	14,924	333,143
51-100	7,100	647,480
101-500	23,862	6,194,002
501-1,000	11,907	8,656,174
1,001-3,000	12,903	22,195,389
3,001-5,000	3,051	11,752,786
5,001-10,000	2,366	16,160,708
10,001-20,000	1,020	14,107,655
20,001-50,000	783	23,690,543
Over 50,000	464	69,290,730

To simplify these figures, it is seen that 57,793 holdings of 1,000 acres or less occupy only 15,629,799 acres. (As the majority are sheep farms, 1,000 acres is not a large farm.)

In other words, 73.7 per cent. of the total number of farmers and pastoralists possess farms of 1,000 acres or less and occupy only 9.1 per cent. of the total land held. At the other end of the scale 464 holdings occupy 69,290,730 acres, i.e., 0.51 per cent. of holders own 40.1 per cent. of the total area held! Where is the basis for unity between such obviously diverse groups? It is obvious that these large landholders view the smaller farmers as their victims, to be driven

off the land or reduced to a dismal state of tenantry or share-farming. As regards implements of production the disproportion is just as marked. There are approximately 30,000 wheat farmers in N.S.W., but they possess only 6,400 tractors. In Victoria 23,000 wheat producers own 5,072 tractors. In each case less than one farmer in four can afford the most up-to-date implements, and is thus handicapped in the competition for cheap and efficient production. Of course, only the wealthier farmers can, in general, afford these tractors, for they require to be used on farms of 2,000 to 3,000 acres before they can be considered as fully efficient.

So there must be something sinister behind the proposals of such organisations as the Federation League, which claims to voice the needs of "all" farmers. Indeed, its pedigree is very bad, as its "big man" is not a farmer, but a city lawyer! Its whole programme displays its anxiety for the safety of the State, i.e., for the governments of the bankers and big companies, as well as their organised machinery of oppression. It claims to be "non-political," for it knows that its rank and file members would demand that the League should send candidates to the polls to oppose the recognised Country Party candidates, who have earned the dislike of many of the farmers. To do that would reveal that these same Country Party deceivers stand behind the leadership of the League, in order to use the League to bolster up their own shaky positions, and to mislead those who have lost all faith in the Country Party.

THE SORT OF ORGANISATION the poor and oppressed farmers need is one composed of poor farmers and controlled in their own interests. Such an organisation is the Farmers' Unity League, which is just beginning to appear in isolated areas of N.S.W. and Victoria. The F.U.L. is composed of working farmers and excludes self-seekers who are concerned only with the making of profits for themselves. It seeks to help and receive assistance from the agricultural laborers and the industrial workers of the big towns and cities, for it is these sections who must unite in a struggle against the common enemy who is exploiting them. Its immediate programme is briefly as follows:—

1. The revaluation of all holdings and cancellation of all arrears of debts due for all Closer Settlement areas.
2. No forced sales, foreclosures or evictions for arrears of debt.
3. Government aid, free of interest, for necessitous farmers, for superphosphates, seed, machinery, bags, and other essentials.
4. Railway freights to be reduced by 25 per cent., to be met by wiping off dead capital and not by wage reductions.

5. All shire rates and taxes to be spent in localities from which such are collected, for road repairs, etc.

6. A 50% reduction of agents' commission. Of course, any other demand might arise during the daily struggle, such as free medical attention, better educational facilities, etc. The League has stated as its objects:—

- (1) To aid each other in the day-to-day struggles with the banks, machinery trusts, agents, harsh creditors, Taxation departments, etc., and for security of tenure.
- (2) The unity of all working farmers on the basis of struggle for the above day-to-day demands. For unity with the industrial wage-earners in our daily struggles, and theirs against the exploiters for a decent living.

This provides a sound basis for struggle which will lead to greater economic security. In the near future it is to be expected that the growing misery of the farmers will find an outlet in the formation of such Leagues in each locality and district. They should take care that their leadership is always kept under the control of the rank-and-file, otherwise it is possible for adventurers to betray them. In time it will be possible to have a State-wide, and later a Commonwealth-wide, organisation, which will be able to fight for the rights of the farmers on a national scale. In Canada recently a strike by the wheat farmers conducted under such leadership was able to force up the price of wheat by 5 cents a bushel. In the United States of America last season a wheat strike of large proportions helped materially in welding the solidarity of the farmers and city workers.

In every country to-day the wave of discontent among farmers is rising. In many of those countries a desperate struggle is going on for demands such as those outlined above. It must be realised that the farmers will never be in a satisfactory position till they smash the dominance of the big parasitic groups of exploiters. The farmers are seeking a solution for their problems, which are but a part of the general problem of the oppressed toilers of the whole world. Therefore the poor and middle farmers should see in the struggles of all the oppressed the hope for that powerful union of all toilers that can alone overcome the stranglehold of those big interests who govern only to secure their own supremacy. If their onslaughts are not checked the poorer farmers will find themselves in the ranks of the unemployed, completely dispossessed, and with every shadow of independence forcibly stripped from them.

Working farmers! Set up your F.U.L. committees and branches to fight for your everyday demands! Let your slogan be "UNITY WITH ALL OPPRESSED TOILERS!"

IAN C. MACDONALD.

American Scenario

SCENE.

The United States of America is the Promised Land of capitalism. . . . Nowhere else does the desire for gain play so large a part. Every moment of life is filled with this striving, and death alone ends the insatiable pursuit. . . . The capitalist class furthers its interests unaffected by any scruples, even though its way lies over corpses. . . . Nowhere else are the absolute contrasts between the rich and the poor so sharp.

The life-ideal of the American is not found in the pleasurable development of self, nor in the beautiful harmony of a well-rounded life, but only in "getting ahead."

—Professor Werner Sombart, 1905.

UNEMPLOYMENT REACHES TEN MILLION MARK.

J. P. MORGAN LAUNCHES \$2,500,000 YACHT.
—Headlines, 1930.

SUB-TITLES.

my country 'tis of thee

"I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half."

—Millionaire Jay Gould.

sweet land of

"Men must be content to work for low wages. In this way the working-man will be nearer to that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him."

—New York "World."

life, liberty and

"To hell with *habeas corpus*; we'll give 'em *post mortems*."

—Gen. Bell, during Idaho strike.

the pursuit of happiness

"This man, although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him, is nevertheless morally culpable, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions."

—Judge Thayer, at the trial of Vanzetti.

of thee I sing . . .

"Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards?"

—Judge Thayer, after sentencing Sacco and Vanzetti.

THEME.

Society is rotten; the State is a pious criminal; the old truths are tawdry lies. The forces of re-creation are still too scattered and scantily munitioned. The artist is still alone; his voice has not reverberated far. The call of the revolutionist is muffled.

The message of the one and the message of the other do not yet converge on the same people.

The impulse of New America is unfused. Unfused it cannot prevail against the entrenchment of the Old. We must begin to generate within ourselves the energy which is love of life. . . . Its action is creation.

And in a dying world, creation is revolution.

—Waldo Frank, *The New America*, 1919.

CLOSE-UPS.

the message of the one

Big Bill Haywood was a son of the Rockies—he was born, he said, in the bowels of the earth. He saw men toiling blindly in the earth, saw them disinherited from the earth. He was a farm hand at eleven, a miner at fifteen, a class-conscious revolutionary before he ever heard the phrase. Years of bitter struggle, misery, boss-terrorism, injustice, were his text-books.

For twenty years he fought the fight of the working class. Western Federation of Miners, I.W.W., strikes, lock-outs, frame-ups, conferences, soap-box, Big Bill was always there, a mighty reservoir of energy, powerful, direct, primitive—a spokesman and symbol of revolutionary labor. He was in Patterson in 1913 when the striking textile workers were beaten up by cops. And in 1917, when the Morgan interests sold the war to the American grocery clerks, Haywood was rounded up with a hundred other wobblers for saying then what the grocery clerks have found out since—that it wasn't a war to end war, but a war to save Wall Street.

Haywood was sent to jail for twenty years. He served two, and was released on bail. He was a sick man—the capitalist prison had broken him, and he went to Russia and died. They buried him in the Red Square, under the Kremlin wall, near Lenin's tomb.

and the message of the other

John Reed was the son of a comfortable Babbitt in Portland. He lived among smooth lawns and country clubs and golf and automobiles. He was sent to Harvard to learn good English and to become a Good American Citizen.

Reed learnt good English, he liked good living, and he might have become a Good American

Citizen, Rotarian, patriot, and popular writer. But he got a job reporting, and he was in Patterson in 1913 when the striking textile workers were beaten up by the cops. Reed was mistaken for a striker (it doesn't matter much who gets hit when they're swinging blackjacks) and bashed by an enthusiastic policeman. His editor wanted to bail him out, but Reed said he'd stay in jail and find out things. He was young and alive, and Harvard hadn't altogether killed his intellectual honesty.

In jail Reed learnt the meaning of the class-struggle. When he came out Marxism and revolution were no longer academic words like platonism and subjective idealism, to be discussed over cakes and wine in a cosy Harvard study. They stood for something real. He'd seen hungry fellows grubbing over rubbish tips for something to chew, but somehow he hadn't linked them up with society as an organic whole.

So Reed became a radical, studied things, wrote for *Masses*. He was a war correspondent in Petrograd in 1917, watched the birth of a new-world order, wrote *Ten Days that Shook the World*. He came back to America, was tried under the Espionage Act, returned to Russia, worked with Lenin for the Workers' Republic. In Russia he died.

They buried him in the Red Square, under the Kremlin wall, near Lenin's tomb.

in a dying world

John dos Passos wanted to create things. As a kid he used to paint and write, and because his people had money he was sent to Harvard to learn good English and respectability. He liked Harvard, the austerity and quiet beauty and scholastic twilight, but he liked life also, and he wanted to meet it first-hand and make books about it. So in 1917 he volunteered for ambulance service in Europe. He was twenty-three, and had some vague idealistic feeling about the war and American democracy. He served in France and Italy, and returned to America in 1919. It was a period of intense disillusion; the intelligensia had seen through the sham of the war business; the capitalists were introducing fascist terrorism to exclude workers from participation in the golden wartime harvest of profits. Wilson, the hope of the liberals, had sold himself to Big Business, and was sanctioning bloody repression of the working-class.

400,000 steel workers struck for union recognition, an eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven. United Steel Corporation, whose balance-sheet showed a profit of \$253,000,000, smashed the strike with clubs, machine guns, tear bombs, Cossacks, and gunmen. Labor organisations everywhere were raided, members beaten up, their possessions burned. In Centralia, after a

raid of incredible brutality on the local I.W.W., accompanied by bestial torturings, floggings, and lynchings, seven workers were framed on a murder charge and sent to jail for from 25 to 40 years.

Young dos Passos knew of these things. For a while he tried to forget them. He could paint and write, and there was an easy path of escapism through art, that many of his brother writers were following. Cabell was at the height of his powers, "writing perfectly of beautiful things," making pretty word-patterns about lovely ladies and well-mannered knights. Hergesheimer, too, was lost in a nostalgic lubberland. Scott Fitzgerald, Van Vechten, and many others, surrendered to a complacent cynicism. They knew, of course, that a woman striker had been shot in the back in Pennsylvania, that thousands of workers were being starved and tortured in "bull pens." But these things were beyond the domain of art, so they represented the American scene in terms of petting-parties and jazz-babies, and cocktails.

Dos Passos was in a ferment. He wrote a book about the War called *Three Soldiers*, that appeared in 1921. It was a study of mental degradation under militarism, and because it was America's first war book it was generally denounced. Then he wrote another novel called *Streets of Night*, in which he finally purged himself of his sophomore soul-sickness. It is a story of Harvard, and three young people who turn away from life in despair. "We don't fit here," says one, "we are like beautiful lean-faced people of the Renaissance lost in a marsh, in a stagnant canal overhung by black walls and towering steel girders."

One of the trio finds release through suicide; the other two drift aimlessly into nowhere. From this mood of postwar weariness only two developments are possible. One is sterile reaction, the path that T. S. Eliot, another Harvard man, and Aldous Huxley, have chosen. The other is revolutionary consciousness, the perception of the implicit economic forces that render life barren, and the will to participate in the making of a new order. In this direction alone can art remain creative, drawing its vitality from the ferment of life rather than from the shadows of tradition. John dos Passos has set his face towards the future. With him in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement are Sherwood Anderson, Mike Gold, Charles Yale Harrison, the veteran Theodore Dreiser, one-time liberals like Edmund Wilson and Waldo Frank, and a host of young intellectuals.

Manhattan Transfer, published in 1925, shows dos Passos as a mature craftsman, though his social consciousness is still not fully developed. It is a cinerographic presentation of New York life. Bootleggers, journalists, lawyers, business men, politicians, parasitical products of a decay-

ing society, pass across the scene in a bewildering kaleidroscope of booze, corruption and futility. In the next few years, dos Passos was increasingly active in the radical movement. He took part in a Sacco-Vanzetti protest, was arrested with Michael Gold. But his literary work over this period was unimportant: a fantastic play, *The Garbage Man*, and a travel book, *Orient Express*.

In 1929 appeared a remarkable play, *Airways*, in which American imperialism is dealt with; and in the following year another novel, *The Forty-second Parallel*. This, together with its sequel, *1919*, published in 1931, is the most important of dos Passos' work. These two books present certain aspects of American life from the beginning of the century down to 1919. The method is that of *Manhattan Transfer*, multiple themes, each dealing with a particular character, shifting with cinema-like transitions from one to the other. But the episodes are integrated by the use of a *Newsreel* that flashes

before each one headlines, fragments of topical songs, political speeches, news items of the period. There are also interspersed biographies of typical Americans, millionaires, inventors, politicians, radicals. And a third device is the *Camera Eye*, a subjective stream of consciousness in the Joycean manner that presents the author's personal recollections over the entire period. Though much of the material in these two volumes is the unassimilated raw stuff of the novelist, dos Passos almost succeeds by sheer verbal brilliance in welding it into a significant whole. No one who reads these two books will fail to disengage some understanding of the upsurge of revolutionary consciousness that is the most important happening in American life to-day.

creation is revolution

—C. P.

The Crisis and Modern Science

THE PRESENT WORLD-WIDE economic depression has produced marked changes in every sphere of human activity. In the past scientists felt that they were immune from the daily economic struggles and difficulties of the world "without."

Science played a leading part in the revolution of productive forces, especially during the last hundred years. It is estimated, for example, that modern methods and machinery enable a farmer to do, in one hour, the work which would have taken 3,000 hours only a century ago. In 1929 (the peak period of capitalist production) the total employment in the steel industry was practically the same as in 1887, although the total output had expanded tenfold. Despite the extraordinary degree of mechanisation and automation seen in modern textile mills, recent advances in technology (plus increased exploitation) have enabled 30 workers with the new machines to do work which required 220 men only a year or so before. In certain places two men now do the work formerly done by 128 in unloading pig-iron. These enormous strides were made by the exploitation both of human labour-power and scientific discoveries. By many it was believed that the Age of Reason had at last come and science was steadily overcoming all of the problems of the human race. To such the period of capitalist decline, starting in 1914 and enormously accentuated by the present depression, came as a rude shock and dispelled many naive ideas. But before examining the manner in which modern science attempts to smooth over the contradictions between the world's vast store of technical and scientific

knowledge and the present economic decay and catastrophic misery, it is essential to make some enquiry into the general history of science in the last 100 years, and more particularly its conflict with religion.

The industrial revolution compelled and enabled the bourgeoisie to exploit the knowledge of scientists, who thus became privileged servants of capitalism. They were given what was, apparently, a "free hand," but were encouraged by their early training, and by the crude sort of philosophy built up around them, to specialise, to concentrate on certain subjects only. They were led to believe that other branches of science, such as economics and sociology, were also the fields of specialists like themselves. Thus scientists were successfully split up by the bourgeoisie by a form of "division of labour" and were prevented from grasping the truly revolutionary character of the work they were doing. The bourgeoisie felt that it had docile servants. But the advent of Darwin and Marx shattered this pleasant state of affairs. Darwin was first to explain scientifically the origin of man and all other species. His theory was so revolutionary that it seemed that science was about to realise its position in the capitalist world as a really revolutionary force and join the ranks of the *conscious* revolutionaries. For a longer period a bitter controversy with the church (another appendage of capitalism used to stupefy the masses) was carried on. From this struggle science emerged apparently victorious. In actual fact, the church had been compelled to compromise with the biologists and formally accepted many of Darwin's teachings.

Many churchmen based their beliefs on a more or less superficial acceptance of scientific theories. (In our day Dean Inge is a good example of this enforced "linking" of things which are really incompatible.) In Marx and Marxism the bourgeoisie met something that was more than a match for them. Here was a theory of human relationships which exposed in a scientific manner the class-origins of all the events of human history, and showed the transitory nature of all systems, each carrying within it the seeds of its decay. It explained that the capitalist system especially was one based on the exploitation of the great mass of people by a few exploiters or capitalists. It showed that religion was an instrument for stupefying and side-tracking the working-class from its urgent economic needs. Science was revealed as the leading force of future society, but bound down by the present system of profit-making, so that only a comparatively small proportion of its benefits were being utilised. The capitalist class endeavoured to kill Marxism by a conspiracy of silence. In this they failed.

This, then, was roughly the position with regard to science and religion in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Science had, so to speak, made a desperate attempt to escape from its capitalist fetters, but had been captured again by the clever manoeuvring of the bourgeoisie. For a long time science played an increasingly important part. Commencing about 1880, capitalism began that period of overseas expansion and colonisation known as Imperialism. It grew prodigiously and scientists were kept busy finding new sources of energy, transport and production. It seemed as though science at last held the field against such reactionary forces as religion. But in a system which aims at profit-expansion when competitive forces clash in every productive sphere. The discoveries of science serve only to exaggerate the existing over-production. Thus during the last 20 or 30 years the utilisation of scientific discoveries has grown less and less in proportion to the extent of such discoveries. Certainly we have, for example, talking films. But should we not have had them 10 years ago? All the knowledge necessary was then in existence. But it was not an immediately good commercial proposition. Television, except for the privileged few, will be held up indefinitely for the same reason, although developed years ago. The same is true of all discoveries. Certainly marvellous technological advances have been made, yet it is estimated at present that they represent only about 10 per cent. of those at the disposal of humanity. Indeed, war industries, especially the chemical industries, are the only ones in which the bourgeoisie allows its scientists full freedom. Elsewhere, a cramping of supplies and non-utilisation of discoveries.

What is the attitude of scientists to this critical situation? An examination reveals a vast jumble of ideas and diversity of opinion. The most reactionary section shows a very sinister leaning toward religion and mysticism of all sorts. Such influential thinkers and writers as Sir James Jeans, Eddington, Whitehead and Planck are frank in their capitulations to the priests. They outspokenly deny materialism, which is necessarily the basis of all science, and substitute a peculiar form of philosophy which, as Gore Graham points out, is only a pitiful rehash of what Kant, Hegel and others said much better 100 or more years ago. These scientists, of course, show complete disregard for this fact. They feel at present a sense of the *futility* of much of their scientific knowledge, but do not realise that that feeling is due to the bonds imposed by capitalism on science. Instead, they say such things as this, quoted from the presidential speech of Sir Alfred Ewing to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (August, 1932):—

"The cornucopia of the engineer has been shaken all over the earth, scattering everywhere an endowment of previously unpossessed and unimagined capacities and powers. . . . Man was ethically unprepared for so great a bounty. In the slow evolution of morals he is still unfit for the tremendous responsibility it entails. The command of nature has been put in his hands before he knows how to command himself."

So, says one of Britain's most influential scientific thinkers, because the human race is "ethically unprepared" for all that science can give it, 50,000,000 workers throughout the world must live in unemployment and constantly under the threat of white terror if they dare to attempt an improvement of their wretched lot! The masses of China and India must write under the lash of Imperialist oppression, because God has played a joke and has put into the hands of the financier and industrialist the "command of Nature" before he knows how "to command himself." This is the crisis in modern science revealed in its clearest form. Jeans finds the universe "mysterious" and an "idea" in the mind of a "God" whom he imagines to be a "master mathematician." Eddington asserts that the human mind is the "first and most direct thing in our experience; all the rest is sheer inference." And the reactionary churchmen drink this in with glee. The Bishop of Birmingham says, in essence, the same thing as these world-famed scientists when he writes thus:—

"The progressive development of thought emphasises the unity of plan and structure of the universe. The cosmos hangs together. The bundles of regular sequences in it which we have discovered indicate the existence of true cause, of purpose, expressed in a single ground plan. It seems to me that the existence of some sort of God to whose Intelligent Will the whole is due, has become an increasingly reasonable belief."

Truly, science has at last achieved the "impossible" and received the church's blessing!

SO MUCH FOR THE CRISIS in science as represented by the "latest" theories. We will now see that science in practice reveals itself to be just as reactionary.

The scientists quoted above have not been so much aware of the economic crisis as another more progressive group who are, perhaps, more directly connected with the process of production. One example will suffice here to show the connection between what is regarded as "pure" science and the demands of the bourgeoisie. It is recognised to-day among scientists that the major problem in economic production is production of energy. In the past decades a more or less separate science of Energetics has been built up. Why has this occurred? The answer is to be found in numerous factors peculiar to capitalism. The centralisation of production and accumulation of productive forces around certain gigantic centres has made it more and more necessary to centralise energy production and distribution. The best example of this centralisation in the principal electricity power stations situated between the Mississippi River in the west to the Atlantic ocean in the east and from the Gulf of Mexico in the south to the frontiers of Canada in the north, are able to exchange electrical energy. This territory covers about 800,000 square miles, or an area twice the size of England, Germany and France put together. In the Soviet Union, Dniepostr, which supplies 18,000,000 people, is the first link in a chain of even bigger schemes which will ultimately bring about the electrification of the whole Union. In other words, centralised electrical energy will be the future method of supplying energy for all industrial and other needs. But capitalism limits the development of such schemes to their full extent, especially in such places as Europe, where national barriers are insuperable obstacles to scientific progress. Nevertheless, science still goes on finding out ways in which to produce energy. Great interest at present centres on the attempt being made at the Cavendish laboratory, Cambridge, to split the atom and produce the long-sought atomic energy. The whole bourgeois world is agog with excitement when even the smallest advances are made, and photographs of Lord Rutherford and others appear on front pages under streaming headlines. Capitalism wants the goods and Lord Rutherford is trying to oblige. Yet such an authority as Professor Andrade, as recently as 1929, declared that the release of atomic energy was more the talk of a romancer than a scientist. Certainly experience has shown that to break up atoms, of even the simplest atoms, requires the expenditure of huge amounts of energy, while the release of energy is so

infinitesimal as to be undetectable. Latest research indicates that in all probability energy will be released rather by building up atoms than by splitting them. And so far no indication has been obtained that this is possible. In this "pure" science reveals its close association with the economic requirements of capitalism and its eagerness to "promise" results which are not really indicated by the facts of present-day knowledge.

It is such scientists as these who unconsciously reflect the crisis in science in a more practical form. Realising that something has gone astray and science is not being used to anything like its full extent, they attempt to find a way of improving matters within the framework of capitalism. It was, perhaps, H. G. Wells who first voiced the aspirations of this group of scientists in his work entitled "The Open Conspiracy," where he advocates an "open conspiracy of intellectuals" who would control the world with the assistance of such "generous" multi-millionaires as Rockefeller (whom, he says in a later work, "Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind," "grew and broadened at every stage of his career"). From the heights of his intellectual "superiority" Wells hates democracy. Indeed the theory has a very doubtful pedigree, coming as it does from one who describes himself as a "liberal fascist." His plea has found an echo among a large group of scientists, of whom the physicist, Prof. Frederick Soddy, is the chief. His group advocates what is described as the "revolutionary doctrine" of "technocracy," which is much the same as the "open conspiracy." These scientists realise perfectly well that science has been distorted and emasculated by the latest developments of capitalism, and this is their solution. It is indistinguishable from the aims of fascism, as it apparently desires the creation of "scientific Mussolinis" who will control the whole earth. It is obvious that such a theory entirely avoids the root of the trouble, which lies in the capitalist mode of production. This same fascist attitude of many scientists is shown by medical men, especially in "social service" and public health schemes. In England these schemes have been developed to a very high degree, and Sir George Newman, chief medical officer of the Board of Education, says that one of the objects of medical inspections of school children is to

"fit the child in the way of health, that it may grow into a healthy, strong, capable, happy workman, physically and mentally."

In other words, in this period of unemployment and general physical degradation the job of the medical profession is to patch up the working class and attempt to keep it as healthy as possible, especially "mentally." Anyone who knows anything of our Melbourne public hospitals has had practical experience of this same

attitude of compulsion in matters of health. Alas, the State is rapidly erecting a vast bureaucratic apparatus to deal with ill-health among the working class. Capitalism is finding the old, inefficient method of private practice incapable of dealing with the problem. The hospitals are more crowded and many more medical men are spending an ever-increasing part of their time in public hospitals. At present approximately two-thirds of Melbourne's doctors spend part of their time in public hospitals. The bourgeoisie call this the "spirit of service," but actually it is a compulsory act forced on the doctors by that same bourgeoisie. The depression is rapidly dispelling the illusion that the doctor is one of the capitalist class and is revealing him as one of the exploited specialists. "More work for less pay" is demanded from him, just as from the factory worker. This creation of a bureaucratic health apparatus has resulted in patients being treated in the mass, instead of as individuals, a thing which is always essential in treating sick people. And, of course, no attention is paid to what is the correct sphere of medical activity in the light of present knowledge. Doctors should now be able to devote most of their attention to studying the conditions for health, and not the conditions of disease already existent. But such an approach is not possible under capitalism.

Space will not permit a further analysis of the crisis in modern science. It has been pointed out that science is the slave of capitalism. With the decline of capitalism a crisis has occurred in the scientific world owing to the clash between existing scientific knowledge and its restrictions under that system. The manner in which scientists have responded has been analysed. This analysis may be summarised as follows: *In the period of Capitalist decline the crisis in modern science is reflected, theoretically, by the self-abusement of science and a return to idealism, reactionary mysticism.*

PUBLIC OPINION—cont. from page 12.

the Roman Catholic Church became the centralized citadel of feudalism. We may certainly add "faith" as inculcated by many religions to our list of the virtues of class societies.

If then, as we have here argued, public opinion has its origin primarily in the economic structure of society, there are important conclusions to be drawn with regard to the revolutionary attitude in the present capitalist order. For we now know the reason why one socialist party after another has drifted into an innocuous reformism. The revolutionary attitude has often survived the fear of economic

and even to a compromise with religion. Practically Science attempts to organise itself along lines compatible only with Fascism.

Of course, many scientists, especially the younger, are turning away from this reaction. They have become conscious of the cause of the crisis in science and are striving for a solution of their problems. No solution is provided in the Soviet Union, where science is not hampered by private ownership and the desire for profit. Julian Huxley, the well-known English biologist, visited the U.S.S.R. and found there that science was at last really free. It seemed to him that the Russian proletariat were determined to release science from the chains which bind it in capitalist countries. While scientists in capitalist countries are beginning to doubt their science and turn back to religion or to unreliable schemes of "technocracies," he finds that in the Soviet Union

"they are aiming at a practical application of science on a larger scale than any other country. They are of fixed purpose, setting out to base their agriculture, their industry, their mining, the health of their people and their whole national life upon science. And accordingly they feel that in this process so many fundamental questions will crop up, that to answer them they will need, not less pure science, but more. And therefore, as fast as resources permit, they are preparing to increase expenditure on pure scientific research to a scale far beyond that attempted in any capitalist country."

This message of Professor Huxley is of profound importance to all scientists who are convinced that science is grievously crippled under the existing system. In the near future the scientists will be compelled to declare themselves openly, to be on one side or the other—on the side of decay, brutality and reaction, or on the side of real scientific advancement. The scientist who wishes to see science reach its full fruition must throw in his lot with the revolutionary working class.

IAN C. MACDONALD.

destitution and political punishment, but only to succumb to the pervasive influence of class-controlled ideas, which slowly draw it back to partake of their own harmlessness. And so we conclude that the mark of the effective revolutionary is the realisation on his part of the class-controlled nature of the prevailing ideas in society. Without this, despite strong determination to alter the underlying economic and social structure, and a scientific knowledge of the means, there is the constant danger of being drafted off into harmless channels; while with it, the working-class movement comes to light as the first revolutionary movement in history which is fully conscious of the role it has to fill.

Q. B. GIBSON.

"All Quiet on the Soviet Border"

A GLANCE AT THE MAP of the world reveals that the frontier of the Soviet Union stretches right across the middle of two great continents, and is flanked by a great variety of "border states," resembling each other only in their common subjection to imperialist tyranny. To appreciate fully the danger of war on the Soviet Union one needs to examine the feverish armament preparations now in progress in these "border states." These preparations afford the clearest possible proof of the great central fact of the world situation—that just as the fulfilment of the Second Five Year Plan demands peace, so the capitalist "solution" of the crisis demands war.

The first sector of the capitalist chain of armaments is provided by the five border states of the west—Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania. These are all Fascist or semi-Fascist states, with a strong infusion of Russian "White Guard" refugees. The standing armies of these states (with a population of 65 million) total about 560,000 men, and are thus equal in size to the standing army of the Soviet Union (which has a population of 160 million). Armaments are thus two and a half times as great on the capitalist side of the frontier as on the Soviet side. The war budgets of these states rose from 121 million dollars in 1923 to 177 million dollars in 1930. On the admission of the French Finance Minister last year, Poland and Rumania have borrowed from the French Government since 1919 for military purposes 2,000,000,000 francs each. (In the great invasion plot of 1930 it was from these two countries that the attack on the Soviet Union was to commence.) Constanza, the Rumanian port strategically placed by the mouth of the Danube just opposite the rich wheat-lands of the Ukraine, has just been provided by British capital with a brand new munition works (Vickers) and a brand new naval base (built under the superintendence of a British admiral). The whole recent history of these states has focussed on gigantic anti-Soviet war preparations inspired, planned and financed by the great capitalist interests of Western Europe.

Behind these states lies Germany, with its plans for "re-armament." As the Berlin correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" informed us last June, "Captain von Papan last year visited Paris and discussed with French clericals an economic alliance against the Soviet's Five Year Plan and the re-arming of Germany," and "it was agreed . . . that nothing should interfere in the fight against Bolshevism." This menace, which increased still further under the government of Von Schleicher, has under Hitler become a matter of first mo-

ment. For Hitler may shortly have occasion to transform his bellicose speeches into action. Having promised the German masses everything, and (under capitalism) being able to grant them nothing, he may well embark on some desperate act of aggression that would otherwise utterly discredit him. What could be better for this purpose than "the fight against Bolshevism"? The next few months may well reveal to us the extraordinary spectacle of Hitler as generalissimo of a new German army, the successor of the Kaiser's army of 1914-1918, born of French Imperialism and baptised by French priests. The plotters of intervention, who on previous occasions (as in 1920) found in the attitude of the German capitalists a stumbling-block to a capitalist united front, will now feel a new sense of security.

NEXT WE COME to that remarkable unofficial British Empire, stretching for thousands of miles along or near the southern borders of the Soviet Union and embracing Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. These territories, though not marked "British" on the map, are the happiest of happy hunting-grounds for British capital. Mesopotamia and Persia are dominated by Shell and Anglo-Persian oil, while Afghanistan and Tibet, for economic and strategic reasons, are kept under strict watch and care by the British Indian Government. What part are these territories to play in the Armageddon of capitalism? The Macdonald "Labor" Government built new air-bases in Persia and in Iraq (Mesopotamia), each within flying distance of the "stolen" oil-wells of Baku. The same Government, in christening Iraq an "independent" state, provided for the practically complete British control of the armed forces and the handing over of the entire country "in the event of war or threat of war." Next to this region lies the enormous territory of Persia, whose value as a military base against the Soviet Republics both of Europe and Asia was conclusively proved in the last counter-revolutionary invasions. Persia is under the domination of the same oil interests as Iraq, and will be used as the vehicle of the same policy. But what about the Afghans, those whom Lenin congratulated in 1919 as "the independent Afghan people heroically defending itself against foreign oppressors"? Amanullah, the champion of this independence, has been dethroned in favor of the Imperialist puppet, Nadir Shah, who has made the fortune of British and French armament-firms. The Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, signed in 1921, has been annulled. Captain Duncan, of the Indian Army, as early

as July, 1931, explained at a speech at the Legacy Club in Sydney the plans of the British Army for pushing forward roads, railways and forts in Afghanistan in case "we have to fight Russia." The Afridis, the border tribes in whom the spirit of independence is strongest, have been punished by the permanent British occupation of their territories. Afghanistan promises to become the spearhead, no longer of the Moslem revolutionary struggle for independence, but of a capitalist attack on the Soviet Union. And Tibet? Tibet has been virtually a British protectorate since 1912. The "New York Times" of August 21st, 1932, tells us that a treaty has just been signed securing the rights of British capital in this region and providing that British instead of Chinese troops should be responsible for its defence. The ruler of Tibet had already received from British Army Headquarters 40 pieces of field artillery, a large number of shells, 2,000 service rifles and two million rounds of ammunition!

Finally, we arrive at the eastern end of the cordon, where the dominant Imperialism is not British, but Japanese. Here is first of all the great desert-land of Mongolia. "Outer Mongolia," near the Soviet Border, has been for many years a "People's Republic," standing in close friendship with the Soviet Union—not a "Soviet Republic," for it is under the leadership of the peasantry rather than of an industrial proletariat—but still a "people's republic," not capitalist and not permitting the growth of capitalism. The "North China Daily News," leading organ of British Imperialism in the Far East, states that "a group of prominent Manchus and Mongols, many of whom hold high administrative and political positions in Manchukuo," have formed an association one of whose main objects is to win back Outer Mongolia (for capitalism); and that a force of 50,000 Mongols, under officers with foreign military training, is now at work for that purpose.

Meanwhile Manchuria, to the eastward, is already a conquered territory under permanent military occupation. Japanese armies have recently been approaching the Soviet frontier along three lines—the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Sungari River and the Korean border. That is to say, they are on the straight road to Chita, to Khabarovsk and to Vladivostok—three vital points on the Trans-Siberian railway commanding the Soviet outlet to the Pacific Ocean. The Soviet Union could not allow these points to be seized. "We don't want a single foot of foreign territory," said Stalin, "but we shall not give up a single inch of our own." And what have the Imperialists of the "Lytton Commission" to say on this matter? Only the cynical and superfluous statement that "a mere restoration of the status quo would be no solu-

tion, since the present conflict arose out of the conditions prevailing before last September, and to restore these conditions would merely be to invite the repetition of the trouble." These Imperialist humbugs know well enough that the "restoration of the status quo" is not a concrete issue at all. The concrete issue is not whether Japanese Imperialism will gracefully bow and retire from Manchuria, but whether it will move forward from the occupation of Manchuria to an open attack on the Soviet Union. This question the Lytton Commissioners are too polite to discuss. They want "international cooperation" to cope with the danger of the "disintegration of China," with special reference to communism, which "has become an actual rival of the national government"—in other words, they want common capitalist action to smash the Chinese Soviets. But that is as far as they are prepared to express themselves openly—not. For further information we have to go to other capitalist organs which maintain a less elaborate smoke-screen. The Memorandum of Prime Minister Tanaka in 1927 speaks of "the inevitability of crossing swords with Russia"; the Memorandum of General Honjo, in 1931, speaks of "occupying the Far Eastern region of the Soviet Union." A well-known Japanese journalist, in the columns of the "Nihon," announces that "if Japan obtains Siberia, it will be able to forget unemployment and economic crisis for ever." The Paris Press, with open bravado, tells us that "if Europe performs its duty towards civilisation, the endless steppes of Siberia may become in the near future the battlefield on which Bolshevism perishes." The financial editor of the "New York Telegram," more businesslike in tone, quotes with approval the remark of a Wall Street king that "Japan's action in Manchuria will undoubtedly give security to foreign investments," and observes that "if Russia is drawn into the war, even to a slight degree, it will be forced to abandon the Five Year Plan, which is causing such anxiety to the United States." "Primarily aimed against the Soviet Union," is the verdict on the Japanese invasion of the Harbin correspondent of the "New York Times"; while the "Manchester Guardian" declares that "if the Soviets can be goaded into any kind of active support of the Chinese armies, the French, British and American Governments will immediately take the Japanese side." Thus the anti-Soviet character of the Japanese onslaught is admitted again and again even in the Capitalist Press.

It is true that Manchuria also provides us with a picture of fierce family quarrels within the capitalist camp. But these family quarrels cannot be trusted to prevent common action against the common enemy. Can we forget that early in 1918, when the fiercest of all these family quarrels was absolutely at its height, the troops of both contending forces—Allied

and German—were pitted against the Soviet Union at one and the same time? To-day we find that the same world crisis which, by diminishing markets and profits, has made the competition between the capitalist powers more bitter, has also made their common antagonism to the Soviet Union more bitter. As markets contract the struggle for what is left of them becomes more intense—hence a sharpening of the antagonism between the capitalist groups; but as these same markets contract the tremendous expansion of the Soviet Union becomes more impressive by comparison—hence the need for a combination of all capitalist groups against the challenger of them all. Thus the danger of a war of rival imperialisms and the danger of a general counter-revolutionary war of intervention go hand in hand.

In the mighty chain of capitalist armaments round the Soviet Union there is, however, one weak link. That is that these frontier states, heavily-armed and Fascised as they may be, are the scene of some of the strongest revolutionary movements in the world. Poland is on the verge of a working-class revolution, aided by peasants and by national minorities. Early in 1932, Polish dock-workers at Gdynia refused to load munitions for Japan and Polish soldiers and sailors disobeyed orders to fire on them. Germany, just behind the frontier states, with its huge army of Communist supporters, reinforced daily by disgusted Social Democrats and (we may now expect) by large numbers of "Nazi" workers and petty bourgeois disillusioned by the practical bankruptcy of Hitlerism in

power, is to-day a terrible menace to capitalism. China, with its hundred million Soviet citizens, is a more terrible menace still. Just as Fascism in the frontier states is strong, so the revolutionary workers and peasants' movement is also strong. The men who form the armies in these states may have strange ways of answering the call to battle! If the working-class movement can fulfil its role in the present situation, the very magnitude of the capitalist armament preparations will serve to render the workers invincible to capitalist attack.

Some final reference is required to the states that do not lie near the Soviet border, and especially to Australia. Why is Darwin being fortified? Why does Lyons, in uttering a caution against disarmament, utter the preposterous lie that "Russia has made no secret of her determination ultimately to overthrow by force those other nations which are pursuing different political and economic ideals"? Why must Latham, in answer to a statement in the House of Representatives that Australia is short of munitions, reply mysteriously, "I could show you something that would make you change your mind"? Why, except that the powers of capitalism are preparing once again to call for "the last man and the last shilling," this time for the purpose of a "war to end socialism"? It is the sacred task of the Australian proletariat to see that this war is interrupted by, or if possible anticipated by, a "war to end capitalism," such as will be, in reality and not in sham, a "war to end war."

RALPH GIBSON.

Prosperity Around The Corner

- Mr. J. H. Thomas: "I think the bottom has been reached."—Feb., 1930.
- Lord Melchett: "There is an upward trend."—June, 1930.
- "Daily Express": "By the immutable laws of economics, it cannot go on for ever."—July, 1930.
- Sir Arthur Dorman: "We have seen the worst."—August, 1930.
- Federation of British Industries: "We have reached the bottom of the trough."—Nov., 1930.
- Sir Herbert Austin: "I am confident that 1931 will see an improvement."—Dec., 1930.
- Sir William Morris: "We shall have a renewal of trade within six months."—Jan., 1931.
- Federation of British Industries: "The worst of the slump is over."—May, 1931.
- "Morning Post": "More signs of trade boom."—Sept., 1931.
- Sir Harry McGowan: "The dawn is breaking."—Feb., 1932.
- "Daily Mail": "The dark cloud has passed."—March, 1932.
- Sir Henry Batterton: "We have turned the corner."—March, 1932.
- Mr. L. S. Amery: "We are beginning to get out of the wood."—June, 1932.
- Sir William Morris: "I see prosperity right ahead."—Aug., 1932.
- Sir Robert Horne: "Our noses are round the corner."—Sept., 1932.
- In Britain there were 2,969,806 unemployed at the end of 1932.—"New Leader," Dec. 23, 1932.



OXFORD undergraduates marching with the hunger-marchers in England. Since that time many undergraduates have had their names and addresses taken by "bull-dogs" while participating in working-class demonstrations.

International Unemployed Day, February 27.

THE INTERNATIONAL organisation of workers has proceeded rapidly under the oppression of the present crisis. So advanced is this organisation that on February 27 demonstrations of the unemployed and their fellow-workers will take place in all capitalist countries. This is a direct outcome of the suffering and privation which is forced on the workers until they realise their position as being worse than mere pawns in the game of capital, and re-act, first in isolated fashion, later with unity.

The process of building up an international solidarity continues. The forces against it are many and strong. Among them, and very potent, is the effort of the "Labour Leaders" throughout the capitalist world to delude the masses into supporting narrow national schemes, thus obscuring the fact that the problems of the workers are universally the same, except in U.S.S.R.

This thorn in the capitalist side has withstood armed intervention by many nations, including Poland, France, Britain, America and Japan. It has withstood economic war, and it stands as a refutation in fact of the many varied lies and mis-representations with which the capitalists have attempted to deceive the masses of their own depressed countries. The successful growth of socialist construction in Russia is a fact which stands beyond challenge. The socialisation of the means of production has led to an absolute absence of unemployment. While such people as Bernard Shaw and Julian Huxley attest to the fact that there is no sign of unemployment or oppression in Russia, Riga sends forth its atrocious lies. There is no unemploy-

ment in the country of socialist production. Nor can there be.

But in America official figures put the unemployed at 12 millions; in England, 3 millions; in Germany, over 9 millions; in France, 2 millions; and in Australia, half a million. These official figures are invariably much lower than reality. So that, while capitalism's unemployed are numbered in tens of millions, it seeks to deceive its oppressed masses by lying to them about Russia.

What are the prospects of the workers in these capitalist countries? Further unemployment, wars looming dark in the near future, further reductions in their standards of living, further oppression to keep down organised struggle, further lies about prosperity round the corner, further lies to discredit the U.S.S.R., which stands as an example to all toilers, and as such must be discredited or destroyed.

In Australia many struggles have been fought for food and clothing and for shelter. These mass actions have demonstrated that here, as in other countries, the proletariat is prepared to fight to defend its class interests. The struggles against legal and extra-legal (Fascist—New Guard) forces are becoming more intense. The workers are no longer willing to bear the burden of subjection.

On February 27 the workers of Australia will demonstrate that they will not tolerate evictions, work for dole, that is forced labour, the atrocious questionnaire, and every kind of economic and legal restriction. And in so doing they will be joining in a world-wide demonstration of the awakening working class.

ALICE S. STEWART.

IS BRITAIN DIFFERENT?

Palme Dutt on "TERRORISM, MASS STRUGGLE & MILITANT UNITY"

ALL THE LIBERAL Socialist applauders of the present constructive achievements in the Soviet Union endeavor to bury or deny the universal application of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Five Year Plan—this they consider universal, and long to transfer it to Western Europe and America. But the revolution they endeavor to minimise and explain away as only local in its significance, a product of special circumstances, a Russian phenomenon. They try to leave out of account or to bury out of mind one fact about the whole achievement, the biggest and simplest fact, and the most important to all of us in the rest of the world. That fact is that this achievement is built on a single definite base—the base of a revolution, of a workers' revolution.

The boasted "superiorities" and "differences" dwindle more and more; the basic issues stand out ever more bare, as the present crisis extends. Where now are the "democratic" institutions in Germany for the sake of which the Second International leaders bade the millions of German workers and soldiers, when they held power in 1918, sacrifice the social revolution that was within their grasp? The mass of workers are faced with the barest struggle for bread, and in this struggle are confronted with the apparatus of capitalist violence. In the streets of Belfast the masses of workers demonstrate, crying, "We want bread," and are met with bullets. Is all this so different from Czarism?

TAKE BIRKENHEAD. Before the present crisis had taken effect, in 1930, 28.1 per cent. of the insured workers were unemployed. Unemployed single men were to exist on 12 shillings a week. Driven by need, ten thousand unemployed workers in Birkenhead demonstrate to present their demands; a deputation puts their demands before the Public Assistance Committee—the barest demands for existence—for an increased rate for coals, for boots, for clothes. What is the result? The police are set upon them. All the witnesses agree as to the fully peaceful character of the demonstration until the police attack began; only in the face of actual attack the workers were driven to resist, and by their resistance showed their solidarity and determination, and extracted the concessions that were won. On peaceful demonstrations of unarmed workers, without defence and under-nourished, hordes of armed police, specially drafted in, are let loose to make their baton charges, until the scene is a "battlefield."* Then follows the vengeance of the successive nights, the "night of terror" in the working-class quarters.

The Labour Party "raises" the question in Parliament. Deputy-Leader Sir Stafford Cripps says:—

"What were they to say to the unemployed of Bristol that they could achieve nothing by rioting. When they told the unemployed of Bristol that they could achieve nothing by rioting, they were met at once by the argument of what happened at Birkenhead and Belfast. If only the Prime Minister would give some expression of his intentions, it would assist those people who were trying to preserve law and order in the country."

Mr. Macdonald lost no time to respond:—

"He recognised fully that Sir S. Cripps and his immediate associates held precisely the same views as he did on the question." —"Times" Report, October 29, 1932.

The Labour Party and the National Government will help one another to try to keep the unemployed in hand, to prevent concessions being made to "rioting," and to keep down Communist, i.e., revolutionary, influence.

Only the strengthening of the workers' united front can defeat the Capitalist offensive.

Such a united front must be built up in the first place locally. Ultimately it must lead to a wide national movement, a mass revolutionary opposition, strongly based on the unions and in the factories, and among the unemployed, and conducting a common struggle.—LABOR MONTHLY, NOVEMBER, 1932.

*We witnessed similar baton charges against peaceful demonstrations in Melbourne in connection with the November 7th Celebrations.—(Ed. "Proletariat.")

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ANTI-WAR NUMBER

Noel Cunningham

PROLETARIAT

ENGELS' SPEECH OVER MARX' GRAVE

Delivered at Highgate Cemetery, London, March 17th, 1883.

ON the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in an armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but forever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America and by historical science in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human society; he discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc.; and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of life, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the form of government, the legal conceptions, the art, and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist method of production and the bourgeois society that this method of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigators, both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, have been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

This was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced a quite other kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in the general course of history. For example, he followed closely the discoveries made in the field of electricity, and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionary. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the forms of government which it has brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of its own position the present-day proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs—of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Reinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Brussels Deutsche Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-9), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in revolutionary clubs in Paris, Brussels, and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International)—this was indeed an achievement of which Marx might well have been proud, even if he had done nothing else.

And consequently Marx was the best-hated and most-calumniated man of his times. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extreme democrat, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring them, answering only when necessity compelled him. And now he has died—beloved, revered, and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have many opponents he has hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his work will endure through the ages!

PROLETARIAT

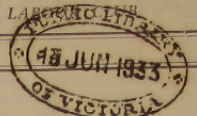
ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOR COLLEGE

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AGAINST WAR

TO-DAY the world is more heavily armed than ever before. The powers are frantically seeking a solution to their desperate plight. A crop of international conferences has failed to arrive at this solution. No end of conciliatory speeches by Hitler, MacDonald, and Roosevelt can conceal the deadlock at Geneva, the sabre-rattling in Germany, the economic catastrophe of U.S.A., or the savage brutality of Japanese imperialism. The heightening of the Fascist terror in Germany is a war preparation which has the full support of the worst reactionaries in Europe, who recognize in Fascism the weapon of attack on working-class resistance to war. The invasion of North China by Japan is now openly stated in the press to be a blow at "internal disorders" occurring especially in Pieping. A new wave of anti-social incitement has commenced. In every country, including Australia, working-class activity is being suppressed by ruthless means. At the same time, the capitalists agree in their opposition to the Soviet Union, and prepare for war against it.

The grave danger of war is obvious.

Melbourne University students have discussed the problem of their attitude to war. By a narrow majority, the Oxford resolution—"That this house will, under no circumstances, fight for King and Country"—was upheld at a Debating Society meeting. Several speakers there stressed the uselessness of passive resistance to war. It is this feeling of uselessness which deters many opponents of war from declaring themselves. It is useless to be a pacifist, they say. We agree. Pacifism

is the reaction of people who, while determined to oppose war, do not understand its nature. But pacifism is not only useless, it is dangerous—it denies the necessity for action against war.

On the 3rd May, nearly a hundred students at this University pledged themselves "to conduct a determined and persistent fight to prevent at all costs the occurrence of such wars." At this meeting an anti-war committee was appointed. It will determine how this fight is to be carried out.

The anti-war movement at this University must take the line of action indicated in the editorial of *The Student Vanguard*, London, in its March issue. This is an answer to the pacifism of the Oxford resolution.

"Wars to-day, apart from those fought by a nation for its own liberation, are imperialist in character, are fought between capitalist powers for the redivision of markets and cheap labour—that is to say, for the redivision of colonial territories and spheres of influence.

"Our attempts to prevent such wars are determined by the tools used in war—these tools are members of the working class, munition workers, transport workers, the rank-and-file of the armed forces. Each warring nation uses the same tools; the working class of one country is used to slaughter that of another; and this indicates the effective means of preventing war. The working class must unite to prevent war by strike action and sabotage; we students must unite with the workers to take action against war."

CURRENT NOTES—THE WAR DANGER

THE Achilles' heel of capitalist production lies in the fact that whereas power to produce commodities increases without a halt, the impoverished condition of the working class places definite limits on the expansion of the market. As loan capital accumulates in the advanced capitalist countries, the possibility of profitable home investments declines. So the capitalist class searches frantically all over the world for relatively undeveloped countries requiring capital. Every advanced capitalist country depends more and more on the profits derived from capital invested abroad. In 1916 Lenin wrote: "The revenue of the British bondholders is *five times greater* than that from the foreign trade of the greatest trading country of the world. (*Lenin: "Imperialism," p. 110.*) Since the war, Britain's foreign investments have declined. Yet before 1929, "of the annual savings in this country of about £400 million, rather more than £200 million used to be invested abroad." Capital is owned by national groups; each group is supported by a State apparatus. The division of the world amongst capitalist States is almost complete, and so the struggle for the remaining areas of exploitation (for example, China) and for a *redivision* of the world becomes peculiarly intense. In Manchuria it has already led to WAR. In Paraguay and Bolivia, in Peru and Colombia, the struggle between England and America has also issued in war. In Europe, the struggle between groups headed by France and England on the one hand, and Germany on the other, for fields for investment in Europe and abroad (Alsace and Lorraine, Germany's erstwhile colonies, etc.), threatens another world war on a scale far exceeding that of 1914-1918.

FREE competition between relatively small capitalist groups has grown into the era of monopoly capitalism. "Monopolies are the more solid when *all* the sources of raw materials are controlled by one group. The international capitalist groups furiously devote themselves to the task of preventing competition by acquiring all the resources." (*Lenin: "Imperialism," p. 87.*) This struggle by monopolist groups for raw materials emerges in war. We saw the process in the years be-

fore 1914. Manchuria is rich in primary products—oil, timber, and minerals, particularly coal; so is Jehol. So Japan invades China, and hundreds of thousands of Chinese are slain. According to the ethics of capitalism, murder is a legitimate means of acquiring raw materials. The United States in South America (particularly in Nicaragua), England in India, and France in Indo-China are applying this capitalist ethic. "We" (that is Standard Oil and the Anglo-Dutch Oil Co.)—"We fight for oil." And at the same time America and England pile up huge armaments for the time when the "fight" takes the form of armed conflict rather than a trade war.

UNDER capitalism, capacity to produce commodities far exceeds capacity to consume. So overseas markets are of primary importance for an industrial State. In these circumstances, a feverish struggle for colonies becomes a distinguishing mark of imperialism. Again, each imperialist group raises tariff barriers or introduces the quota system against foreign competition, partly to protect the home market and partly in order that the profits created by selling commodities at high prices can be used to dump the same commodities overseas at much lower prices. Thus tariffs and quotas limit the world market, and, in so far as they lead to dumping, the struggle in the reduced market is intensified.

ARGUMENT as to whether the struggle between imperialist groups for fields for investment, for raw materials and markets, leads to war is futile. The concrete evidence of the war of 1914-1918, and the wars before and since that date, make an affirmative answer inevitable. The point that must be stressed is that in our own era the menace of imperialist war is peculiarly acute. For "the novelty of the recent imperialism regarded as a policy consists" (partly—C.S.) "in its adoption by several nations." Up to 1870 Great Britain had a virtual monopoly of the trade and colonies of the world. But from 1870 other countries (and particularly Germany, the United States, France, and Japan) began to rival her ascendancy. Thus we see how the unequal development of capitalist coun-

tries leads to war. When imperialism was adopted as a policy by *all* advanced countries, and the division of the world was virtually complete, the period of relatively peaceful capitalism came to an end: we live to-day in the era of imperialist wars. There is another side to the picture. As the struggle between imperialist groups becomes more acute, as the world market becomes saturated, the period of capitalist expansion ends too. Attacks on the working class follow; and this leads to the revolutionary uprising of the toiling masses. Ours is the era of wars and revolutions.

MORE than half a century ago Marx pointed out that as capitalism spread throughout the world, the areas for exploitation would decline until capitalism entered into the phase of its general crisis, in which the antagonisms between classes would be immensely intensified, finally emerging in armed conflict. The general crisis of capitalism began with the imperialist war of 1914-1918. This war did not solve the crisis; it merely led to a new alignment of forces, and above all to the beginning of the world revolution with the triumph of the working class in Russia. On the contrary, after a period of temporary stabilization between 1923-1929, the general crisis has now entered on another particularly acute phase. Since 1929 the value of world trade has declined by approximately 60 per cent. During the same period there has been a corresponding decline in home production in most countries. We have shown that even under "normal" conditions imperialist conflicts for markets, etc., lead to war. During an acute economic crisis it is clear that the struggle between imperialist groups must be intensified. War comes to be regarded as the way out of the crisis, not only in Japan and Germany, but also in the other capitalist countries. At present the conflict between the rival imperialists takes the form (mainly) of tariff increases, dumping, depreciation of the exchanges, etc. But it is recognized that at any time the trade war may pass into the phase of armed conflict. This is proved by the fact that during a crisis unequalled in intensity, range, or duration, the capitalist countries are actually increasing their armaments. Consider "pacifist" England. "For the coming year the estimates for the fighting forces of Great Britain have been increased by £4,581,000 over those of last year." Else-

where there is to be "economy"; for example, the education grant is to be cut by £830,755. The international price level has declined steadily since 1925, but expenditure on world armaments has increased.

World Armaments Expenditure.

[Armaments Year Book, 1932, p. 454.]

Year.	Expenditure in millions of dollars.
1925	3497
1926	3557
1927	3873
1928	3950
1929	4107
1930	4126

Here is the clearest evidence that the capitalist States regard war as the outcome of their economic rivalries.

WE turn now to consider in greater detail the antagonisms which explain this vast increase in armaments expenditure during the period of capitalist decay. Leaving the question of the Soviet Union for later consideration, we find that the central fact in the European situation is the division of Europe into two camps. Led by France and England, we have on the one hand the States that gained by the redivision of the world in 1919. They are determined to maintain the *status quo*. On the other hand, we have the States whose expansionist tendencies were checked by the Peace Treaties, or who actually lost ground. They are headed by Germany and Italy, and are determined on a further redivision of the world—notwithstanding the fact that this redivision can only be effected by war. In order to strengthen herself in the event of a war of revenge, and as a bulwark against Soviet Russia, France created Poland and Czechoslovakia out of the territory of the defeated Central Powers and Russia, and she greatly increased the territory of Serbia (the present Yugoslavia) and Roumania. France does everything possible to strengthen the ties that bind her allies to her. But in addition she has more than doubled her armaments expenditure between 1925 and 1931—the increase was from 5,543,600,000 francs (1925) to 11,599,700,000 francs (1931). (*Armaments Year Book, 1932, p. 124.*) The Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Yugoslavia) realizes the imminence of war, and recently concluded an alliance which involved the creation of a

federation. Undoubtedly this was a war measure dictated mainly by the situation in Germany. Poland endeavours to strengthen her hold on the "free" city of Danzig, and so she lands troops in the city as a preventative step against German occupation. Hence the recent crisis. Later the Nazis raid the trade union headquarters in Danzig. The accession of the Fascists to power vastly increased the danger of war. The Nazis have constantly exploited all the chauvinist feelings in Germany arising from the fact that by the Treaty of Versailles the Reich lost seven million Germans and all her colonies. In addition, she was forced to pay huge reparations and was compulsorily disarmed. Now we find that Germany has determined to rearm. "We will be forced to complete our armaments whatever be the general limitations within the British plan," writes Baron von Neurath, Germany's Foreign Minister. The military character of the Fascist German Government becomes apparent when we remember that, in addition to the War Office, the Nazis on coming to power created two new War Ministries—a Special Aviation Commissariat and a second War Ministry for military training of German youths. The Nazis make gestures against Denmark in the north and Poland in the east. Both these States include former German territory in Upper Schleswig, Posen, Upper Silesia, the Polish Corridor, and Danzig. Why is Germany so insistent on rearming? Because her expansionist tendencies, checked at Versailles, are thwarted by the fact that she has no a military machine of sufficient strength to back up her demands. War alone will serve the ends of the German capitalist class. In proposing the Four Power Pact, Mussolini stated that its basis should be the revision of the Peace treaties—the goal of the foreign policy of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

It is against this background that we should regard the Franco-British note protesting against the smuggling of Italian arms into Austria. Comrade Thaelmann, leader of the Communist Party of Germany, has given the correct working-class answer to this chauvinist propaganda: "We Communists say to you, French workers, masses of the toiling people: 'Your fellow-sufferers in Germany, the workers and peasants there, are not your enemies, but your natural allies.' And at the same time we tell the German toilers that the French

workers and toilers are never their foes, but their class allies and comrades." This is true proletarian internationalism. The unity of the workers of the world as contrasted with the patriotic chauvinist war gestures and war preparations characteristic of capitalism.

THE antagonism between the defeated and victorious bourgeois States (enormously exacerbated by the wave of Fascism in Central Europe) raises the war danger as the most acute issue facing the working class. The colonial question has actually led to war at the present time. With regard to the colonial question, Lenin has drawn attention to the supremely important fact that the bourgeois States now export capital rather than manufactured goods to the colonial and semi-colonial countries. So we get the emergence of capitalism, and therefore of a working class, in these countries too. Imperialism thus prepares the way for the world revolution. (See in this connection the growth of the Soviets in China and the struggle of the workers and peasants of India against foreign exploitation.) The Lytton Report suggests "international action" to crush the Chinese Soviets, "which have become an actual rival of the National Government. They possess their own law, army, and Government, and their own territorial sphere of action." (*Lytton Report*, pages 23 and 24.) With the steady growth of Communism throughout China the resistance to foreign penetration grows (despite the defeatist attitude of the corrupt Kuomintang); and already the capitalists are considering "international action" for "national reconstruction." Because Japan is the bulwark of capitalism against Communism in the East (Communism being represented by the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets), France and England have steadily refused to take any effective steps to check Japan in her attacks on Manchuria, Jehol, and Shanghai, or in her advance south of the Great Wall.

THE present era also marks an intensification of the antagonisms between the victorious imperialist powers. We have already referred to the conflict between Italy and France, particularly in the Balkans—a conflict which leads Italy into an alliance with Germany, and caused the two countries to refuse to limit their navies at the London Navy Conference of 1930. The central an-

tagonism in the camp of the victorious powers is that between Great Britain and the United States. At the present time the struggle between the two imperialisms takes the form of an acute trade war. Following on England's departure from the gold standard, her currency (sterling) depreciated, and, as we know from Australian experience, this depreciation leads to exporters receiving an exchange bonus paid by importers. Thus, in their competition in the world market, British exporters were placed in a distinctly advantageous position. On the other hand, British importers found it difficult to buy American goods, owing to the high rate of exchange. The Ottawa agreements (involving a huge loss in America's export trade) worked in the same direction. Finally, the United States decided to employ "diplomatic blackmail" against the sterling block, and in an endeavour to recover her lost trade the United States has departed from the gold standard. In reply, Great Britain immediately increased to £350 million the Exchange Equalization Fund, which aims primarily at preventing the appreciation of sterling in terms of the dollar. If history tells us anything it is that acute trade conflict between rival imperialisms eventually leads to war. In fact, Great Britain and the United States have already fostered war between Peru and Colombia and between Paraguay and Bolivia. In the Far East, Great Britain refuses to support the United States in the strong line she has taken against Japan's encroachment on American interests in China. The conflict between the two countries with regard to war debts is another phase of the struggle.

Finally, we have the antagonism between the United States and Japan in the Pacific—an antagonism which has been further accentuated as a result of Japan's invasion of China.

IMPERIALISM does not mean merely an era of imperialist wars. It is above all the last stage of capitalism: the era of proletarian revolution. In the Soviet Union the revolution has already freed over 160 million toilers. The existence of a Communist State as powerful as the Soviet Union creates two worlds. Can we imagine harmonious relations between the World of the Working Class Dictatorship and the World of Capitalist Exploitation? Clearly no. Because the capitalist class all over the world lives in mortal fear of

the proletarian revolution; the capitalist class knows that the Soviet Union demonstrates the possibilities of workers' control, and therefore it is an inspiration to all toilers. So the Soviet Union must be abused and, if possible, crushed. Again, before 1917, Russia was an extremely valuable field for investment. In this sense Russia was a "colonial country." We may note in this connection the huge debts of the Czarist Government and the extent to which foreign capital controlled Russia's financial and industrial life. To bring Russia back into the imperialist fold appears to be an obvious way out of the crisis. That the imperialist powers desire to crush the Soviet Union, and that they are prepared to embark on a war of intervention to achieve this aim, is a fact which can be proved by history. After the Russian Revolution, Japan and the United States invaded Siberia, France and England sent troops to Archangel, and all the great imperialist powers spent huge sums in financing the counter-revolutionary generals. Intervention was followed by economic blockade. The attitude of the imperialists to the Soviet Union has not changed. No one can doubt that if the Czar still ruled in Russia, Japan's conquest of Manchuria would have led to war between the two States. Only the peace policy of the Soviet Union has prevented war. With regard to Japan's determination to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway (owned now by Russia alone), even the "Sydney Morning Herald" stated on April 27th that "It looks very much as if Japan is seeking a pretence for taking action against the Soviet Union." Bourgeois newspapers constantly refer to the probability of the Japanese invasion of Siberia. France strengthens her alliance with the Little Entente and Poland against the Soviet Union, as well as against Germany. The United States has never recognized the Soviet. In Germany Hitler recently made a speech which was violently anti-Soviet. But England at present takes the lead in provocative acts against the Soviet Union. It is well known that England's foreign trade has declined sharply since 1929; while on the other hand her trade with the Soviet Union has steadily grown. Yet after the Ottawa Conference the British Government announced its intention of denouncing the trade treaty with Russia; and the trial of the Vickers saboteurs and spies was chosen as a pretext for virtually breaking off trade relations. At the same

time we observe rapid intensification of the campaign of lies against the Soviet Union. War is capitalist policy continued by other means. Capitalist policy to-day is directed against the Soviet Union; only the sympathy felt by the workers in the capitalist countries for their class brothers in the Soviet Union prevents capitalist policy taking the form of war.

WHAT of the League of Nations? When Baron von Neurath announced Germany's intention to re-arm, the British Secretary for War (Lord Hailsam) immediately threatened that the League would employ "sanctions" against her; that is, economic boycott or war. The League is clearly revealed as a military alliance of the powers victorious at Versailles against the defeated countries, and (as the Lytton Report shows) against Communism. Hence the League's "strange" failure to invoke sanctions against Japan when, in defiance of her covenant obligations, she invaded China. While the capitalists *talk* peace at Geneva, the *realities* of war preparations and actual armed conflict (in Manchuria, etc.) proceed undisturbed. To take the path of the League of Nations is to take the path of the bourgeoisie—the path that leads to war. Peace can only be achieved by the proletarian revolution, by Communism.

WE are accustomed to reading in one column of a capitalist newspaper that Communism is a very wicked doctrine, because, forsooth! it involves violence. And in the next we learn that more millions must be spent on armaments. So the question is not violence or Pacifism. The capitalist class employs violence normally against the workers and colonial peoples. We have shown concretely that it is preparing for imperialist war and for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. So the real question is: "In whose interests is the force to be employed?" The capitalist class in France, for example, arms its workers in order to protect its interests against the capitalists of Germany, supported for the moment by their workers. The workers are to do the fighting; the workers are to suffer. So, again, we must ask: "In whose interests?" Surely the proletariat must use force in its own interests, and against the exploiters who are preparing war. When

confronted with the call to arms, the working-class reply must be: "The enemy is in our own country." After every modern war the workers have realized this fundamental fact. Every modern war has been followed by a proletarian revolution, in which the workers have turned their arms against the war-mongers. The aftermath of the Franco-Russian War was the Paris Commune; of the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Revolution of 1905; of the Great War, the triumphant Russian Revolution of November, 1917, and revolutions in Hungary, Germany, and elsewhere—revolutions which were crushed owing to the treachery of the social democrats in causing sections of the workers to fight, in the name of "democracy," for the bourgeoisie. Owing to the proletarian revolution, Russia withdrew from the Great War nearly twelve months before the Armistice. Imperialist war or intervention against the Soviet Union can be crushed at the outset if the opponents of war carry out the necessary preparatory work; if a vigorous anti-war movement is built up *now* before the outbreak of war; if the lesson that proletarian revolution is the true reply to imperialist war is recognized by every worker and intellectual. The fundamental task confronting the working class to-day is to build up now a broad, united front against imperialist war and against a war of intervention in the Soviet Union.

—Charles Silver.

Australian capital has commenced the exploitation of the goldfields in New Guinea. The activities thus set on foot have increased the work of the Administration, which has accordingly been extended by the establishment of an Executive Council appointed by the Governor-General and a Legislative Council appointed from the Executive and containing in addition seven representatives of mining, commercial, and planting interests, also appointed by the Governor-General.

This Administration will carry on and extend the imperialist task of exploiting New Guinea's natural resources, using the cheap and, in reality, forced labour of the 500,000 natives in the interests of Australian capitalists. From this exploitation arises the unity of the New Guinea natives and the Australian workers.

AUSTRALIA PREPARES FOR WAR

AUSTRALIA must keep pace with the Empire, and the Empire must keep abreast of its needs in the light of the international situation, *always in the expectation and the hope of a reduction of armaments.*" ("The Argus," March 10; our italics.)

Thus the forces of capitalism account for the rapid war preparations now being made. It is no longer possible to conceal the hasty but well-planned strengthening of each defence arm, and, indeed, as their militarist propaganda increases in intensity the bourgeoisie deem it unnecessary to hide the preliminaries to actual warfare. This is made plain by press statements.

In November last, six articles of considerable interest appeared in the "Argus" (Nov. 17-23), their avowed purpose being "to explain the parlous state of unpreparedness against possible aggression into which the Commonwealth has drifted in consequence of economies." These, in the light of subsequent events, repay study.

The first was a general review of the situation. The second dealt specifically with the Navy. Deploring the decrease in the number of naval ratings during the past four years, the article explained that the loss could not be made good in an emergency by recruiting from the mercantile marine, because "that service also must be extended in an emergency." Does this hint at a conscription of all vessels and all seamen? Complaint was also made that the old out-of-date warships of the Australian navy should be scrapped and replaced by modern, well-equipped cruisers—because, since the Australian battleships were included in the quota allowed Great Britain under naval "disarmament" treaties, the existence of obsolete vessels was weakening the Imperial forces.

Need we comment? On March 8 of this year the "Argus" hailed the gift to Australia from Britain of five destroyers, and on April 5 the "indefinite loan" of a new cruiser to replace H.M.A.S. "Brisbane." The "Herald" of March 8 remarks with a shriek of pleasure: "Australia's naval defence requirements will be better served than with the previously suggested three 8000-ton cruisers. . . . For 'patrol' and 'police' work among the Pacific

Islands and in New Guinea and Eastern waters the destroyers would be of more use to Australia." A cryptic cable from London ("Argus," March 10) states that the destroyers "are among the vessels Britain is obliged to dispense with under various treaties." Dear fairy godmother!

But all this was not enough. Three hundred naval ratings have been added to the present personnel, and the Navy Board has announced as its ideal the provision of four up-to-the-minute cruisers. That this is no far-distant plan is revealed by the statement ("Herald," May 1): "It is not known as yet to what extent the Commonwealth Government and the Admiralty will be able to accomplish this ideal in the year 1933-34."

To pass on to the third article of the series. This handled the subject of the land forces. These, it was admitted, were equipped with a "fair" supply of small arms and light artillery, "reasonable" stores of ammunition, and facilities for making more. The "Argus" of December 2 praised Mr. A. E. Leighton, controller-general of munition supply, for having since 1927 built up throughout Australia a chain of munition factories which had attained "a high level of efficiency." At Lithgow Small Arms Factory the latest type of machine gun is being manufactured, and the Maribyrnong munition works have recently restricted their production to war materials only. (There were 1000 tons of explosives stored at Altona Bay, according to the "Argus" of March 24.) But there were no anti-tank guns, no modern heavy guns, no modern appliances for directing artillery fire, no armoured cars available. In discussing motor transport for military purposes, the writer of the article recommends heavier vehicles, particularly six-wheelers of the type adopted by the British Army. Morris six-wheelers are bought by private firms in Australia on condition that they be made available to the Government for defence purposes when necessary. No duty is charged on their entry.

Two months before this (September 19), the "Argus" had recorded the first effects of a new policy in Commonwealth military practice—a review of mechanical transport held in the Domain on Sunday the 18th. Twenty

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types of mechanical transport were displayed in action. These included heavy artillery tractors, field artillery tractors, and vehicles of a general type; and it was indicated that this display was the firstfruits of an intention to carry out in Australia the entire mechanization of military transport. At the end of March, 1933, came the addition of armoured cars. The "Argus" (March 29) told of the projected use of ordinary motor-cars, "the armour—a cover of light metal fitting over the body and chassis—detachable and so designed that thousands could be produced by factories at short notice and fitted to motor cars which would be manned by specially picked young men trained in peace-time."—These young men, by the way, would practise manoeuvres *with their own cars*. . . . "Specially picked." Facilities for the production of this armour have been prepared at the Sunshine Harvester Works.

The coastal defences of Australia were of necessity stressed in the same article. "Normally the advantage in an engagement with warships should always be with coastal defences, partly because the guns operate from a fixed platform and *partly because their size and therefore range is not restricted by international agreement*." ("Argus," March 21: "It is suggested that the coastal defence equipment may be improved by the installation of long-range 16-inch guns.") This proposal has also been taken up by the Defence Department.

"To prepare a series of fortifications," a special party of officers and men of the permanent military forces had proceeded to Darwin. "The decision to construct special fortifications" ("Argus," July 15) "was made recently by the Commonwealth Government with a view to protecting the four oil tanks which have been placed there as a fuelling depot for the Royal Australian Navy." Is there any connection between this and the unwillingness of the Defence Department to allow the establishment of a Dutch-controlled air mail between Singapore and Darwin?

Consideration of this question involves a short statement of the relations between civil aviation and the Air Force. Turning to the next article of the series (November 21), we find that the sum set aside from Defence estimates for civil aviation was "intended to develop air routes, equip aerodromes, and provide a reserve of men and machines to be used for defence purposes. . . . Subsidies to

private companies have resulted in the importation of a number of machines which might be used for service flying." Commercial air companies, though their interests may at times conflict with those of the Defence Ministry, are in fact part of the Air Force, at the disposal of those who wish to embroil Australia in another imperialist war. To the temporary conflict of interests we may attribute much of the publicity given to the Dutch offers in connection with the planned England-Australian air mail, and their refusal.

A short account of the air-mail proposals. Negotiations were begun during the latter half of 1932 with the intention of setting up an England-Australia air-mail service. Imperial Airways Ltd. (which received an amount of £365,000 from Britain's last defence appropriation) arranged to extend its Indian service to Singapore. Representatives of the Royal Dutch Air Line approached Mr. Bruce in London with a proposal that their company should take over the service between the Australian coast and Singapore, unsubsidized; but the offer was unwelcomed. Difficulties of all kinds—such as the unsuitability of Darwin as an air base—were brought forward. The Defence Ministry emphasized the point that the Singapore-Australia section should be handled by Australia. The Australian Air Convention, a body representing commercial aviation, deplored the rejection of the offer "in view of efforts being made to increase trade with the Dutch East Indies." The "Herald" of March 4 reports Major H. T. Shaw, of the Air Convention Committee, thus: "Every unbiased aviation expert knows there are no real difficulties in the way of beginning an efficient service if the (Defence) Department will merely allow the Dutch to come in and make their own arrangements." The major difficulties of the situation for the Defence Department were solved, however, by the registration on February 15 of an Australian company to act as agent of Imperial Airways Ltd., and to tender for the aerial service between the Australian coast and Singapore. The Defence Department is handling the whole business of establishing the air-mail service! Foreigners must at all costs be kept out of Darwin, where the new aerodrome will but add to the fortifications now converting it into a naval and military base. Australia's "defence" concentration points are as jealously guarded as the war bases of any European power.

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The fifth article, on the question of the militia, discussed the comparative merits of voluntary and compulsory systems of training. While admitting that in one branch—the Citizen Air Force—the voluntary system gave better results because of more careful selection of recruits, the writer drew the conclusion from his review of the situation that "a satisfactory reserve of properly-trained men can be established only by reversion to compulsory training." Three months previously (August 15) it had been announced that the reintroduction of compulsory military training, though favoured by both the military and political authorities, was not likely till the next financial year, on account of expense. "In the meantime, the Minister for Defence hopes to make voluntary training more attractive"—and in what way? One method was indicated in the "Argus" of Nov. 16: "Among the pleasant memories which former trainees may have borne from Seymour, . . . there are more painful reminiscences of heat, flies, dust, and sometimes bush fires. . . . The experiment is therefore being made of holding camps in spring instead of autumn." Competitions calculated to arouse the interest of youths are held in militia circles; newspaper illustrations lionize the uniformed heroes. But is it essential that the numbers should return to a high figure? The mechanization of the army has been credited by competent observers with increasing the efficiency of each man by 300%. Mr. Latham stated recently in the House of Representatives that Australia was well up to European standards in this matter.

The concluding article treated the subject of poor pay, assigning this as a reason for lack of interest in the militia. Five days later Brigadier-General McNicoll brought the matter up in the House of Representatives, and on December 8 increases in naval pay to the

extent of an additional £60,000 annually. An increase in the pay of militiamen (to 8/- per day) is now under consideration.

These increases are part only of a general raising of expenditure on armaments and other materials of war. On February 9, the "Argus" stated: "Important recommendations for the strengthening of all arms of the defence forces of the Commonwealth will be placed before the Federal Cabinet within the next few months by the Minister for Defence (Sir George Pearce). . . . Believing that more money will be available for expenditure on defence in the next financial year, Sir George Pearce desires to increase the scope of each section of the forces to the *greatest possible extent*." At the beginning of May, Cabinet was discussing an increase of 25% in the Defence estimates—last year's vote of £3,000,000 being declared inadequate.

This clamour for increased expenditure on war preparations coincident with reductions in wages, pensions, child endowment, is part of the Gadarene rush made by the capitalist class of the world to war. War brings the destruction of materials, the creation of markets, the absorption of the discontented unemployed. It is the "solution" of the crisis for capitalism—for a moment. But this "solution" involves the capitalists' reliance on immense numbers of workers—both in and behind the lines. Only the workers can carry out the war preparations, and thus the working class, if it is organized, has in its hands the power to prevent war. "The fundamental task confronting every opponent of war is to burn into the consciousness of every worker the lesson that he has no interest in supporting imperialist war, and that if the exploiting class succeeds in dragging him into such a war, then his reply must be: 'The enemy is in our own country.'" —H.

"This new Union of Nations, it must be assumed, will be managed just as existing alliances are managed. . . . The Union itself will be controlled by the governing authorities of the nations from whose point of view its activities will be conducted. . . . It will certainly have the small nations at its mercy, and whilst presumably it would suppress rebellion, it would have no power to deal with the demand of subject peoples striving for liberty. The handing over of the issues of

peace and war to an international committee of the governing classes. . . ."—J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. (*National Defence—A Study in Militarism*; 1917).

The League of Nations, Ramsay MacDonald's dove of peace, is "controlled by the governing authorities"; has the small nations at its mercy; advocates suppression of revolution in China. Subject peoples still strive for liberty from the dominion of its members.

THE SOVIET'S PEACE POLICY

IN his report to the 16th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Stalin said: "We have succeeded in maintaining peace. . . . For the future no less we shall continue this policy of peace, with all our strength and all our resources."

In what ways has Russia attempted with all her strength and all her resources to maintain peace? What chance has she of succeeding? Why does she want peace? Are other countries opposed to her peace policy? If so, why? These are the questions which this article proposes to answer.

The Soviet Union makes no secret of its belief that the only way to prevent war is to prevent the causes of war. M. Litvinov, Soviet delegate to the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, said outright to the assembled delegates of the other nations: "The triumph of Socialist principles, removing the causes giving rise to armed conflicts, is the only absolute guarantee of peace." (Speech given on Feb. 11, 1932.)

The reason for this belief is plain to see. "War is needed by the imperialists because it is the only means of redividing the world, of redividing markets, sources of raw material, spheres for capital investment" (Stalin: "Questions of Leninism"). Even if the impossible happened and the rival capitalist powers disarmed, there would not be complete security from war, for commercial aeroplanes and industrial chemicals can be converted over-night into instruments of death. Hence the only absolute guarantee of peace is the triumph of Socialist principles.

What, then, of the Disarmament Conference which opened its meetings at Geneva at the end of January, 1932, and which has not yet reached a decision? Delegates from all the nations of the world, whether or not they were members of the League of Nations, attended this conference. This, of course, was necessary, for if disarmament is to prevent war it must be universal. Hence Russia was invited to send delegates to the conference.

Russia did so. Why? Had she any faith that in this way war might be stopped? No. As early as 1930, Stalin pointed out that the bourgeois governments were arming and re-arming themselves. For what? "Naturally

not for a tea-party," he says, "but for war. . . . Conferences for the reduction of naval armaments become conferences for the renewal and enlargement of the navies." ("Questions of Leninism.")

Having no faith, then, in conferences established by bourgeois governments, why did the Soviet send delegates to the Disarmament Conference? For two reasons. Firstly, because if she had refused, the capitalist countries would have used this as propaganda against her, telling the masses of their people that Russia had proved herself to be in favour of war by not sending delegates to the World Disarmament Conference. It is not the Soviet's policy to give bourgeois governments any pretext for arousing popular feeling against it. Secondly, the Soviet delegates could do useful work at the conference by putting forward a consistent peace policy, which necessarily had to be answered by the delegates from the other countries. By doing this, and by insisting that the workings of the conference should be made public, Russia has complete and final proof to show the world that her government is the only one in existence that is willing and able to work for the interests of mankind by abolishing war.

Let us look briefly at some of the Soviet's anti-war activities at capitalist conferences. As early as 1922, at her first appearance at an international conference, she advanced a project for complete, general, and simultaneous disarmament. But at that time the project was not even discussed, for the reason, as Lloyd George expressed it, "that it would load the ship of the conference with superfluous ballast." Time and time again throughout the past ten years we find Russia insisting that as long as capitalist principles exist in five-sixths of the world, the only means of organizing some sort of security against war is by total and general disarmament.

Her warning that pacts and treaties are not a sufficient guarantee for the preserving of peace—a warning lightly dismissed by the other powers—has been proved to be justified. Japan and China were mutually bound by the League of Nations Covenant and the Paris Treaty of 1928; now they are at war.

But why did the other nations reject the Soviet's proposal for complete and general disarmament? Briefly, because (as Russia said at the outset) capitalism and disarmament are incompatible. Capitalism means the exploitation of the weak by the strong. When, therefore, one country is more strongly armed than another, how foolish the suggestion must seem to it to throw away the means it has of benefiting itself at the expense of the other country! Such a suggestion is contrary to the logic of capitalism. To bourgeois countries, a disarmament conference does not signify a place where war or the possibility of war can be done away with—it signifies a place where their respective delegates shall, by interminable hedging and shuffling, try "to put one over" each other in such a way as to secure a real increase in armaments relatively to each other. Hence the failure of the Disarmament Conference. Hence its betrayal of the masses of the people whose will it is supposed to represent—those masses of people who do not want war and gain no benefit from it. Hence its exposure as a conference whose purpose is not to benefit the bulk of mankind, but to benefit only those few powerful individuals who at present control mankind, and who need armaments and fighting men for their private ends. For the capitalist countries, the Disarmament Conference is a place where they may fight for "security"—not for security against war, but for security to win any war in which they may become involved.

As M. Litvinov pointed out: "These countries see security only in the more or less levelling of the chances of victory, by the redistribution, or even the increase, of armaments. But pre-war history," he continued, "also knew this form of security. Does it really amount to anything more than the time-honoured principle of the balance of power, which ruled pre-war diplomacy? This principle, which at the best only increased the security of some nations at the expense of others, did not save the world from the most terrible war it has ever known."

The other nations, then, would not accept Russia's proposal of complete disarmament. She, therefore, put forward a new proposal for partial and proportional disarmament. This proposal, however, was also dismissed. "Impracticable," said the bourgeois governments. Yes, impracticable—for bourgeois governments. But why? Because, once more, capitalist governments do not want to prevent

war, but to win them. Moreover, one of the strongest factors making them oppose disarmament is the existence of the class struggle, and the fact that the capitalist class by owning the means of warfare gains a sense of physical power out of all proportion to its size.

Enough has been said of the Disarmament Conference to show that Russia is justified in claiming that "it is all merely a smoke screen behind which the former policies are still being pursued—policies for the rapacious egoistical partitioning of the earth hidden behind various diplomatic subterfuges—policies which may at any moment develop into an armed struggle."

What possible chance, then, has the Soviet Union of establishing and maintaining peace? Consider the world in which it finds itself. "For fourteen years it has been the object of indescribable slander and hostile campaigns. Even now many States, including one of the strongest naval powers, do not conceal their hostility to it, even to the extent of refusing to establish normal peaceful relations, and many States maintaining normal relations with it have refused to conclude or confirm pacts of non-aggression. . . . Taking into account all the States in both hemispheres, the majority have not yet established normal relations with the Soviet Union—in other words, are applying a boycott against it." (Litvinov at the Disarmament Conference, 1932.)

How, in the midst of such a world, is Russia to maintain peace? Only by refusing time and time again to retaliate against the provocative acts of the capitalist countries; only by making public to the world her peace policy, so that the masses of the people in capitalist countries will see the truth of it, and do everything in their power to prevent war.

"I do not think there are any left who doubt the peaceable disposition of the country I represent," said M. Litvinov at the Disarmament Conference. "But it is true that there are still sceptics and cynics who endeavour to minimize its significance by pointing out that the Soviet State requires peace for its socialist construction. We do not deny this, but do such people imply that it is only the Soviet State which can build itself up and develop in peaceful conditions, and that other conditions, not peaceful, are required for the development of capitalist States?"

IN THE DUNGEONS OF THE BERLIN POLICE HEADQUARTERS

By Egon Erwin Kisch.

[The Prussian Minister of the Interior, Göring, recently made a categorical statement to foreign press correspondents denying that a Fascist terror was raging in Germany. He admitted only that large numbers of Communist Party officials had been taken into "protective custody." Reports of the tortures of the prisoners, however, belonged to the realm of fairy stories. The following personal experiences of Egon Erwin Kisch, a writer, in the prison of the Berlin Police Headquarters (Kisch was arrested at the beginning of March and later expelled to Czechoslovakia) stamp Göring's statement as a lie. They show to what horrible physical and moral tortures the imprisoned revolutionary workers in Germany are subjected.—Ed.]

I HAD hardly had time to fold my coat on the plank-bed, in order thereby to reserve a place in the crowded cell, before I was surrounded by all its inmates; fifty to sixty imprisoned workers began talking to me, showing me their ghastly wounds and relating their terrible experiences.

They rushed at me, thrusting one another aside; their stories were such a jumble that I could only grasp the details and could obtain from them no connected story. Again and again a fresh prisoner would hold forth, telling me his experiences and showing me his wounds.

For five or six days they had been sitting there together, suffering unceasingly the most unimaginable tortures, and now a comrade had come in who had not been with them; they wished to unburden their hearts to him, to tell him their grievances, to give him proofs of the bestiality of their tormentors. And that was why there was this throng around me—that was why I was assailed by this flood of facts and sights which left me quite faint and dizzy.

They had all been surprised in their houses by Storm Troops on the Sunday of the elections, or the day after, and had been ill-treated in front of their terrified families; their furniture had been smashed to bits and their books

torn to pieces. Without being allowed to dress completely—many of them were without shoes—they had been dragged away to the Nazi barracks, first to the so-called "Friesenkasernen" (barracks), and later to a factory in the Friedrichstrasse converted into a barracks for the Storm Troops.

"We'll soon knock the Communism out of you!"

For five days and five nights the Storm Troops had been doing their best to drive Communism out of them in every possible way.

One of the chief ways in which the spirit of the non-commissioned officer, now awakened from the dead, expressed itself was as follows: The workers had been compelled to exercise in the courtyard, to throw themselves in the mud and jump up again at the word of command, again and again; each time their strength failed they were spurred on with sticks and whips; made to fall down and jump up again until they lay there so completely unconscious that no blow from stick or whip could bring them to their senses.

They were obliged to line up every day and, their arms raised in the Fascist salute, to shout hour after hour in chorus: "Three cheers for our victorious Chancellor Hitler!" Anyone who did not stretch his arm tautly enough, anyone who did not shout lustily enough, was subjected to kicks and blows. The text of another slogan was: "What were we yesterday? Communists. What shall we be to-morrow? National Socialists. Hurrah."

They were also made to recite the Lord's Prayer in unison. In the barrack-rooms other ceremonies took place. The prisoners were made to drink castor-oil, then let down their trousers and bend over a table; they were then beaten with sticks until the skin broke and the raw flesh swelled out. (Almost all my fellow-prisoners at the police headquarters had these wounds. I saw them with my own eyes.) When, during this castigation, the purgatives took effect, their tormentors shrieked with laughter.

Other prisoners were forced, after taking castor-oil, to stand up naked with their faces to the wall, and to keep on bending their knees until these movements, to the great delight of their gaolers, were accompanied by the effects of the castor-oil.

One of the prisoners was placed facing his son; they were both given sticks, and were compelled, by being beaten with sticks and covered with a revolver, to beat each other. "Harder, harder," the order was given, and "Quicker, quicker!" Both of them were with me in my cell, father and son, both with their heads and faces terribly injured, the father's right eye bloodshot and protruding, and his jaw swollen, perhaps smashed.

The prisoners were continually given warning that they would be shot, and that five men had been shot that day in the cellar. At night their tormentors amused themselves by shooting into their sleeping-quarters. One or other of the victims would repeatedly shout out, "Shoot me then, you cowards!" whereupon he would be beaten with still greater fury.

All these tortures were accompanied by contemptuous remarks; such phrases were particularly popular: "We aren't giving you much fun, are we? On the other hand, we are giving your wives all the more fun. In nine months' time your wives will have fine little Hitler-kids!"

These remarks were the more disturbing and tormenting, in that not one of the prisoners was in even the slightest communication with his relatives or knew whether his wife had not also been dragged off.

A game of question and answer, which was designated "Cross-examination," was carried out as follows:—"What are you?" "I'm a pig of a Communist." Anyone who did not answer thus received a series of blinding blows on the head or on the mouth; but if he gave this answer his tormentors corrected him with a blow: "—swine of a Communist." And next time he had to say, "I am a swine of a Communist."

In reply to a question as to how they had come by their wounds, the wounded had to reply: "I fell against a stove when I was drunk."

Their beards were cut off, their heads shaven, generally on one side only, or singed off or torn out in handfuls; and in some cases the prisoners' hair was cut into the form of a Swastika.

This continual beating was too much for a major of the Storm Troops, so that at last he stamped his foot and shouted to his fellow-Nazis in front of the prisoners, "That's enough now!"

Count Helldorf, however, Commandant of Berlin, who personally superintended the barracks and had the prisoners led out before him, gave orders for fresh beatings. He was particularly interested in routing out Jews. He made the prisoners show their genitals, and asked:

"Your father's religion?"

"Evangelical."

"Your mother's?"

"Catholic."

"Hm, you're a typical Jewish half-caste. Your mother went with Jews."

The Jews amongst the prisoners had to suffer most, for they were the most cruelly beaten; every day they were taken to "execution," placed against a wall, and revolver shots were fired over their heads to frighten them.

All this time there was in the barracks a young boy of fourteen, who had been imprisoned because it was desired to obtain from him the address of his mother who was in hiding.

From other prisoners the Nazis wanted to discover the addresses of officials or of houses in which secret presses, explosives or arms were to be found. Of all the prisoners only one divulged the names and addresses of comrades. He also was in my cell. No one spoke to him.

On the day before I was brought back from Spandau to the Police Headquarters, everyone was brought hither from the Nazi barracks. They were obliged to go on foot; many of them were unshod, and they had to hold their hands above their heads and to march thus through the streets. At the corner of the Friedrichstrasse and the Unter den Linden one of the prisoners threw himself under a passing bus, and was picked up with his legs cut off. At the Police Headquarters the most severely wounded were bandaged and the prisoners were locked up in groups in different cells.

The light in our cell was not extinguished, as fresh prisoners were constantly being brought in. As there were already more than seventy there, they had to lie on the floor, there not being enough plank beds. Amongst others there were also some Social-

Democratic shop-stewards from a tramway repairing depôt, who had been arrested in the midst of their work by some Storm Troops led by an officer. There was also in our cell a uniformed National Socialist who had opened his collecting tin and used the money for himself; he had been arrested and placed with the political prisoners.

Until late into the night the injured surrounded me and overwhelmed me with their stories; my nerves were racked to the utmost, and I jumped up and paced to and fro. "Leave him in peace!" someone shouted, and came up to me. "You must understand us. We have had terrible experiences. In my case, for instance, they . . ." and he thereupon began to relate a fresh story.

They had, it is true, lived through in four or five days what I had to pass through in the space of a few hours; but they had had to experience it in person, while I only had to listen to it.

Not one of these workers who had been so inhumanly mishandled, not one—with a

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single exception—had betrayed anything; not one of them spoke without hate and contempt of this kind of enemy; not one had lost his faith in the cause for which he had been made to suffer so terribly.

At midday on the 11th of March I was called from the cell and informed that I was to be expelled over the frontier. Only for a minute did I return, to fetch my coat. "Red Front," I said in farewell, and "Red Front" sixty voices answered me. A civilian policeman escorted me to the Anhalter Station; he had the money which had been paid for me, as well as my watch, my fountain-pen, and my knife, in his pocket. He travelled with me to Bodenbach, where he delivered me over to the officials of the Czech frontier police in return for a receipt, and handed over to me my things and the remainder of my money. Then I travelled to Prague.

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ONE ASPECT OF MARXIAN PHILOSOPHY

MARXISM is a theoretical system embracing philosophy, sociology, and economics; it is the revolutionary theory of emancipation of the workers and society at large from the limitations placed on them by the bourgeoisie. Its philosophy is a militant materialism. As Lenin aptly summarised it, Marxism "has completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century; represents respectively the three most advanced countries of humanity: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines."

The importance of understanding clearly the philosophy of Marx cannot be too strongly emphasised. Lenin said that without sound revolutionary theory there could be no revolutionary party. We may add that without sound revolutionary philosophy there could be no revolutionary theory.

It was through his studies of philosophy which led him to study sociology and economics that Marx realised the impossibility of their separation. Bourgeois professors in general have not yet recognised this unity. There is between Marxian philosophy, sociology and economics a scientific unity which precludes the possibility of treating each as an independent study.

Marxism and Speculative Philosophy.

The great idealist philosophers of Germany, Schelling and Hegel, had a great influence on Marx. However, it would be wrong to suppose that Marxism is the continuation of Hegelian philosophy; on the contrary, there is a definite and sharp break between the two, "a change of quantity into quality." Marx utilised the weapon they had forged in order to turn it against all idealism. Hegelian philosophy was the culmination of German idealist philosophy plus dialectics. Marx rejected the idealism of Hegel, but

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utilised the dialectics, and turned it into a powerful lever of materialism. His work was greatly facilitated by that of another German philosopher, Feuerbach.

According to Hegel, "Nature is to be considered as a system of stages, the one necessarily arising from the other, and being the nearest truth of that from which it proceeds; but not in such a way that the one is naturally generated from the other; on the contrary . . . (their connection lies) . . . in the inner idea which is the ground of nature. The metamorphosis can be ascribed only to the idea. . . ." To Hegel, the historical process was subject to a law, and he sought the motive power of the historical metamorphosis outside the nature of man. This conception was, of course, a tremendous leap forward, an advance from the crude pragmatism of feudalism as well as from the utopian views of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, its philosophy contains a vague element—"notion"—"the inner idea of Nature," etc.

Feuerbach criticised this standpoint. "Hegel's doctrine that nature is postulated by the idea is nothing more than a translation into philosophical language of the theological doctrine according to which nature is created by God, material being by abstract or immaterial being."

Thus, according to Hegel, the thought process is creator of the real, or, in other words, thought determines being. "Thought is the subject; being is the predicate." This conception was vigorously attacked by Feuerbach, who considered that Hegel tried to suppress the contradiction between being and thought, a contradiction so aptly brought forward by Kant (dualism). But this suppression of the contradiction by transferring it into the realm of thought does not solve it.

Marx denied the existence of this contradiction. Thought does not come before being, but is its consequence. The outer world not only exists outside the ego, but within it also. Man is only a part of nature, a part of being, and that is why there can be no contradiction between his thought and his being.

Engels wrote in Anti-Duhring, "If we enquire . . . what thought and consciousness are, whence they come, we find that they are products of the human brain, and that man himself is a product of nature develop-

ing in and along with his environment. Obviously, therefore, the products of the human brain, being in the last analysis products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature, but correspond to it."

But Marx' philosophy is an advance from Feuerbach's. According to Lenin, Marx criticised it as being "mechanical," non-historical (not dialectical) and as regarding human nature abstractly, not as a definite "synthesis" of social relationships. It thus only "interpreted" the world, whereas "it was a question of changing it." That is, it did not grasp the significance of "practical revolutionary theory."

In his thesis on Feuerbach, Marx stated: "The materialist doctrine according to which men are the product of circumstances and education . . . fails to take into account the fact that the circumstances are modified by men, and that the educator must himself be educated." Old materialism was unable to solve this problem. The great discovery in this domain belongs to Marx.

"In social production which human beings carry on they enter into definite relations, which are determined, that is to say, independent of their will; production relations—which correspond to a definite evolutionary phase of the material forces of production. The totality of these production relations forms the economic structure of society—the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure develops, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond."

This is the essence of historical materialism, or the materialistic conception of history. Thus the whole problem of development of the economic structure of society in a given epoch is reduced to the problem of the causation of the evolution of the productive forces. In this light the problem is solved simply in reference to the nature of the geographical environment.

But it is only a partial answer because, with the development of specific social relations, these in their turn influence the development of the forces of production.

Hence that which formerly was an effect becomes in its turn a cause; between the evolution of the forces of production on the one hand and the social system on the other there occurs a play of cause and effect which assumes at various epochs most divergent forms.

This discovery of the "motive" has elevated history to the realm of science. Marx goes even beyond this. "The mode of production of material life determines the social, political, and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of mankind that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." This being so, the history of men is one of continual change of environment by both natural and human agencies. Thus human beings by constantly changing their environment constantly change their own nature. Thus, seeking for a perfect legislation within the framework of old production relations is an idle occupation which was taken up by the utopian socialists. The latter started from the abstract principle "human nature," and sought for a perfect social organization. Marx pointed out the fundamental fallacy of this approach, and demonstrated that "new legislation" will only be possible after a revolutionary overthrow of all existing social relations, i.e., after the conquest of power by the proletariat. This action is the culmination of the class struggle, the political contest between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The emancipated working class "in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat" will forge this "new legislation" out of its revolutionary experience and according to political expediency.

Dialectics.

According to Marx, dialectics is "the sum of the general laws of motion of both the external world and of human thinking." It is a theory of evolution, but one that has been purged of vulgar conceptions that all changes are gradual and that no sudden violent transformations occur. It was clear to Hegel that such sudden changes did occur: "... not only changes from one quality to another, but also changes from the quantitative to the qualitative." This would involve a change of one phenomenon to another, and thus involve a breach of continuity. "Now every time there is a

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breach of continuity there occurs a sudden change in the course of evolution" (Plekhanov). But according to Engels (and Marx supports his view), "Nature is the test of dialectics, and we must say that science has supplied a vast and daily increasing mass of material for this test, thereby proving that in the last analysis nature proceeds dialectically and not metaphysically."

This statement finds a striking confirmation by recent advances in science. For example, according to Plank: "Recent discoveries have shown that the proposition that nature makes no sudden jumps is not in agreement with the principles of thermodynamics, and unless appearances are deceptive the days of its validity are numbered. Nature certainly seems to move in jerks, indeed of a queer kind. . . . In any case, the quantum hypothesis has given rise to the idea that in nature changes occur which are not continuous, but of an explosive character."

Ryazanov comments that from the outset Marx' dialectics synthesizes gradual evolution with the theory of catastrophes, the theory of jumps. For the Marxian dialectic these catastrophes are indispensable factors in the dialectical process. Herein lies the main difference between dialectics and other theories of evolution.

This becomes even more emphasized by Marx: "In a certain stage of their development the material forces of production of society come into conflict (contradiction) with the existing relations of production, or, which is only a juridical expression for the same thing, with the relations of property within which they had hitherto moved. From forms for the development of these forces of production they are transformed into their fetters. We then enter upon an epoch of social revolution."

Marx has shown thus that economic evolution in a class society leads to a political revolution.

—X.

Important modification—the support of a League which condones by silence and apathy now-existing wars. Peace-lovers who support the League, deceived by its protestations of pacifism, enable it to function as a war-making machine.

FASCISM IN MELBOURNE

FASCISM is regarded by many as a peculiar product of the Italian or German temperament, or at any rate as a peculiar product of European conditions. Such a view is entirely false. Fascism takes its rise directly from the intensification of the crisis, the increasing militancy of the workers, and the consequent threat to the power and the very existence of capitalism. Therefore it is a world-wide phenomenon, and may be expected to blossom forth in Australia as everywhere else.

The present situation in Melbourne reveals that Fascism has not merely commenced its march, but has passed several milestones on the road to an open dictatorship. Free speech, in many parts of Melbourne, has become a mere name. Freedom of assembly and demonstration has ceased. Industrial direct action, organization for struggle on industrial issues, have come to be viewed as high-class political offences. The attack on the right of newspaper publication has commenced. What are commonly termed our "democratic" rights and liberties, always shadowy under capitalism owing to the private monopoly of wealth, are now singled out for open and forceful repression. They are being crushed not only by the power of money, but by the power of Fascist law.

To the capitalist class, it is true, and to those who support them, these rights are still real and substantial. Anzac Day demonstrations, speeches of election hacks, the "Argus," the "Herald," industrial organization and direct action by employers are in no way interfered with. Fascism signifies the enlargement of these rights for the possessing class, not their abolition. But for the masses it means the open theft of those few rights and liberties, won by hard struggle in the past, that have to some degree lightened their bonds and helped to provide a barrier between them and starvation.

How far has this movement developed?

The attack on workers' street meetings in the suburbs has now become general. The main battlefield has been Brunswick, where at the time of writing five successive Friday night meetings have been suppressed by heavy police forces, and the total of arrests and convictions has mounted to 19. But street meet-

ings have also been prohibited in Carlton and Prahran, and have been curtailed in most other suburbs. True, Fascism here advances with stealth, suppressing first of all only the most militant meetings in the most crowded quarters. But experience has shown that it finishes by sweeping the back streets and side lanes, and even driving away the Salvation Army! The reason why the Communists have borne the brunt of the fight for free speech is not that they alone have been attacked (though they have certainly been the principal target), but that they alone (for the most part, up to date) have been prepared to put up an effective resistance.

The special "political squad" of the Victorian Police Force, presided over by the would-be Fascist dictator, General Blamey, is the chief weapon of attack on free speech. Blamey asserts his authority over that of State Ministers and Municipal Councils. "No one has any power to permit street meetings," he stated in his reply to the protest of the Brunswick Council (no one, that is, except Blamey). The "political squad" exists to bash up workers' meetings and demonstrations, and the "evidence" of its members in the courts secures the conviction of militant workers.

On Friday, May 19, a young worker who had been shouting "free speech" slogans from a tram-top in Sydney Road, Brunswick, was pursued into a back street. According to the police report he fell and was accidentally struck by a bullet from a police revolver. The worker himself can produce the fullest evidence that he was felled to the ground, and while lying there a revolver was aimed and fired at him. The press, which expands or contracts its news at Blamey's behest, dutifully published the police report, though this is contradicted by eye-witnesses and would not bear the test of a moment's examination at an impartial public enquiry.

But the attack on free speech, even when conducted with firearms, is far from sufficient to whet the appetite of growing Fascism. It must swallow up also any trace of workers' liberties of whatever sort that the "liberal" period of capitalism may have left behind it. If street meetings are suppressed, then street demonstrations must follow; hence the general

The Australian League of Nations Union's interstate conference agrees to "welcome assistance from any organization for the maintenance of peace," provided that its beliefs are "in accordance with the objects and methods of the League of Nations" ("Argus" 1/6/33).

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mobilization of the police on May Day, the arrest of five peaceful demonstrators, and the savage sentences of £3 fine or 21 days' imprisonment and no time to pay. Again, the more powerful workers' organizations are sometimes able to hire halls for their meetings, or even to occupy them as full-time tenants; and of what use is it to drive "agitators" from the streets when they have these halls for a sanctuary? Fascist logic therefore demands the closing down of working-class halls. Hence the recent history of the Friends of the Soviet Union Hall in Melbourne, which was first (in September, 1932) attacked by hooligans armed with guns (who were allowed to escape by the police, the defenders being arrested instead of the assailants), and has since been attacked by the Taxation and Public Health authorities armed with regulation books and legal documents. The sudden and simultaneous interest of these authorities in all the legal technicalities surrounding the management of this hall would be baffling to anyone who did not understand the political motive behind it. To cripple the organization financially, to close down the hall—such is the object of their machinations.

But some of the most striking manifestations of Fascism in Melbourne have been on the field of industry. More important even than the street and the meeting-hall is the factory or other workplace, where the "agitator" has for his audience the whole of the working class, and where he has silent means of agitation that could be effective even under illegal conditions. Here Fascism plants itself with determination, seeking to root out not only Communists, but "mischief-makers" in general; not only strike-leaders, but all active organizers of struggle. The result has been a ruthless campaign of victimization and repression by private employers and Government departments alike. A long line of victims is formed, dismissed on specially invented grounds or on none at all—Mullins (no reason given), Miss Taylor (trumped-up charge), the Hawthorn unemployed leaders (for going on a deputation to the Town Hall), and the City Council employee, Syd. Herkes (again no reason given)—victims from all quarters sharing the common characteristic that they were striving to build up the workers' struggle against one phase or another of the capitalist offensive. Their dismissals were clearly political in every case. They were the penalty

for speaking about the Soviet Union, and for undermining the system of work for the dole. But it would be wrong to interpret the word "political" in a narrow sense. With the approach of Fascism every sign of agitation comes to be viewed as a threat to the present social order, and therefore as a major political crime. This was vividly illustrated when Councillor Wales made the statement (publicly praised by General Blamey) that he would make every employee of the City Council sign an oath of loyalty to King and Country and to the Council. It was also illustrated in the dispute on the "sustenance jobs" at Hawthorn, where the issues were of an "industrial" character—boots and clothing, dismissals, etc.—but where the men's leaders were arrested, and where a member of the Political Squad was despatched to make the arrests.

Not only is there wholesale victimization of political offenders, but all industrial agitation or struggle comes to be regarded as a political offence. This is a clear sign of Fascism in an advanced stage of development.

Lastly, there has been a further attack on the "Freedom of the Press." This "freedom" under capitalism has always been unreal, and was aptly described by Lenin as "the freedom of those who can afford to own a newspaper to debase the minds of those who can only afford to buy it." Yet even this glorious capitalist "freedom" does not satisfy the capitalists in the era of the approach to Fascism. Working-class newspapers must go! The "Workers' Weekly" and the "Red Leader," being the newspapers that preach most consistently the necessity of struggle against capitalism, must go first of all! Thus the ban on their transmission by post as newspapers in February, 1932, is followed by the ban on their transport by rail in May, 1933. These two steps are clearly intended as the prelude to the complete suppression of the newspapers concerned. Among the "untouchables," by the way, there is included the "Soviets To-day," which is widely read even in liberal circles, and does not engage in propaganda for revolutionary action; and the suppression of this journal shows clearly that even the bare truth about present conditions under capitalism and socialism has no place in the developing Fascist State.

As in Germany, Fascism and Social Fascism have developed side by side. Almost opposite the Central Police Station stands the

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Trades Hall, and these two buildings are in close political as well as physical proximity. Scullin, when he refused to repeal the Crimes Act of 1926; Tunnecliffe, when he authorized repeated bashings of workers and reappointed General Blamey as Commissioner of Police; Sear and Co, when they facilitated Mullins' victimization; the Brunswick reformist leaders, when they decided to remain outside the active struggle for free speech—these men have all helped to hew out the path for the Fascist advance. Fascism thrives on passivity as well as on active capitalist aggression, and the reformist leaders have not stopped short even at passivity. Time and time again they have co-operated actively in the new offensive on the workers.

Our answer to Fascism and to Social Fascism must be the building of every possible form of mass resistance to the Fascist attack. Mass resistance has shown its power in the reinstatement of Miss Taylor, in the victory of the Hawthorn unemployed, and in a hundred other instances. Capitalism can still be defeated by determined struggle, even in these days when it has sharpened its sword for a new and more vicious campaign of repression. It is clear that this struggle, when pursued to its logical conclusion, must lead to the point of revolution; but this merely confirms what has always been true, and what the Communists have fearlessly stated, that our choice is between a workers' revolution and the doom of mankind.

—Ralph Gibson.

EVENTS IN GERMANY

THE swift march of events in Germany has in a few weeks completed the change-over to the open and bloody dictatorship of capital. True, within the shortest time possible, parliamentary elections were held, but this was only in order to give the Fascist regime an appearance of popular approval. It was made quite clear that whatever the voting results might be, the Fascist Government had come to stay. Thus Frick, the Minister for the Interior, in a speech at Dresden on February 19th, declared that "Should the elections not result in a majority for the Hitler Government, the Government will nevertheless continue its work undeterred. We have no intention of voluntarily abandoning the field." On the same day in Essen, Dr. Goebbels stated: "We shall no longer go voluntarily. We shall not relinquish power." Through the mouths of these Fascist leaders was once again confirmed the Marxist conception of the State as an instrument of class domination, for which parliamentary democratic formalities are but a cloak. Following on the elections, full authority was formally conceded to the Government for a period of four years, and the parliament as such disappeared from the scene. Subsequently commissioners were appointed for each of the States, subject only to the central Fascist authority.

How was the Hitler election victory achieved? In the first place, the results gave expression to the fierce nationalism engendered by the Versailles system. The burden of reparations has aggravated intensely the economic crisis and the impoverishment of the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie. By August, 1924, these payments had totalled £1,650 millions. Under the Dawes and Young plans an additional £520 millions was paid up to the time of the Hoover Moratorium in July, 1931. At Lausanne in 1932, further payments were demanded. Together with commercial debts, Germany is required to provide an annual tribute of approximately £115 millions. The hatred for the Versailles Treaty has given a tremendous impetus to Fascism and its promise of national restoration and aggrandisement.

The election campaign was conducted under conditions of savage terrorism. Crude provocations, such as the Reichstag fire started by Van Der Luebbe, who was expelled two years previously from the Communist Party of Holland as a provocateur, and who was subsequently connected with the German police, and the "discovery" of documents at the Communist Party headquarters concerned with plots of mass poisoning, terrorism, etc., were used as pretexts to suppress all Communist newspapers, make wholesale arrests of Com-

minist Party functionaries, murder individual leaders, etc. The terror was extended to include the Social-Democrats—mainly that section which, despite the leaders, was joining with the Communists in the struggle against Fascism.

During the election campaign the Social-Democratic leaders continued their policy of prohibiting working-class action against the Fascists. These leaders, together with the bureaucracy of the reformist trade unions, had sabotaged the Communist Party's call for a political general strike against the Hitler Government. As a result of this sabotage, the general strike was successful only in Luebeck and Stassfurt. In the other centres only small and medium-sized enterprises participated, the Social-Democrats succeeding in restraining the main detachments of the working class. How the Fascists regarded the Social-Democratic leaders is reported by the Berlin correspondent of "Le Petit Journal," Paris, in the issue of February 10th, after an interview with Count Helldorf, leader of the Fascist storm detachments: "The Communist Party represents a deadly danger for Germany, and must be suppressed. . . . If a general strike occurred we should be the victors. Undoubtedly the Communists are more numerous in industry than we are, but there are enough National Socialists to secure the maintenance of the main industries, and our storm detachments would defend them against interference." When the French journalist pointed out that he had referred exclusively to the Communists and made no mention of the Social-Democrats, Helldorf smiled and answered: "The Social-Democrats? When did the Social-Democrats ever take any action? On the 20th July when their Government in Prussia was deposed? Or at any time after that? The Social-Democrats are tame enough. Despite their speeches they are not really dangerous. The enemy we must destroy is Communism. This is a vital question for us." In these words a Fascist leader showed how the Social-Democratic leaders had paved the way for the Fascist dictatorship. They had repeated the stand of their Italian fellow-Socialist, Turati, who, in a letter of April 26th, 1921, to the workers of Apulia, stated: "Do not respond to provocations. . . . Do not provide them with any pretexts; do not respond to insults; be good, be patient as saints. You have been patient a thousand years; be

patient a bit longer. Endure, bear the sufferings, continue to forgive. . . ." As the Italian Socialist had opposed the Communist call for general strike against Mussolini's march on Rome, so had the German Socialists opposed the general strike against Hitler and boycotted all struggle on the plea that Hindenburg was a guarantee that the constitution would remain inviolate.

One of the strongest weapons of German Fascism was the discrediting of the so-called "Marxists" of the Social-Democratic Party, whose record of failure since 1918 in alleviating the situation of the masses had caused big sections of the petty bourgeoisie to lose faith in "Socialism" and to seek in Fascism a new solution to their problem.

Under these conditions of shameless demagogy, anti-semitic and other diversions, silencing of all opposition, ruthless terror, and labour treachery, the elections victory of the Nazis was assured.

The significance of the new Government centres mainly around the increasing instability of German and World capitalism. It marks an acceleration of the maturing of the revolutionary situation. The deepening crisis precludes all prospect of political stability under the present regime. In February, German trade reached record low figures, with imports showing a decline of 93 million marks compared with February, 1932, and exports showing a decline of 154 million marks. The total surplus of exports over imports was only 26 million marks, which is quite inadequate to meet tribute payments. The tremendous subsidies given to German industries in recent times, in the form of interest-bearing tax vouchers, face the German Government with the prospect of increasing deficits. According to German trade union statistics, at the end of 1932 44 per cent. of the workers were unemployed, 22 per cent. were employed part time, and only 34 per cent. were fully employed. About three-quarters of German industry is at a standstill. The average wage is in the vicinity of £1/2/6 per week. Under such conditions, nothing but bitter disillusionment can come to the supporters of Fascism among the petty bourgeoisie. The struggles between the various sections of the bourgeoisie for the diminished national income will become more intense. A disintegration from within of the Fascist forces is inevitable.

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The advent of the German Fascist concentration Government enormously intensifies the war danger in Europe. The aggressive nationalism capitalised by the Fascists in the sphere of foreign politics calls for revision of the Versailles Treaty, equality of armaments, abolition of the Polish Corridor, restoration of colonies, and union with Austria. These questions constitute the source of intense antagonisms making for war. Following on Hitler's rise to Chancellor, the rumour was widespread in France that Germany had concluded a military alliance with Italy and Hungary. Whilst pursuing these imperialist aims against the other imperialist powers, the German bourgeoisie nevertheless counts most on reaching agreement with France and joining with France in the anti-Soviet bloc. In his speech to the Reichstag prior to the carrying of the Enabling Bill, Hitler referred to foreign affairs as follows: "We accept Signor Mussolini's far-sighted plan, and are ready to collaborate sincerely and peacefully with Britain, France, and Italy. . . . We are convinced that agreements could be reached with France if the problems were tackled vigorously." ("Sydney Morning Herald," 25/3/33.) This statement is in agreement with the proposal of Von Papen at Lausanne, when he offered a union of Germany, France, and Poland against the Soviet Union. The present Government has shown that it is prepared to sacrifice its relations with the Soviet Union in the interests of a bloc with the imperialist powers. Recent weeks have witnessed raids on Soviet trade agencies and the arrest and ill-treatment of Soviet citizens connected with them.

How long will German Fascism survive? This depends mainly on the strength of the working class. It is noticeable that, despite the unprecedented terror, the proletarian ranks have remained firm. The Communists retained 5,000,000 votes and the Social-Democrats 7,000,000. In the Prussian Landtag elections the Communist Party increased its vote by more than 300,000—a fact of enormous significance. In some of the rural areas workers were forced at the point of the bayonet to vote for the Nazis. The Fascist gains were mainly at the expense of the other open bourgeois parties. Fascism—bourgeois imperialist counter-revolution—aims its blow at the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party. In order to lull the vigilance of the working class, the Fascists first declared that

they would not suppress the Communist Party, and then proceeded to destroy it piecemeal. With shameless provocation they sought to isolate the Communists from the masses of workers while intensifying the murderous repression. Great losses have been sustained, including the imprisonment and murder of many leaders. "Shot while trying to escape"—the Fascist formula for the murder of prisoners—has become a daily occurrence against the best leaders of the working class. But the Communist Party of Germany, which, in its infancy, had its leaders (Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and Jogisches) similarly murdered, with the connivance of Social-Democratic leaders, has had tremendous experience. It has previously experienced illegality. Against all provocations and treachery, its iron ranks maintain connections with the masses, the revolutionary crisis matures, the proletarians move forward to the struggle for Socialism. Parallel movements develop everywhere. The victory of the workers is assured.

—W.

In the past month further events have revealed the bankruptcy of the Hitler régime. In his speech on May 17 Hitler announced that "Germany will tread no other path than that laid down by the treaties." Thus he has capitulated to the Imperialist powers, and in doing so he has betrayed many of his followers.

The real opposition to the Fascists is increasing as the Social Democratic workers see more and more clearly the rôle of Social Democracy. Their leaders have capitulated to the Fascists. These endorsed the Nazi foreign policy, and have declared that their opposition to Hitler will be purely legal. Legal opposition is to be used against a brutal force which has met working class activity with murder, terror, and rigorous armed repression!

The revolutionary movement is growing. Despite repression, strike actions are common. In them a greater solidarity of workers is in evidence. The sole leader in the fight against Fascism—the Communist Party of Germany—is not disrupted. It is able to publish its newspaper illegally, and in most cities and towns local bulletins are produced. The struggle is growing, and must eventually overthrow disintegrating Fascism.

STUDENTS AND WAR

MEMBERS of the Oxford Union recently decided, by 275 votes to 153, that under no circumstances would they fight for King and Country. This decision resulted in a tremendous outburst from the whole bourgeois press. All the "diehards," the representatives of the exploiters and landlords, denounced the resolution with rabid ferocity. The British capitalist class used the event to conduct a widespread campaign designed to accentuate jingoism throughout the country. The warmongers showed their true character. They demonstrated that they regard war as the only way left out of the crisis. The world is at present pregnant with the war danger.

Parallel with the unexampled war preparations and activities of the imperialist powers there has been an ever-growing wave of resistance to wars. Among the workers tremendous struggles are taking place, especially in Japan, China, and Germany. This struggle has the appearance of a civil war in which there is no quarter. Strikes, demonstrations, and conferences have helped to weld working class solidarity. In these countries especially the struggle against war and imperialist oppression has become identical with the struggle for liberation from wage-slavery and exploitation. It has become the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers' republic.

In other countries fierce anti-war struggles are taking place. In Britain itself the tremendous feeling against war, not only among the workers, but also amongst the petit bourgeoisie, students, etc., is evidenced by the motion of the Oxford Union. In Australia members of all sections of the community have shown themselves opposed to war. It is now becoming necessary for Australian students to face up to the facts of the war danger and to organize in order to assist in the prevention of war. We shall see that in Australia, as elsewhere, the struggle against war is indissolubly linked up with the struggle for working-class freedom. We will first deal with the experience of workers in one or two other countries where the conflict is more advanced.

Chinese students have a long history of struggle behind them. For many years they

have conducted a persistent fight for the national liberation of China from the dominance of the great powers—Britain, France, America, Japan, etc. At present the national Kuomintang Government is conducting a savage campaign in Northern China against the Chinese workers and students. Despite the fact that the Japanese have killed thousands of Chinese soldiers and workers in their advance through Jehol and across the Great Wall, the Kuomintang has made not the slightest effort to oppose them. The rank and file of the army have been boycotted by the generals. Communications and supplies have been completely neglected. There has been not one arrest made of the persons connected with the Japanese, although dozens of students and hundreds of workers have been arrested for attempting to arouse the people against the dangers threatening China. This suppression has been carried on under the smoke screen of the "Communist menace." In short, the Chinese ruling class is taking the part of the Japanese, British, and other imperialists who are vitally concerned in the attempt to stamp out the Chinese Soviets which already have the adherence of over 80,000,000 peasants and workers. That is the true rôle of the colonial bourgeoisie everywhere—in India, South America, Cuba, etc. And that is why the struggle against the war danger and against national oppression becomes identical with the struggle of the working class for power. *There is no other way for those who are opposed to war but that of the proletarian revolution.* Wars of national liberation become of necessity revolutionary wars. The Kuomintang actually permitted Prince Kung to stay for three weeks in Peiping organizing, on behalf of the Japanese Government, a puppet Government similar to that in Manchukuo. After he left the authorities issued an order for his "arrest"! At the same time there were in Peiping alone 100 students and professors under arrest for attempting to organize a national resistance to the Japanese. These events will compel the Chinese students to realize that their efforts in the future must be directed into *revolutionary* channels.

The anti-war activities of American students are linked up with their economic

struggle. American universities are full of proletarian and semi-proletarian students, who are compelled to work for a good part of their time in order to pay fees, expenses, etc. The frightful depression in America has led to a marked aggravation of the poverty of these students. No attempt has been made to cut down fees. In many cases they have been raised. (This has also been the case at the Melbourne University.) At the same time, the American Government has been expending vast sums on armaments, war preparations, etc. There has been a well-organized campaign to repress anti-war moves among the students, and their right of free speech has been interfered with in subjects concerning Socialism, working-class politics, etc. As a result, there have been big strike moves in various academic centres. For example, in the New York University a three hours' strike was conducted on February 2nd, 1933.

It rose primarily from the refusal of the athletic authorities to continue medical treatment for a student boxer whose arm had been disabled. The authorities stated that this arm was "incurable," and that the "depression had hit the University." The University paper, "Daily News," attacked the authorities, who, as "punishment," broke off relations with the paper. Thus the strike was initiated under such slogans as "For academic freedom," "Fight the gag rule," "Demand free press," etc. A similar demonstration, lasting for a whole day, occurred in the College of the City of New York on February 25th under similar slogans. 2,500 students, or 15 per cent. of all students at the college, stayed away from classes and lectures as a protest against repressive measures adopted by the University authorities. In these same educational institutions strong anti-war moves are under way, though of course there are many widely divergent opinions as to how the struggle should be carried on.

We have considered these examples in order to prove the statement that the struggle against war, if it is to attain any permanent result at all, must be linked up with the everyday struggle of the workers, students, etc., for their economic demands. The reason for this is obvious if it is remembered that wars, exploitation of workers, high fees, gagging of free speech and discussion, all proceed from the one cause—the existence of the capitalist form of society, with the State apparatus as

its organ of oppression, employing armed forces for repressive measures. The authorities in the universities and schools exercise the same repressive functions in a concealed form. As a result, out of the struggle of students for their rights there must inevitably develop a struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist State. And this struggle will naturally become linked up with the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

These are some of the problems facing Australian students very openly to-day. The recent debate on war held at this University revealed that there is a small but definite anti-war feeling growing among the students. This feeling takes many forms, such as pacifism. Pacifist students will learn as time goes on that pacifism actually aids war preparation and manoeuvres. The essence of pacifism is the denial of all resistance and struggle, and hence leads to the disarming of those sections of the population opposed to war. It must be realized that the working class is the main force opposed to war, because from the products of its exploitation and slavery wars are made. The working class will fight against wars by strikes, demonstrations, and finally with armed insurrection. This is the path which all who are opposed to war must take. So it is with the students, who should conduct a persistent anti-war campaign keeping these things well in mind. The history of the revolutionary movement in the present century proves this contention, and events are rapidly developing in Australia towards a similar conclusion.

—I.C.

At the Easter Conference of the Labour Club, held at Mount Dandenong, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"This Conference, having discussed the problem, expresses its emphatic disapproval of imperialist war. It recognizes that such war is fought for markets and raw materials. The burden of these conflicts is borne by the working classes of all participating countries. It recognizes that imperialist war is already being fought in China and in South America, and that there is very grave danger of the further outbreak of war at the present time, especially war directed against the Soviet Union. It realizes that there will be extreme danger of war until capitalist society is finally replaced by Socialism. It pledges its support to the work of the Anti-War Committee in Victoria, realizing that organized resistance against war preparations can effectively hamper the plans of the imperialists."

THE STATE ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

In August, 1932, at Amsterdam, the World Congress Against War, convened by Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland, was attended by 2300 delegates representing 30,000,000 people. An International Committee Against War was established. National anti-war movements were set on foot there.

A National Provisional Anti-War Committee for Australia was set up in Sydney in February, 1933. This was followed by the establishment of State Provisional Committees to arrange for State Conferences which should elect State Councils against war.

In April, 1933, conferences were held in Sydney and Brisbane (8th), Melbourne, Perth, and Adelaide (22nd). At these, State Councils were elected to organize the fight against war, and to arrange for an All-Australian Anti-War Conference in the near future.

The task of organization was no light one. As a first step, the Victorian Provisional Anti-War Committee applied to the Melbourne City Council for the use of the Town Hall. The request was granted, the contract signed, and the exorbitant fee of £40 paid in full. The committee proceeded to advertise the Conference as to be held at the Town Hall, leaflets being printed and invitations being sent out on this understanding; 20,000 leaflets and circular letters to the number of 1800 were distributed.

To quote the official statement on subsequent events:—"On the 13th April notice was received from the City Council requesting the names of the official speakers at the Conference. This was complied with as far as was possible, seeing that our Conference was to be a delegate conference, and it was impossible to determine beforehand what delegates would be taking the floor in discussion. The list submitted included such prominent people as the Rev. J. T. Lawton; Maurice Blackburn, M.L.A.; H. Burton; Vance Palmer. . . . On the 15th we received a notification from the City Council that our engagement of the Town Hall had been cancelled—no reasons being given."

One week was left to engage another hall and re-circularize all those societies and individuals who had been approached concerning the Conference, pointing out the change

of places. "Everyone," wrote a prominent Melbourne figure in response to the Committee's questionnaire, "is opposed to war." Apparently there are some who also oppose opposition to war.

Despite the attitude of the City authorities, the Conference held at the Bijou Theatre on Saturday, April 22, was a success by virtue not only of the enthusiasm which characterized the proceedings, but also of the determined and concrete proposals for organizing the anti-war fight. Empty phrases, masking apathy or despair, were of no avail here. The gathering realized the necessity of embarking upon an organized and active struggle against war, and wholeheartedly took the following pledge—

"We swear that we will never allow the formidable unity which has been established here among the masses of people opposed to war to be broken up.

"We swear to fight with all our force and with all the means at our command against war and the causes of war.

"We swear to dedicate ourselves with all our forces and all our resources to our immediate and pressing tasks, taking our stand—

"Against armaments, against war preparations, and in consequence against the governments preparing for wars.

"Against the participation of Australia in the approaching new wars, and against the supplying by Australia of war materials to any belligerent power. . . .

"For active support of the anti-war struggle throughout the whole world, and the development of bonds of international solidarity between the masses of peoples of all countries.

"For active participation in all forms of the anti-war struggle throughout the State of Victoria. . . .

"And we continue to appeal to all; to appeal to the workers, farmers, and intellectuals of Australia; to the exploited and oppressed, to join us, and at public meetings and demonstrations to enter into the pledges we have entered into here, and to put them into effect."

This pledge was attached to the main resolution of the day—a statement of the causes, effects, and cure of the war disease. From this resolution, the adoption of which was moved by Mr. H. Burton, of the University,

and seconded by Sister St. Clair, D.C.M., we quote a few salient paragraphs. Lack of space prevents the giving of the text in full.

"The workers by hand and brain united in this Conference against war, in order to lay a solid foundation for their future work, wish to record in a single document the efforts and intentions of this Conference, and to come to an agreement on the essential points and conditions of the struggle against war, and the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon each and all.

"The Conference, regardless of the ideological and political differences which may separate its various component elements, desires to face facts, and facts only. It emphasizes that the dangers of war are no less real and grave to-day than in the years immediately preceding 1914.

"The Conference denounces the attitude of the big newspapers and of public men who, through servility or love of gain, either maintain silence about the wars which are now in progress, or else misrepresent or distort the truth concerning them and concerning the catastrophes towards which the present generations are being visibly driven, and in which, unless they make a vigorous resistance, they will be engulfed.

"The Conference notes and condemns the huge and ever-growing armaments throughout the world, which flatly contradict the idealist statements and theatrical proclamations of the governments concerned. It denounces the terrible efficiency of these armaments, as well as the sinister instruments of scientific extermination, namely, poison gases and disease germs, certain to be brought into use in the next world war.

"The Conference urgently draws attention to the war preparations being carried on in Australia at the present time, to the press campaigns for the increasing of the effectiveness of the war machine, the statements of leading Federal and State politicians, and the proposals to allocate £7,000,000 for increased armaments. . . .

"The Conference points out that all capitalist powers treat the Soviet Union as a common enemy, which they are attempting to undermine and overthrow. . . . To-day is being openly prepared in the Far East a definite armed crusade against the Soviet Union. The Conference points to the steadfast peace policy systematically pursued by the Soviet

Union, and repudiates the legend of 'red imperialism.'

"The Conference proclaims that the present and future victims of the whole situation are the great masses of the people. . . . It points out that the Japanese workers have, by their heroic example, already shown how the fight against imperialist war must be carried on. They have stood up against their own war-makers, held up war production and munition convoys, and revealed this war in the eyes of the Japanese soldiery for what it is—a war of piracy. . . .

"Determined as it is to offer every resistance in its power to the current which is sweeping the whole of the present generation towards disaster, the Conference sees salvation only in the concerted action of the workers and farmers, with the co-operation of humanitarians, intellectuals, and other sections of the population.

"It is aware that many distinguished minds are desperately seeking to find a means of saving society by noble dreams. It is aware that there are men who offer a personal resistance to war. . . . But it considers that in the face of the terrible challenge offered by present developments it is impossible to stop short at abstract formulas, or to confine oneself to means of resistance foredoomed to failure, notably the unfortunately futile sacrifice constituted by the noble attitude adopted after a declaration of war by conscientious objectors, and by all others who fling themselves individually against a collective disaster.

"It hopes that the men of character and courage who preach those heroic measures, and who are prepared to accept for themselves the very grave consequences of such an attitude, will join with the others in erecting . . . a massive collective barrier against war. Every form of opposition to this work merely helps the enemy."

Among the speakers on this resolution were the Rev. J. T. Lawton, Miss Eleanor Moore, Dr. G. P. O'Day, Cr. W. H. Turner (of the Carters and Drivers' Union), and A. W. Nicholls—people of widely-differing political opinions, but all united in their opposition to war. The same unity was preserved in discussion on the second resolution—that upon organization of the struggle against war, containing suggestions for future work. Mr. H. Payne, of the Clerks' Union, sponsored this resolution, stressing the urgency of deter-

mined and widespread effort. The activity of the movement should be both intensive and extensive. The immediate task was the establishment of anti-war committees throughout Victoria. "These committees must be set up in every suburb of Melbourne, in every city, town, and village in the country areas, in every factory, mine, and mill. . . . The committees must take up the task of educating the great mass of the people to the meaning of war and how to fight against war. . . . The organization of this propaganda against war can take many forms—meetings and lectures, leaflets and pamphlets, etc.

"Committees must be set up in the war industries and in the transport industry to develop a strong agitation for the stopping of munition manufacture and transport. The great mass of the unemployed and pensioners must be organized to demand the ceasing of all expenditure on armaments and war preparations, and the diverting of this money for relief for the unemployed and the restoration of 'economy' cuts in pensions."

Mrs. Boyce Gibson, in seconding the resolution, emphasized the necessity for spreading the anti-war movement among women and children. To draw women into the struggle, to give children an anti-war atmosphere in the home, to create a definite public opinion against war, anti-war committees were as

essential in the domestic sphere as in the industrial.

This resolution, like its predecessor, was adopted unanimously. 174 credentialled delegates, representing 60 organizations, were present, and the galleries (open to the public) were filled with an enthusiastic crowd. The conduct of the meeting was admirably summed up in the concluding remarks of the chairman (Maurice Blackburn, M.L.A.): "I congratulate you on this meeting. I congratulate you on the excellent fraternal spirit and tolerance shown to one another's views. And I congratulate you on the decisions you have made."

The daily press, which seized with avidity upon the fact that mention of the Soviet Union was greeted with cheers, failed to record that speakers who can by no means be regarded as Communist in opinion or even in sympathies were also warmly applauded by the assembly. The Conference was one against war, and all sincere opponents of war were welcomed, as they are now welcomed into the anti-war committees which are being formed in every suburb of Melbourne and every country town.

All information may be obtained from the hon. secretary, N. E. Seeligson, Box 1312, G.P.O., Melbourne.

—J.H.

THE AUSTRALIAN WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

THE first forms of the Australian Labour movement were a reflection of the Chartist movement and the English trade unions of the time. This was the result of the immigration of large numbers of artisans from England into Australia, for these workers brought with them the traditions of the movement in England. Thus it was that the earliest trade unions in Australia were rather of the nature of friendly societies than organs of class struggle. Their whole outlook was based on the idea of class collaboration and the prevention of strike movements.

Up till 1890 in Australia there had been numerous strikes, which had been settled by conciliatory means. In 1890 an attack by

the shipowners on the conditions of ships' officers led to the Great Maritime Strike which extended to include many other workers. The fundamental issue was the struggle for the recognition of the trade unions and their right to carry on negotiations on behalf of the workers. The strike was lost. The defeat emphasized the fact that the workers' struggle could not be confined to the industrial field, but that it was necessary to achieve political strength also. The workers, therefore, set on foot a movement for the creation of their own political party.

Labour leagues were set up in all parts of New South Wales, and preparations for the forthcoming Parliamentary elections

were made. Similar moves were made in other States. A number of Labour Party candidates were successful at the elections. Here it must be emphasized that, from its inception, the Labour Party was formed with the sole idea of securing representation in Parliament. This fact is explained by the incorrect idea prevalent at that time that political action meant nothing more than Parliamentary action.

This period in the development of the Australian Labour movement is marked by the birth and rapid growth of the arbitration system.

Since the beginning of this century these institutions—the Labour Parties and the arbitration systems—have developed commensurate with the rapid growth of Australian industry. This growth was particularly intensified during the Great War, 1914-1918, when Australia was forced to rely upon her own resources for the production of the greater part of the manufactured goods previously imported from Great Britain and the Continent. At the same time the rises in the prices of wool and wheat on the world market as the result of the demands of the war period assisted industrial development by providing additional capital for investment.

This rapid industrial growth, with its accompanying huge profits for the capitalists, provided a basis for granting concessions to a fairly large section of the workers, the Labour aristocracy, and, in comparison with European countries, high wages were paid. In these circumstances, the arbitration system developed rapidly. Able to give concessions to the workers, it was an ideal capitalist weapon for concealing class antagonisms from them. The concessions were merely crumbs from the feast of war profits granted to hold the workers back from greater demands, but they served the purpose of creating the illusion that the interests of capitalists and workers were not essentially different. Herein is displayed the opportunism upon which the arbitration system is based.

The adherence to arbitration led to a great development of trade union organisation in Australia. The powerful trade union bureaucracy became an appendage of the Arbitration Court. The trade union officials were, in the main, isolated from all forms

of class struggle, and devoted to the preparation of court cases, and in general performed the duties of lawyers in the Arbitration Courts. Thus the trade unions became legalistic organizations, and in the courts the trade union officials fought any suggestion of class struggle, and branded strikes as "barbarous" and "uncivilized."

This deep-rooted opportunism of the unions was reflected in the liberal policy of the Labour Party, which had been born of the working-class movement, and, as such, was working-class in social content. Never in its history has it carried through a working-class policy. In the earliest period the Labour Party was mainly concerned with attempting to use the differences in the ranks of the bourgeoisie over Protection versus Free Trade. The Labour Party sold its support to one or the other section in return for promises of small concessions to the workers. Its policy even then showed itself as the Parliamentary expression of the opportunism of the arbitration system. Both had the same economic basis.

The Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy were, therefore, closely allied. This close relationship was clearly expressed by Lenin in an article written in 1913:—

"And if in England the so-called Labour Party represents an alliance between the non-socialist trade unions and the extremely opportunist Independent Labour Party, in Australia the Labour Party constitutes a pure representation of the non-socialist trade unions.

"The leaders of the Australian Labour Party are the trade union officials, an element everywhere moderate and subservient to capital, but in Australia altogether peaceful and purely liberal."

There had been little or no knowledge of Marxian theory by the early leaders of the Australian Labour Party. Theory in general, and Marxism in particular, was looked upon with contempt by the well-paid trade union bureaucracy and the leaders of the Labour Party. This contempt for theory was an integral part of the opportunism which permeated the Labour movement, and, in its turn, the absence of theory, and especially of Marxian theory, fostered opportunism.

During the war the opposition of the workers to the opportunist policy of the

Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy became widespread. The fight was led by the I.W.W., which also fought against the war and against conscription. The I.W.W. did not understand the true nature of war, and, therefore, could not fight against it correctly, and it left a legacy of anarcho-syndicalism to the Australian Labour movement, which has been responsible for many mistakes in the workers' struggles in the recent past.

Shortly after the war, the One Big Union movement, while reflecting the growing desire of the Australian workers for unity, was an expression of the anarcho-syndicalist influence of the I.W.W.

In Australia economic conditions favoured the growth of opportunism in the Labour movement. Although there were circumstances peculiar to Australia, the basic cause of opportunism was the same here as elsewhere. There have been many occasions on which the Australian workers have not forsaken the methods of class struggle for those of conciliation. The first of these was in the strike period, 1890-91. In the years preceding the war, and again in 1917, very decided strike movements were carried on. The strike wave lasted through 1919-20, and many other strikes have occurred since then. Those strikes in which the trade union bureaucracy has had control have usually ended in defeat for the workers, as in 1917. The Australian workers have a long, militant tradition.

In the present period the crisis has destroyed the economic basis of the opportunist policy of the Labour movement. The Labour aristocracy has lost its exalted position. Wholesale wage-cuts have been forced on all sections of the workers. The first stages of this offensive were met by a number of strikes—timber workers, water-side workers, shearers, and the northern miners, among others. Now more than one-

third of the working class of the whole country is unemployed, and of those still working many are little above starvation level, owing to wage-cuts and rationing. This situation, in which the burden of the crisis is thrust on to the shoulders of the working class as far as possible, has completely changed the role of the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour Party. At present the Arbitration Court is the leading weapon for wage-cuts. The Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy still support the Arbitration Court, and are thus openly aligned with the capitalist forces. Their former policy led to a prevention of struggle by tying the workers to the Arbitration Courts—now it leaves the workers unarmed in the face of a determined offensive. The Labour Party and the trade union officials act as the main support of the capitalist state against the workers. So long as they retain their influence over the masses of the working class, they will continue to act in this way. To retain their influence over the more advanced sections of the workers, they resort to a "revolutionary" policy. Hence the left wing of the A.L.P. and the trade union bureaucracy has taken up the cry of "socialisation." The workers are offered a policy for the attainment of Socialism through peaceful Parliamentary methods. There is in the policy no word of struggle against ever-worsening conditions—no word even of these conditions.

The Australian workers are taking up the fight for Socialism. Their so-called leaders are now in circumstances where their capitalist rôle may be easily exposed. Their exposure to the masses will be effected by the militant leadership of the more advanced workers in their everyday struggles. The road of these struggles is the road which prepares the workers for the final struggle for power and for Socialism.—F.

PROLETARIAT

JUNE, 1933

THE SOVIET PROJECT OF A DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION

Submitted at the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

Litvinov submitted the following draft declaration:—

The General Commission.—

Considering that, in the interests of general security and the facilitation of the attainment of an agreement for the maximum reduction of armaments, it is necessary, with the utmost precision, to define aggression, in order to remove any possibility of its justification;

Recognising the principle of equal right of all States to independence, security, and self-defence;

Animated by the desire of ensuring to each nation, in the interests of general peace, the right of free development according to its own choice and at the rate that suits it best, and of safeguarding the security, independence, and complete territorial inviolability of each State and its right to self-defence against attack or invasion from outside, but only within its own frontiers; and

Anxious to provide the necessary guidance to the international organs which may be called upon to define the aggressor;

Declares:—

1. The aggressor in an international conflict shall be considered that State which is the first to take any of the following actions: (a) Declaration of war against another State; (b) the invasion by its armed forces of the territory of another State without declaration of war; (c) bombarding the territory of another State by its land, naval, or air forces of another State; (d) the landing in, or introduction within the frontiers of, another State of land, naval, or air forces without the permission of the Government of such a State, or the infringement of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the duration of sojourn or extension of area; (e) the establishment of a naval blockade of the coast or ports of another State.

2. No considerations whatsoever of a political, strategical, or economical nature, including the desire to exploit natural riches or to obtain any sort of advantages or privileges on the territory of another State; no references to considerable capital investments or other special interests in a given State, or to the alleged absence of certain attributes of State organization in the case of a given country shall be accepted as justification of aggression as defined in Clause 1.

In particular, justification for attack cannot be based upon: (I) The internal situation in a given State, as for instance (a) political, economic, or cultural backwardness of a given country; (b) alleged maladministration; (c) possible danger to life or property of foreign residents; (d) revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders, or strikes; (e) the establishment or maintenance in any State of any political, economic, or social order. (II) Any acts, laws, or regulations of a given State, as for instance (a) the infringement of international agreements; (b) the infringement of the commercial, concessional, or other economic rights or interests of a given State or its citizens; (c) the rupture of diplomatic or economic relations; (d) economic or financial boycott; (e) repudiation of debts; (f) non-admission or limitation of immigration, or restriction of rights or privileges of foreign residents; (g) the infringement of the privileges of official representatives of other States; (h) the refusal to allow armed forces transit to the territory of a third State; (i) religious or anti-religious measures; (k) frontier incidents.

3. In the case of the mobilization or concentration of armed forces to a considerable extent in the vicinity of its frontiers, the State which such activities threaten may have recourse to diplomatic or other means for the peaceful solution of international controversies. It may at the same time take steps of a military nature analogous to those described above, without, however, crossing the frontier.

The General Commission decides to embody the above principles in the convention on security and disarmament, or in a special agreement, to form an integral part of the said convention.

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MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY
LABOR CLUB

OCT 1933

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AN OPEN LETTER TO OUR READERS

"PROLETARIAT" has undoubtedly established itself in the Australian working-class movement. The fact that this is our sixth issue speaks eloquently in support of this. We have had enquiries from all quarters. We are read in all parts of Australia, in New Zealand, America, England, and the Soviet Union. We have given a faithful picture of international affairs, and interpreted the ever-changing face of the world arena. In fact, we can honestly say that "Proletariat" has an important place in Australasian radical thought and literature.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

WE foresee a future even brighter than the past. We will expand! But to do this we need the active support of our readers. The cost of producing "Proletariat" taxes our slender resources. We therefore appeal most urgently for assistance. Help us to grow. All contributions, however small, will be most welcome. Your donation will help to keep "Proletariat" in existence as a vital force for social change. All contributions should be forwarded to

Business Manager, "Proletariat," Clubhouse, Melbourne University, Carlton, N.3.

—The Editorial Board.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

OWING to the generosity of a subscriber, we are able to offer a prize of ONE GUINEA for the best short story of working-class interest. Stories should not be longer than 3000 words. Pen-names will be accepted. Many people should avail themselves of the chance to compete for this prize. The judges will be appointed by the Editorial Board, and the winning story published in our next issue. Entries should be in the hands of the Editors not later than the 20th November. Send them to

The Editors, "Proletariat," Clubhouse, Melbourne University, Carlton, N.3.

PROLETARIAT

ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB

A Minority Group Within the University

Editors—Ian C. Macdonald, Joyce Manton

Volume II, No. 3

October, 1933

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CURRENT NOTES

I. THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS:

A WRITER in a New South Wales business journal recently stated that Australian wool exporters should make use of the increased demand for wool and hides which the Soviet Union intended to make during the course of the second Five-Year Plan. He pointed out that Russia would be buying up ever-increasing quantities of primary products during the succeeding years of the Plan until, in 1937, she would absorb the whole of the world's wool surplus. From these facts he drew a very peculiar "conclusion"—namely, that this increased demand for raw materials represented the beginnings of a revival in world trade—a revival which, although commencing in the Soviet Union, would rapidly spread to the rest of the world and bring about that rise in commodity prices which the capitalists have been expecting for so long. We thank the writer for admitting that the Soviet Union is at present the only country whose production and consumption are increasing, but we would wish him to consider the facts a little more deeply before he proclaims that the end of the depression is at hand.

The period of the greatest economic depression in the capitalist world has coincided exactly with the period of rapid expansion in the U.S.S.R., which is the only Socialist country. If we compare the present industrial output of Russia with the year 1928 as the standard (represented by 100), we find that in 1932 the index was 218.5. A similar comparison reveals that in the capitalist world as a whole produc-

tion has shrunk to 67, while in the most powerful capitalist country, U.S.A., it has fallen to 57. Since 1928 also, the Soviet Union has grown from fifth place in industrial output to second place, just behind America.

So it is not to be wondered at if, during its second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union increases its needs, especially of consumption goods. But, in the light of the above, it would be surprising if such an increase in demand could be proved to be the herald of a general improvement.

All the facts indicate, on the contrary, that the depression has entered a new phase, which is quite definitely leading to a violent outcome—to a violent attempt at solving the problem of the depression for the capitalist world. We will consider briefly some of the more important of recent events and attempt to trace their connection with this new phase of the depression.

The World Economic Conference.

This international conference was held recently in London in an attempt to order the world in such a way as to end the depression. After a sitting lasting a few weeks, it was almost unanimously adjourned until some future date. Quite obviously very few of the participants believed in the end that future meetings would prove of any value. The conference met at a period when the economic rivalry between the great imperialist powers was becoming particularly acute. Britain was engaged in a currency warfare with the United States. By means of depreciating her

own currency during the previous 18 months, Britain had obtained such an advantageous position that American economy had been severely hit, not only in its trade with Britain, but in its trade with those small countries which had followed Britain off the gold standard. Thus the American delegation came to London with proposals for the stabilisation of the dollar with relation to the pound. But, scarcely had the delegation, headed by Hull and Pitman, arrived in London, when the development of events in America led to a radical change of policy. Inflation became necessary in order to bolster up the threatened complete crash of American economy, and Roosevelt despatched the assistant secretary of State, Moley, to speak against stabilisation. At the same time, Hugenberg came from Germany with a shameless plan for war on the Soviet Union, Germany to take the lead in return for a big share in the spoils. These abrupt changes resulted in a continual change of direction at the conference, which "moves like a ship without a rudder, driven by the contrary forces of the hurricane of the crisis."

Events such as these were of almost daily occurrence. Insurmountable obstacles arose on all sides. The only delegation with any really concrete proposals for economic expansion was that from the Soviet Union. Litvinov pointed out that if his country were sure of "lengthened credits, normal conditions for Soviet exports, etc.," it would be able to absorb 1,000,000,000 dollars' worth of goods in the near future (£200,000,000 at par). This proposition had a profound effect on the conference—in fact, the question of American recognition of the Soviet Union became very important. But the very demand for the division of markets, which brought the conference together, prevented the participants from taking part in this offer. The conference failed completely to solve any of the problems confronting it, and served rather as a sounding-board, indicating the tremendous aggravation of the inter-imperialist antagonisms.

For example, the *Daily Telegraph*, which is in close contact with the British Foreign Office, wrote regarding the refusal of America to stabilise the dollar with the pound:—

"The effect of the world conference may be very serious. That fact will be represented to Washington in the clearest pos-

sible manner. *The gravity of that situation would lie in the fact that Great Britain in that event could then hardly resist the pressure which would seek to drive her into a united European front against the United States*" (20/6/33).

These are the expressions of outspoken military war applied to economic struggles.

The situation in Germany and Central Europe as a whole will be dealt with separately later on. For the present we can merely touch on two aspects of the depression which are of considerable importance at the moment—Roosevelt's plan in America and Japan's dumping campaign.

The American "Brain Trust" and Roosevelt's Plan.

The American Government for the past few weeks has been attempting to put into operation a nation-wide economic plan, which is the product of the so-called "brain trust" of professors and financiers. The plan is hailed as being the saviour of the "economic nationalism" of America. It is an expression of the general collapse of American economy. In the first place, it is an attempt by the big industrial trusts and financial corporations to seize the whole of the home market for themselves. In normal times it pays these trusts to permit small manufacturers to control a very small percentage of the market, for the extra plant and machinery necessary to meet all of the demand, especially of more finely made and less standardised goods, would be too expensive to maintain during the periodic crises which have always occurred under capitalism. But this depression has brought about a big change. The big groups of Rockefeller and Morgan are struggling for their lives, and must therefore crush out completely their smaller competitors. Hence General Johnson's "Blue Eagle" campaign, which aims at subjugating all industrial concerns in U.S.A. to the power of Morgan and Rockefeller. The plan has a deeper significance than this, however. It includes schemes for absorbing the unemployed, reducing the hours of work, and reducing wages. The unemployed are being drafted into "labor camps" under the control of military officers. The working week has been shortened in order that speeding-up may be carried out at an even more intensified rate. Wages have been greatly reduced as a result of the great inflation which has taken place. It is claimed

that 2,000,000 unemployed have been "absorbed."

Already the working class is putting up a stern resistance to these attacks. A wave of strikes has broken out. In Philadelphia two strikers were killed and many wounded. In St. Louis there is mass picketing of the factories. In Chicago 70 factories were recently reported to be on strike.

It is true that this plan coincides with an increase in industrial activity. For example, the textile industry is producing 56% more than last year. The index of activity in the iron industry (1928=100) rose from 14 up to 53. The production of automobiles has risen from 100,000 to 200,000. But the basic industries concerned with the production of means of production (especially the building and engineering industries) are at a lower level than last year. The growth in the foundry industry is due to the increased demand resulting from the expenditure of 287,000,000 dollars in naval construction. Then again production has been stimulated largely by the inflation, for it is a law of inflation that it is better to possess goods, motor cars, houses, etc., rather than money, which is considerably depreciated.

These factors explain the increase in industrial activity—war preparations and inflation, the latter being a prelude to an inflationary boom which must inevitably end in a great smash such as that seen after the Great War.

This, briefly, is the position in the U.S.A. The latest moves of Roosevelt tend towards a centralisation of the State power in the hands of the ruling class—a subjugation of all outside interests to those of the powerful financial and industrial groups. These preparations are of supreme importance in view of the great danger of war. Assuming that war does not break out in the immediate future, the American policy of inflation will lead not to "the development of the crisis into the less intensified form of the depression, but the development of the crisis into another and more violent convulsion."

Japan's Bid for Supremacy in Asia.

Japan is at present conducting a powerful struggle for overseas markets. Japanese imperialism has been enabled to carry out a policy of dumping in China, India, Australia, and even Europe and America, as a result of its peculiar domestic conditions. First, the yen has been depreciated by 60%. Second,

wages and production costs are extremely low; in fact, despite the great fall in the value of the yen during the past two years, wages have been still further depressed during 1932-33. Real wages have, of course, fallen enormously. As a result of this advantage, Japan has been able to compete successfully with England on the textile market. Since August, 1932, Japan has been able to export more textile products than England. This process has been greatly assisted by the impoverishment of British and colonial workers during the crisis, who thus form a ready market for low-priced goods. This factor is clearly seen at work in Australia at present. Goloshes are produced in Japan at a wages cost of 1d. per pair. Australian and British companies find it almost impossible to compete under these conditions. Japanese manufacturers in the textile industry have been enabled to make record profits in some cases.

But the position of Japanese imperialism is fundamentally unsound.

Despite the tremendous dumping which is going on at present, the actual volume of exports has not appreciably increased, except perhaps in the last few months. The main point is that goods have been sold at abnormally low prices in foreign countries. The failure to increase the volume of exports is seen in the following figures:—

Foreign trade in million of yen.
(Monthly average.)

1929	175
1930	119
1931	93
1932	113
1933 (Jan.)	107

The volume increase does not make up for the drop in sales prices. And this fact is one piece of evidence of the fundamental weakness of Japanese Imperialism—a weakness which has been largely masked by the inflation. The war in Manchuria has been a heavy burden on the State economy. This burden has been largely borne by plundering Manchuria, but at present the treasury shows a considerable deficit. Nevertheless, Japan occupies a peculiar position at present. First it has been able, by means of the measures outlined above, to maintain its production at about the level of 1929. Again, America has been prevented from declaring war on Japan because of the latter's invasion of China, by the fact that Japan in Manchuria imposes a

solid military bar between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets. Also, America is in a poor strategic position with regard to Japan from the point of view of naval warfare. But Japan cannot go on indefinitely as at present. The very fact of the low wages and inflation at home, upon which the conquering of new markets depends, means that the growth of the revolutionary movement is extremely rapid. The pre-conditions for revolutionary crisis are rapidly maturing in Japan.

Conclusion: "Economic Nationalism."

Japanese imperialism has named its present policy in Asia "the application of the Monroe doctrine in Asia." Roosevelt's plan in America is hailed as a triumph of "economic nationalism." Hitler is aiming at "national autarchy" in Germany. British capitalism hopes for nothing less modest than "Empire unity." What is the real meaning of these terms?

They mean that, as a result of the crisis, every capitalist country is attempting to stabilise itself at the expense of others. By means of high tariffs, low wages, and inflation, they are attempting to monopolise the home market as a preliminary to winning further markets overseas. Particularly in the case of Germany (as we shall soon see) an attempt is being made to be entirely self-supporting. Old copper and zinc mines are being reopened by means of State aid. The automobile industry is being artificially stimulated, and unnecessary and unproductive roads built. In all of these countries the whole internal economy is being prepared along military lines. This is openly stated in America. The whole policy of internal autarchy in the capitalist countries is indissolubly linked with preparations for war. But the process reveals the inner contradictions of capitalism in the clearest light. For by inflating the currency and reducing wages in order to dump goods in new markets, the ruling class reduces the purchasing power of the home market and thereby undermines the basis of dumping.

Socially, the plan of "national autarchy" produces the material conditions for unrest. It results inevitably in a growth of the revolutionary working-class movement, which is the only way by which all these contradictions can be solved.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: THE WAR DANGER:

We have considered very briefly the more important changes in the structure of capitalism which have taken place in the last few months. It will be seen that, with the narrowing of its economic stability, capitalism has been forced into a series of desperate manoeuvres which merely increase the existing contradictions. These contradictions are very clearly revealed in international policy. We will deal here almost exclusively with the situation in Germany, for Germany is, so to speak, in the key position of Europe at present. Lack of space prevents a complete consideration of the international situation.

Germany: The Foreign Policy of Fascism.

Hitler's foreign policy is the same as that of any capitalist politician. Germany is an imperialist country, and remains so despite all ranting about the "national revolution." Germany therefore is pursuing a desperate aggressive policy towards its neighbors. Hitler boldly proclaimed that he wished to form a Central European Fascist State. He has very good reasons for wishing this. Since the onset of the general world crisis the Danubian States have formed the most profitable trading area for Germany. For example, in 1931 Germany's exports to the five Danubian countries amounted to 10.11% of its total exports, but accounted for a surplus of 465.9 million marks, while its total trade gave a surplus of only 35.9 million. That is, the Danubian countries were the only ones with which Germany had a satisfactory trade balance.

The road to the Danube lies through Austria. Hence it is that Nazi propaganda is directed especially towards Austria. But Austria has powerful and influential allies in Italy and especially France, who will not consider the possibility of a union between Austria and Germany. Hence Nazi activities in the Austrian frontier make the possibility of a general European war very acute. The activity of France has resulted in the almost complete isolation of Fascist Germany. At the World Economic Conference, Hugenberg brought forward in a very crude manner the proposal that the European powers should form a united front against the Soviet Union, using the German army as their main weapon and paying Germany with the Polish corridor. Poland was to have the Ukraine "when it was

conquered." However, the project was far beyond the immediate possibilities of French and British foreign policy. Their antagonisms are at present great enough to make such a united front extremely difficult. In addition, Poland adopted the very "uncompromising" attitude of despatching extra armed forces to the corridor. Recently Nazi activities on the Austrian, French, and Danish frontiers, together with a whole series of violent acts in the Saar basin, Danzig, and on the Swiss border have assisted in the isolation of Germany. In addition, the Czechoslovakian and Italian armies, which are constantly kept within a few hours' march of centres, form a very practical bar to the "autarchic" aims of German Fascism.

On the Eastern frontier lies the Soviet Union. Germany would, above all, prefer war on Russia, and is at present conducting a campaign of anti-Soviet incitement even more vicious than usual. A great lie is being told of the state of the German collective farmers in the Volga region. They are depicted as persecuted "brothers in distress." Hitler is said to have contributed 1000 marks from his own pocket for some mythical fund to relieve their distress. The valuable thing about the campaign is that it admits openly the appalling distress among Germany's agrarian population.

Hitler is openly preparing for war. Munition factories, unproductive roads, forced labor camps, provocative acts on all frontiers, etc., all are a preparation for a most bloody conflict.

The Internal Situation of Germany.

When Hitler came to power he had a whole host of promises behind him. He was going to free Germany from the Versailles treaty. The peasants were to be freed from the bonds of interest slavery. Unemployment was to be relieved. Profit-making was to be done away with, and small enterprises aided at the expense of the trusts. His promises are now in pitiful ruins. From the earliest period of his rule he did nothing about the burden of Versailles. Instead, he said that he would fight against it by "peaceful means." His promises with regard to interest slavery have not been kept. Instead of reducing interest from 6 to 2%, he has reduced it to 4½% only. The "peasant leader," Darre, who so violently condemned Hugenberg for reducing it to 4½% only, now declares that Hugenberg's law will be observed. With regard to profit-making,

the most shameful deceit has been practised. An absurd one-day boycott of Jewish stores was carried out during the early days. But now the originators of the slogans, "abolition of unearned income," "nationalisation of trusts," etc., and especially Herr Feder, of the Ministry of Economy, have announced that this programme must be scrapped, and proclaim instead that "our economy needs peace"! Fascism's agrarian policy is similarly disastrous for the great masses of poor peasants and the workers. To "stimulate" German primary production, prices of butter, etc., have been raised several times. This has given great profit to the wealthy farmers, but is disastrous for the poor peasants, who feel particularly the abrupt rise in prices.

All these factors have resulted in a great feeling of disillusion with Hitler. This fact is indicated by the new wave of terror which commenced in the middle of July. This new terror differs from that of the earlier period by the fact that it is directed not only against the revolutionary working class, but against a much wider social mass. Discontent among the storm troops is tremendous, and quarrels and fights frequently break out. This change of attitude is well shown in the following statements. First, an old member of Berlin Storm Troops:—

"I and all the older members are certainly dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. There can be no talk of there having been a revolution. As a matter of fact, things are just the same as before. All that we have had is a change of bureaucrats." Also, a leader of Berlin Storm Troops declared:—

"It is happening more and more frequently that old S.A. (Storm Troop) men obtain leave in order to look for work. They, of course, believed hitherto that the new State would find them work, and now feel that they have been deceived." Things have reached such a state that the leaders have been compelled to declare that any criticism of the present party is criminal. All members of the party are now compelled to sign the following declaration:—

"I am aware that I must refrain from any criticism of the measures of the Government, the party, and the leading men. I know that otherwise I shall be brought not before a party court, but before a penal court."

This extraordinary document forced upon the rank and file is a clear indication of the disintegration among the Nazis. This decay and growing revolt is of great importance. It relieves to some extent the pressure on the revolutionary vanguard, and also enables them to obtain a greater response in their anti-Fascist activities. Nevertheless, the wave of terror is at its height, and is marked by such hysterical acts as beheading victims in groups of four or more at a time, etc.

The revolutionary workers are constantly at work. They are getting a much better response to their appeals for strikes, etc., especially along the Rhine and in the big ports such as Hamburg. There can be no doubt that the disintegration from the Fascists and the increasing activity of the revolutionaries mark a big step towards the maturing of the revolutionary crisis.

Lack of space prevents a satisfactory account of the latest developments in all international spheres. However, without exception, there is a serious advance in political tension—foreign and internal.

III. THE SITUATION IN AUSTRALIA:

Australia is conducting on a smaller scale an economic policy comparable to that of almost all capitalist countries at the present time. A great deal has been said in the press to prove that the depression is lifting in Australia. Unemployment, it is said, is decreasing. But the great bulk of the decrease is due to the wide application of the work-for-sustenance schemes in every State. Then, also, as a result of tightening up of regulations with regard to permissible income, many unemployed workers have been forced off sustenance, and, as they do not register at unemployment bureaux and no longer appear on the sustenance lists, there has been a "reduction" in the number of unemployed—on paper alone. An unemployed worker who is off sustenance is no longer unemployed, according to the capitalist class. In a number of cases the ranks of the unemployed have been considerably increased. For example, 300 girls were recently dismissed from the Lincoln Knitting Mills.

A recent increase in wool prices has been hailed as a sign of recovery. But this is the season of greatest demand for wool. In addition, Japan, which is at present engaged in extensive military operations in China, is buying up large quantities of wool for war pur-

poses. It has been pointed out that the Soviet Union will need more wool during the Second Five-Year Plan. There is no reason to suppose that the rise in prices will be general or permanent. It should be remembered that precisely this same thing happened at the same time last year (and was hailed as an indication of returning prosperity). In actual fact the basic industries, such as building construction and engineering, have shown no increase, and in this way resemble the corresponding industries in other countries. That is to say, the industries which form the real basis of industrial improvement are remaining in a stagnant condition. It is perfectly true that there has been an increase in the output of war material from Maribyrnong and Lithgow, and that the budget about to be presented will include the laying-down of a new cordite and munition factories. But we must not imagine that the increase in the production of explosives and poison gases means that a country's economy is in a healthy progressive state.

The attacks on wages and working conditions which were such a feature of the first years of the crisis have been continued in the past few months. The Australian bourgeoisie is at present making use of violent agitation against Japanese dumping in order to find an excuse for increasing tariffs (thus raising commodity prices) and lowering wages and working conditions even further. They openly state that Australian industry cannot compete with Japanese unless "conditions are created whereby competition can be conducted on an equitable basis." A particularly shameless example of this propaganda is seen in the attempts made by certain employers to infect textile-workers with a violent anti-Japanese feeling. The Rev. D. Daley and Mr. M. Hannah, representing the "Get a Move On Society," recently spoke to a meeting of 700 employees (mostly girls) at the Richmond Pelaco factory. They told these girls that they "enjoy a liberty of which you should be proud," despite the bad working conditions, low wages, and constant speed-up which is the rule in this factory. It is necessary to combat such attempts to gain the support of factory workers by explaining that these same smooth-tongued individuals propose to combat the Japanese "menace" by measures (high tariffs, wage cuts) which will directly cause a lowering of the living standard of Australian workers.

In the past few months there has been a considerable increase in strikes. The splendid struggle of the Melbourne unemployed against forced labor is dealt with in a separate article. A number of unemployed actions on the job (such as that at Merrylands, N.S.W., on 28th August) show that the unemployed are entering the struggle against capitalist brutality in increasing numbers, and, above all, under rank-and-file leadership. The meat workers have conducted a persistent struggle against the new chain-system, with its accompanying speeding-up and reduced wages. At present they are to return to work, the official leadership of the union having capitulated to the demands of the employers. Nevertheless, the militant attitude of the rank-and-file is a sure indication that the fight is not yet over. The struggle at the State Coal Mine, Wonthaggi, is still in progress. The miners have been confused and misled by their union officials, but have persistently shown their willingness to fight. A rapid strike move (which was almost completely successful) among 1200 miners at Kalgoorlie recently showed that the workers there have a big basis for militant struggle. A number of other strikes, which have been successful in some cases, have taken place.

In general it may be said that the Australian workers are beginning to reply to the attacks of the employers. So far most of the struggles have been isolated. But nevertheless rank-and-file leadership has been well to the fore.

"THE MENACE OF FASCISM," John Strachey (Victor Gollancz, 7/6).

WHAT is Fascism? Is it a new philosophy, a new politics? What is the common ground of Hitler, Mussolini, and the embryo Fascists—Sir Oswald Mosley, General Blamey, and Eric Campbell? What is its economic basis? What constitutes its mass basis? What allows it to grow? What can prevent it? To what does it lead?

All these questions are clearly and brilliantly answered in "The Menace of Fascism." John Strachey, nephew of Lytton Strachey, was, in 1930, Labor member of the House of Commons and Parliamentary private secretary to Sir Oswald Mosley. He has, therefore, special qualifications for the task. It is evident, too, that the last three years have increased those qualifications. Once an idealist sentimental reformist, Strachey has now reached reality.

However, the necessary task of forming a united front of employed and unemployed has not been accomplished. In the Melbourne dole strike the Trades Hall succeeded in maintaining this split, and thus prevented the unemployed from winning their full demands.

The Labor Party, especially in N.S.W., is faced with growing dissatisfaction amongst its members and supporters. The disgraceful manoeuvres of the "inner group" and the struggles between various factions have disgusted large numbers of the rank and file. The spectacle of Lang "appealing" by petition to the King against "unconstitutional" acts by the Stevens Government must be a bitter sight for the workers who followed Lang in his "rebellious" days. In Victoria the recent by-election at Polwarth threw interesting light upon the manoeuvres of the Labor Party. In an attempt to catch votes, Tunncliffe made a great noise in Parliament about certain police scandals and dishonest practices by manufacturers who supplied sustenance clothing. Now that the election is over, all enquiries have been shelved for the time being, and the Labor Party is not making any protest. The matter will be dropped—and some new one taken up next election-time.

War preparations in Australia and the struggle against war are dealt with elsewhere in this issue.

—Ian C. Macdonald.

This book is recommended to the University Brown Shirts, Silent Knights, and to the Empire League of Honor. If they must fight, is it not to their advantage to know what they are fighting for? Hitler's atrocities have destroyed the religious weapon. The U.S.S.R.'s advance to the position of strongest world power has badly damaged the loyalty to the British Empire theory. It may be fairly assumed that the British people, under the leadership of the working class, would similarly grow stronger.

Let the Fascists openly recognise that they fight for a parasite class, against the progress of man. Their masks of Loyalty and Religion have become publicly ridiculous.

G. P. O'Day

THE FIGHT AGAINST FORCED LABOR

THE general principle of work for sustenance, on extended terms of payment as compared with the rates usually offered, calls for a review of the unemployment position which has given rise to this situation.

Unemployment began to take its place as a problem of first political magnitude in this State with the development of the depression in 1928-29, and, with a steady increase of those without regular work, has remained in the forefront ever since. At first unemployed workers were able to return to industry, or at least had prospects of doing so after a short period of idleness, but as the situation became steadily worse, and weeks of unemployment drew out into months, the unemployed, organising as unemployed for the first time in this State, raised demands for Government assistance, and by mass protest meetings and demonstrations were successful in forcing the Government to grant a measure of relief. The first assistance given took the form of a hand-out of food from depots established in the various areas. This sufficed for a time, but with continued unemployment it soon became no longer sufficient to maintain the unemployed workers and their families.

As clothing bought before unemployment was now becoming threadbare and in urgent need of replacement, and there was no prospect of work or money to effect this, the demand for clothing was made the central feature of further representations to the Government, backed by the use of mass demonstrations, supporting deputations, mass meetings, etc. To meet this situation the Government introduced a scheme of rationed relief work, giving each unemployed man two or three months' laboring work with one of the Government Departments. The hand-out system of relief was never popular with the men or their wives. "Take what you are given" was the slogan of those in control of the depots. No consideration was given to the needs of different types of families and their dietary needs. The resentment against the treatment meted out at the depots finally flamed into open revolt. Depots were declared black and picketed. The Government capitulated to the demands of the unemployed,

and introduced the system of sustenance orders on tradesmen, by which the men were given the right of selection from a varied number of commodities. The scale of sustenance was then fixed at 5/- for single men, and 8/6 for married men, with the addition of 1/6 for each child.

The first inkling of changing Government attitude to the relief of unemployment and the dole was obtained when Mr. Webber, M.L.A. for Heidelberg, Honorary Minister in charge of Sustenance in the Hogan Government, broadcast the details of a proposed work instead of sustenance scheme, under which single men would receive £40 per annum and married men £70 per annum in return for work performed. (Note the similarity between this proposal and the terms now being worked for—single men £31/4/, married men £52 per annum, plus family allowances to a maximum total of £110/10/-, with an average of £75/8/- per annum.) On the basis of this statement, a huge propaganda campaign against the dole and in favor of work was launched through every publicity channel in the hands of the employing class. The rates put forward as compared with the then rates of sustenance payment tended to make the scheme popular with the unemployed, but the real intention of the Government was disclosed when, while the scheme was yet before the House for discussion, the Budget was also introduced. It provided money sufficient to cover sustenance or work at the existing rates only, and when finally adopted this is exactly what the greatly lauded and "generous" scheme amounted to!

The onus of giving effect to the provisions of the new law was shirked by the Government and thrown upon the local authorities, the Municipal Councils. The unemployed were immediately up in arms against the introduction of a scheme which meant two days' work for the same amount of money, replacement of permanent employes by dole-replacers, and an intensification of the unemployment position instead of an improvement. As a result of this widespread hostility, no immediate effort was made to enforce this scheme. Just at this period, December, 1931-March,

1932, the eviction of unemployed workers from their homes, which had been going on through the period of depression, and which in isolated cases had been successfully resisted by mass action of the unemployed, took on a mass character, and thousands in the metropolitan area lived in constant fear of being thrown out on to the streets. The demand for no evictions became more insistent, and the response of the unemployed to fight against them became so solid that no agent in Port Melbourne, for instance, would take up eviction proceedings. The police, even after using their firearms, were compelled to replace the furniture of an unemployed worker at Reservoir who had had all his belongings thrown into the street. This solidarity of the unemployed forced the Government to grant a further concession of 8/- per week for rent. At the election immediately following, the Hogan Government made way for the U.A.P., with Argyle at its head.

In all of these earlier struggles of the unemployed the official trade union leadership played the despicable rôle of splitters and betrayers of the unemployed workers. They first of all opposed the formation of a mass unemployed organisation by dividing the unemployed into union groups and, failing to stop the growth of the mass organisation, set up an opposition organisation under their own leadership in order to divert the militancy of the unemployed into useless channels. Again the unemployed were betrayed by the T.U. officials, who actively collaborated with the Labor Government, and their official recommendation was that the starvation terms should be accepted, because, they said, if the Labor Government were defeated the unemployed would be even worse off. The demand of the unemployed for direct representation on the Trade Union Council was answered by the batons of the police, secreted in the hall to prevent the unemployed gaining their end when the Council sat to consider the question. The Labor Party in power showed itself to be incapable of handling the question of unemployment. The longer they were in office, the more openly did Cabinet members come forward with proposals in the interest of capital. All the forces of the State were used against the workers in any fight for better conditions.

The only gains made by the unemployed during Labor's term of office were achieved as the result of open struggle against the

Government and all the forces at its disposal. The hypocrisy of the Labor Party's avowals of principle are clearly exposed by their open advocacy of the £70-£40 work instead of sustenance scheme while in office, and their present attitude to practically the same scheme sponsored by the Argyle Government.

Months went by without any attempt to apply generally the work-for-the-dole, and, as a result, the unemployed were lulled into a sense of false security. The campaign popularising the scheme continued, and preparations were made for its enforcement. Isolated, unorganised, or poorly organised sections of the unemployed were selected for attack, and the militants sent to the bush on relief work. With the ground carefully prepared, the most backward of the local unemployed were called up, and finally all the unemployed in the area were forced to take work. In spite of the careful preparations made by the Government and the Municipal Councils, the initial attempts to make the unemployed work for the dole met with strong opposition in many areas, the work was declared black, strikes organised, mass demonstrations held, and many effective protests made; but by June this year, in practically the whole of the outer suburbs and many of the country areas, work for the dole was in operation. Meanwhile, many thousands of workers had been cut off the dole per medium of permissible income regulations, which were introduced under the cloak of an increase in sustenance rates to 6/- for single men, 14/- for married men, with 1/6 per child. Those who remained on the dole received a slight improvement, though the general position was worsened; the cost of the new scheme to the Government was less than the old.

The Municipal Councils, authorised by the Hogan Government as the organs to apply work-for-the-dole, had in practice proved to be inefficient mediums, owing to the fact that the areas where there was the greatest unemployment and greatest need to introduce dole-work, if the scheme was to be successful, were the areas where this was most difficult, owing to the political and mass pressure that the unemployed were able to bring to bear on councillors, and thus tie their hands. To meet this position, the Argyle Government established new authorities, the Public Assistance Committees, over which the public have no control, who are given the task of enforcing

war preparations with disarmament conferences, etc., have been discarded, and the world economic conference has failed dismally.

In these circumstances it is only to be expected that Australia is making *her* preparations for war—that is to say, the Australian capitalist class is strengthening its apparatus of butchery and class oppression. Under cover of a vast cloud of militarist propaganda—"Pity the poor economy-cut army!"—practical preparations are rapidly being made. Fresh coastal defences at Darwin, Sydney Heads, Fremantle—all important centres in the event of war—are being prepared or are already installed. Demands are being made for 16-inch guns to displace the 9.2 guns at the three latter places. The navy has been considerably strengthened. Destroyers and cruisers from the British navy are to be brought to Australia to "replace" vessels which are supposed to be obsolete. In actual fact, they will supplement the Australian and New Zealand fleets which are at present manoeuvring in New Zealand waters. A sloop is to be built at once, at a cost of £200,000. Hawker "Fury" aeroplanes, capable of achieving a speed of 210 miles per hour, have been ordered to replace Wapitis purchased only a year or two ago. Steps are being taken to mechanise the army. It is in this direction that certain important advances have been made. The Government has decided that the expense of providing mechanised units with motor vehicles, as well as tanks, etc., is at present beyond its means. It has therefore undertaken the provision of tanks on condition that the members of the unit provide motor cycles, trucks, etc. The Defence Ministry Report states that the A.S.C. in Victoria and N.S.W. will be entirely mechanised for the coming training season.

The importance of these moves is obvious. In the first place, they indicate a most significant relationship between the forces of peace and those of war. The forces are at present raised on a voluntary basis; but it is a natural conclusion that in future all civil industries and services will be organised on a basis of utility in war time. Rifle clubs throughout the Commonwealth have changed over from long-magazine to short-magazine Lee Enfields—the latter type being that most used on active service.

Conscription is as yet in embryo, but it nevertheless exists, and is growing. It is seen

at its greatest stage of development in U.S.A., where the unemployed are being driven into forced labor camps directed by military officers, and where, moreover, industries have been dealt with under the National Industrial Recovery Act, which gives the State exceedingly wide powers over all the important industries, and compresses the workers within a rigid code of working conditions, wage agreements, etc. The importance of such moves is apparent if the imminence of war is kept in mind. Certain newspapers have remarked on the similarity between this statute and those of the war period. The kinship of NIRA and DORA (the infamous Defence of the Realm Act) is all too obvious.

Though on an infinitely smaller scale, Australia is moving toward the same end. Another important aspect of the system of voluntary subscription of motor trucks and cycles is that the nucleus being formed is comprised of soldiers who belong to the middle classes rather than to the proletariat—i.e., *men who have a more or less direct interest in war as a solution of the crisis*. This tendency must nevertheless be considered in any analysis of the war preparations in this country, for there is no doubt of the fact that it is a part of the policy of the Defence Department to exclude "unreliable" elements as much as possible from these initial preparations.

Coincident with these alterations in the organisation of the armed forces, the apparatus for the production of munitions and supplies is being perfected. Extensive additions are under construction at Maribyrnong. New machinery, capable of producing such complex implements as tanks and armored cars, is being installed. Some of these latter have been made by private firms. Ammunition for naval guns is now manufactured at Lithgow. Thus the "sinews of war" are being rapidly strengthened. Finally, an organised campaign is being carried on with the intention of popularising warlike pursuits. A big Navy and Army Week has been mooted. Attempts are being made to popularise military training by marching uniformed men with brass bands through suburbs, by increasing the social activities centred in the drill halls, by making camp life more attractive. Military officers complain that it is difficult to get workers to attend these camps, as they receive only 4/- per day. An attempt will, therefore, be made to gain the assistance of the employers in pay-

ing them the basic wage whilst in camp. Again the connection between the employing ruling class and war preparations becomes clear!

From the above necessarily brief outline it will be seen that Australia is by no means lagging behind her neighbors in preparing for "justifiable" bloodshed. It is impossible in this short space to indicate more than the general tendencies. We can now consider the other side of the matter—opposition to war.

Throughout the world there is a powerful anti-war movement. This reached its highest organisational form at the great Amsterdam Anti-War Congress held last year, at which over 2000 delegates, representing 30,000,000 people, discussed the war danger, methods of fighting against war, and a programme of action. The congress revealed that the working class is the chief bulwark against war, and occupies the clearest and most uncompromising position. Nevertheless, certain sections of all classes are actively concerned in the movement. But because it suffers most from the ravages of war, and because it faces the war danger with the clear realisation that it has nothing to gain from the conflict, because it is exposed most directly to the brutality of capitalist exploitation, the proletariat must necessarily take the lead. This is true in every country. It will be of particular value, therefore, to examine the attitude of the Australian Labor Movement to the whole question of war.

There is at present a fairly large and active anti-war movement in Australia, but this movement has been completely ignored by the A.L.P. as a party. In N.S.W., the movement has been stigmatised as "red," and thus an excuse provided for refusing to join in. With a few exceptions, the "left" Labor politicians of the Lang Party, in opposition to the rank and file, adopt a similar attitude. We quote below a letter received from the Canterbury Anti-War Council. This letter was sent to the *Labor Daily*, which failed to publish it after a period of several weeks. It was then sent to us. The letter has been slightly abridged by the deletion of those facts not relevant to the necessity for organisation.

To the Editor.

Sir,—As one who has consistently supported the Labor Movement for a great many years, I would like you, through the columns of your paper, to state where the A.L.P. stands with regard to the Anti-War Move-

ment. To me it appears that such a question should be above the confines of any sect, religious, political, or otherwise, yet I find it stated by responsible members of your leagues that they will only oppose war if such be the policy of the A.L.P.

This attitude calls for clarification. Where do you stand on the war question? If opposed to war, what measures have you taken to organise resistance thereto? If you are opposed to the principle of war, then why isolate your resistance within your own party?—why, indeed, give such a movement a political bias at all? There are thousands of people in this State who, whilst opposed to Labor politics, are even more opposed to war. These should be met on such common ground. Again, I venture to say, the mass of the workers of this State look to the Labor Party to effectively combat participation in new world conflicts. A big responsibility is yours; with the collapse of the world conference, the conflict of clashing imperialism becomes accentuated. A tremendous struggle for world economic supremacy is on. . . .

That war is inevitable was recognised by those in responsible positions long ago. Close on two years back Mr. Gordon Bennett, in an address to Australian manufacturers, stated: "We are as near to war to-day as we were in 1912," and recommended them to so organise their factories that they could be adapted to war purposes without delay. This has to a large extent been done. Remember, in the newer type of warfare, the entire nation becomes a disciplined tool, every activity of life becomes an integral part of the machine, and the most vital spots, therefore the most dangerous, are in your midst. The civil populations suffer most in these murderous onslaughts.

Realising all this, and the apathy of the organisations of the working class upon the subject, I sometimes wonder if the story of 1914 will again be repeated, and the various organs of labor attach themselves to their respective imperialisms in slaughtering the members of their own class, who, like themselves, permit themselves to become mercenary tools of their masters, the great international groups of imperialist financiers who contrive, no matter who wins or loses, to amass mountains of wealth from seas of human blood.

To my mind, the duty of labor is plain—to co-operate with the great international anti-

war movement inaugurated at Amsterdam several years ago, and which has since spread throughout the world. This movement embraces peoples of every shade of thought, such as Professor Einstein, Maxim Gorky, and Bernard Shaw, and hosts of others, from ministers of religion to rank atheists, all united on the one principle of unyielding opposition to war.

Again I ask—where does the A.L.P. stand?—Yours sincerely, Canterbury Anti-War Council, per H. Lawrence, Press Correspondent, 2/8/33.

This letter is important for several reasons. First, it is not merely the expression of an individual; countless class-conscious workers are asking themselves these questions to-day. The writer has put the fundamental questions with admirable simplicity: "Where do you stand on the war question?" "If opposed to war, what measures have you taken to organise resistance thereto?" This was the voice of the class-conscious proletariat. Many of these workers are looking to the Labor Party for a lead. And the Labor leaders have let them down! The trade union leaders have ignored their appeals for guidance. The lead they give resembles that of the Gilbertian player, Toro, who led his regiment from behind. This is the letter's significant feature. The rank and file has been betrayed by the leaders, and fears that "the story of 1914 will be repeated." Thus the Anti-War Movement is faced, at its coming Congress, with the need for winning the support of the masses of organised workers. The rank and file of the trades unions and the A.L.P. leagues and branches must be drawn into the struggle, for they are the decisive section in the campaign. The trade union and the factory are the ultimate stronghold of the anti-war movement. Without proper organisation in these, it is foolish to hope for success. It is necessary to point out the power of organised labor in the unions and factories. It is necessary to stress

HOW WAR IS PREPARED:

In his speech to the Millions Club on Monday, September 25, Sir George Pearce told in some detail how the "defence" preparations had been elaborately prepared for in conjunction with the Imperial Government. He made it perfectly clear that these arrangements had been proceeding over a period of years, but that the time had now arrived when it was

the importance of linking up the economic struggles of the workers with their struggle against war. Both proceed from the same cause—from the capitalist crisis, and from capitalist exploitation.

If the anti-war movement isolates itself from the masses of organised workers, then it will be isolated from the decisive section of the workers, and will remain almost pacifist—not to say futile—in character. It should not be deterred by the hypocritical attitude of the Labor Party. In England, for example, the Independent Labor Party has proposed that, in the event of a declaration of war, the slogan of a general strike against war should be carried into effect. This sounds very "left" and "very revolutionary," but is entirely meaningless unless the close relation between war preparations and wage cuts, speed-up, etc., are explained to the workers. It is not surprising that the trade unions in Great Britain are hesitating over this proposal. Once again the necessity for organising around every-day demands forms the basis of successful antagonism to war.

Hence the importance of this letter. It demands from the A.L.P., which still has influence over decisive sections of the workers, an explanation of its attitude to war. The N.S.W. A.L.P. has openly declared that it will not support the existing anti-war movement. It thus declares itself to be, in actual fact, on the side of the ruling class in the event of war—for purely formal protests against war without organisation around concrete demands are mere wordiness. The anti-war question is one which is exercising the minds of the workers at the present time. It is inseparable from the general struggles of the Australasian working class. "To the mines and to the factories" is the only correct slogan to-day. Otherwise the anti-war movement will be without a firm basis.

—J. Hunter.

necessary to have the direct support of the "people." His announcements were followed two days later by one making it clear that compulsory military training is to be reintroduced in order to get sufficient trained cannon fodder with which the capitalists will "defend their interests not only in the event of armed invasion, but from that other form of 'aggression'—an 'attack on trade.'" Thus is war prepared.

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN THE SOVIET UNION

Introduction.

THE writer visited the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics at the end of last year as a delegate to the 6th Mendeleef Assembly. This was a Conference of Chemists, and was attended by over 3000 delegates from all over the Union, one party coming from Vladivostok, another from Armenia, and quite a big delegation from Leningrad. The Conference was held in Charkov—administrative centre of the Ukrainian Republic.

The invitation received by the writer was a personal one, and was a courteous act of the "Committee for Promotion of Applied Chemistry" of the State Planning Commission, prompted by the editors of a Leningrad metallurgical journal to which the writer had contributed an article. As an official delegate, and later for services rendered as a consultant in a metallurgical capacity, every opportunity was afforded of visiting engineering and metallurgical works, and only limitation of time made it impossible to take advantage of the proffered visit to Magnitogorsk. There was no indication whatsoever of any interference with or surveillance of the writer's movements, and really, a few days in Russia is sufficient to indicate how futile are such suggestions. It was soon obvious that one was not even an object of curiosity, much less a subject to waste time on by putting somebody to watch one's movements. No, visitors are not so important as perhaps they would sometimes like to feel, and in general, Russians can spend their time much more profitably than by following about people who do not even know the language, and so could do little harm even if they were so minded. But one thing, on the contrary, was very obvious—namely, that foreigners were treated with every respect. On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Revolution, although the writer had no ticket, he ultimately reached the consular platform in the centre of the Square simply by saying to each policeman who tried to divert him, "Foreigner from Australia." The little Russian he had learned came in useful on such occasions.

What Is It All About?

Since leaving Moscow at the beginning of last December, the writer has been in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, England, Canada, and U.S.A. And everywhere he has been met with eager questions: "Does the Press give us a right impression of Russia?" "Are the people in Russia starving?" "Has the five-year plan failed?" To all these questions a careful, unbiased observer can truthfully answer—No! But then so many people think they are careful, unbiased observers, and the writer may have no better claim to be so classed than many others who have left Russia with quite opposite opinions to his. In fact, it is possible to be unbiased in this matter? In reality, is it not necessary to declare for or against? And so in despair, so many people say, "What is it all about?" "Is there really any difference?"

There is undoubtedly a difference. For, having passed through Canada, U.S.A., and England on the way to Russia, and having seen in those countries hopelessness and pessimism—just the same as had been left behind in Australia—the unparalleled enthusiasm and optimism of Russia came as a refreshing change.

There the papers—the very atmosphere—was full of big industrial schemes—schemes which were actually in course of being carried out. Industrial undertakings on a scale paralleled only by those of the U.S.A. in times of prosperity—being initiated and carried out by people who but 15 years before were classed as the most backward of Europe—illiterate, down-trodden peasants. And all this industry without "private" enterprise.

For the first time in their history these people are getting a chance—they have looked round at the capitalist world and have decided that that is not good enough for them—and so they have set out on unknown and unchartered seas, to lead the people of the world to a better and higher view of life. Their ways are not our ways—but ours are old and theirs are new—so, according to the general laws of progress, it is more likely that theirs are the ways of the future—ours those of the past.

In any case, the capitalist world is so sick that at least we should examine the conditions which seem to be leading to such healthy development in that vast area comprising eight republics and many nationalities where a truly Socialist economy is in process of construction. It can surely do no harm, and may do much good, to try to see things as others see them. After all, the human race is developing, and all history shows that occasionally groups of people have had to readjust themselves. Unless we are sufficiently arrogant and pessimistic to think that we have at last attained the highest level, it will be evident that we must take stock of our ideas. We must see whether it is not high time that some of our accepted institutions, conventions, moral codes, and motives for behavior in general be subjected to severe overhauling.

Humanity moves, as it were, from one level to another. For long periods it lives more or less at one level. Then it begins to erect ladders to climb. And in the climb some are above others, but all are essentially of the plane from which they are ascending. But at the last rung a new level is reached—an entirely new vista opens up. Those on the upper rungs of the ladder see that on the new level they will not have the advantage of being so much "above" those on the plane below. They therefore try to prevent knowledge of these new vistas from travelling back to the masses. But such knowledge gradually leaks back, opposing factors on the level below cause unrest, until the desire to attain those new fields of culture and life win the day—those holding the ladder are thrown down, and the whole mass moves upward to new realms. So it has been throughout time, and so it has recently happened in the Soviet Union.

How Is It Different?

What is the new vista which has opened up? It is a vista in which the degrading spectacle of man exploiting man has no place—where all work for the good of all—where the function of machines is to release man from labor and not to make a monetary profit for the "owners" of those machines—where man freed from labor is at liberty to follow cultural pursuits—where the fear of want is banished, and the law of the forest is at last no more. The prospects of such a vista are indeed inspiring, but, having attained the new

level, all old ideas must go into the melting pot, for a new organization is needed. And those who lead on the lower level are not necessarily the best to lead on the higher level—in fact, those very qualities which served them below unfit them for leadership above. Hence the struggle to maintain the old conditions; but change is a law of nature, and whilst man can learn those laws and use them, he cannot alter them. And so in the fullness of time, first here then there, as conditions become right, the change takes place—willy-nilly.

Since the change from Feudalism-Capitalism to Socialism has occurred in the Soviet Union, it will be interesting to see in what respects this has altered the industrial outlook. It is obviously no answer to say that the present rapidly increasing economic activity in Russia is due to the leeway which these backward people had to make up. For there are other backward peoples—in Europe, Asia (India and China), and Africa; and yet in none of these countries do we find that the capitalist debacle has given rise to conditions which cause rapid development. Rather are they included in the capitalist depression, because they are the exploited nations which, in prosperous times, supply the raw materials for capitalist industry. And since the latter is operating at a slower pace, obviously the demand for raw materials is less.

No, there is something different! It is this: For the first time in recent history the means of production (raw materials, machines, and land) belong to the community as a whole, and therefore the natural resources can be organized and utilised to best advantage. No longer can individual land-owners block an irrigation or hydro-electric scheme because their land will be flooded. If the land is better flooded than not—then it will be flooded. No longer do private individuals "save" the surplus profits from other peoples' labor and then "lend" such surplus to induce more labor to increase the surplus. Instead, the production of materials is organized—labor is no longer a commodity to be bought—every man (or woman) gets his fair share, and there is sufficient work organized to give everybody the opportunity to earn his living.

But, people say, there will be no incentive to progress. Such people are still on the lower level, the new ideas and motives have not yet entered into their minds. Man is essentially

competitive in spirit; free him from the anxiety of earning a living in the present and future, and he will do his self-appointed task in quite a different spirit from that which actuates him at present. He will become part of a big scheme. He will not let his fellows down. His part will be well done—he will endeavor to do it better than the other fellow. So life becomes a big game—and everybody becomes interested in it and gives vent to his individual personality. Naturally not literally everybody—but sufficient to make for progress.

What Is Being Done?

Lenin very early conceived a scheme for the electrification of the country. His keen analytical mind saw that in electrical energy only was there an unfailing source which required a minimum of human labor, both for its generation and for its distribution. Hence, wherever possible, hydro-electric stations are being erected. The first was the Volkovstroy, near Leningrad; the latest the Dnievostroy, in which each of the nine units is equivalent to the whole station at Volkovstroy. At Charkov a plant was in course of erection which will make turbo-generator units (complete) of 50,000 kilowatt capacity (the total capacity of the Yallourn station is 75,000 kilowatts). It should be noted too that since these hydro-electric stations have been built out of current savings, so to speak—i.e., the workers have given their services in exchange for the commodities required for living—the only costs of current generation will be the comparatively low running and depreciation costs—it will not be necessary for the "capital invested" to earn a profit.

The country is being covered with a network of transmission lines linking up the various giant generating stations. Thus the hydro-electric scheme at Dnievostroy is connected with the coal power plant in the Don Basin. Each district is utilizing the type of fuel occurring locally. Hence Moscow is now generating current from local brown coal, instead of utilising black coal, which formerly had to be transported 1000 miles from the Don Basin coalfields.

Heavy industry is being grouped so that the waste products (including steam and heat) from one may be the raw material of another. Thus at Dnievostroy there is a chemical plant, aluminium plant, electric steel plant, and ferro-alloy plant. The writer

visited all these, as well as the power station. At the time, the aluminium and chemical plants were not completed, but from time to time English journals report the completion of and commencement of operations at several of the incomplete plants he visited.

Conclusion.

From this brief sketch of the changed outlook of industrial activity in the Soviet Union, it will be evident that it is not just something which is of passing interest. It concerns not only those who, like the writer, are engaged in technological pursuits, but everybody. The planned economy which has been developed challenges the "go-as-you-please" and "Devil-take-the-hindmost" competitive economy with which we are all familiar.

It is significant that the Soviet Union is the only country of those the writer visited during the past year in which more and more people are devoting their time to pure and applied scientific research. Everywhere research institutions are springing up, well equipped and well staffed. When the remark was passed in one such institution devoted to the study of refractory materials, that Western countries were spending less and less on research because "they had no money," the director commented, "Our country is not so rich that we can afford to economise on research."

It behoves all scientific workers seriously to consider where our present system is leading, and at least to give careful consideration to the Socialist method of planning the industrial (and also social) activities of the community in which we live. The bugbear which has scared many—namely, the possibility of planning the lives of individuals—simply does not exist. One of the greatest difficulties in connection with the completion of the five-year plan was that labor was too free to wander and change as it wished. There was no difficulty in finding something else to do for those who did not like the work they were doing. Consequently, it will be seen that a Socialist planned economy by promoting industrial and cultural development on a social basis gives ample scope to that freedom of life which, under the capitalist system, is for many almost non-existent. It is particularly necessary at present to avoid being misled by the fact that during the transition from the Tsarist régime to the new social order, severe restrictions have had to be placed on those who would endeavor to frustrate the change.

These are but temporary expedients. Similarly, the views of those people who travel to Russia and are dissatisfied with the absence of certain conveniences to which they have in a generation become accustomed should be analysed. The fact that they are absent is most probably attributable to the backwardness of the Tsarist régime—for it has not been possible to overtake completely that backwardness in 10 years of intensive reconstruct-

tion—and in any case it has been “necessities such as factories and power stations before personal luxuries.”

The writer left the Soviet Union with the firm impression that the underlying philosophy of Communism, with its high aims for improving the cultural and material conditions of life, holds out a bright light of hope for the world, and heralds the dawn of a new era.

—Professor J. Neill Greenwood.

“Revolutionary zeal is the antidote to laziness, routinism, conservatism, apathy of thought, slavish adherence to tradition and to the beliefs of our forefathers. Revolutionary zeal is a life-giving force which stimulates thought, spurs on to action, throws the outworn into the limbo of forgotten things, and opens the portals of the future. Without such zeal, there can be no advance.”—Stalin.

“Communism equals Soviet Power plus electrification of the whole country.”—Lenin.

NEW ZEALAND STUDENT ACTIVITIES

WE were expecting an article from our comrades in Wellington, New Zealand, dealing with the situation in that country. The article, however, failed to arrive, the reasons being very obvious, as the following will show. Our New Zealand comrades have been engaged very busily on “domestic” affairs, which reveal just how hypocritical our Governments are, and, especially, how carefully our “liberal” educational establishments support the present system of starvation, unemployment, and brutality.

Three small students’ papers recently commenced publication in the more important N.Z. universities. The editorial boards of these papers quite openly placed themselves on the side of the working class. To date we have only seen one of these papers, “Student,” of Victoria University College, Wellington. All of these papers have been suppressed—in

the case of “Student” by the combined action of the University Students’ Association and the Professorial Board. “Student” only saw three issues, the last of which was produced despite the “ban” imposed by the students’ body, which stated, among other things, that “there is already a periodical in the University, ‘Smad,’ and it is superfluous to publish another. You have no reason to believe that any contribution which is controversial will be refused. Articles are judged purely on their merit, and if they have any intrinsic value they will be accepted. You must agree that there is a definite tendency on the part of your committee to publish only articles which state the opinion of which you are in favor.” This monstrous attack on freedom of speech (“Student” is the official organ of the Free Discussions Club) is couched in terms very familiar to those who have already realised the wretched hypocrisy of the ruling class.

The journal “Smad” has confined itself to the production of harmless nonsense for some considerable time, and it is a blatant lie to assert that controversial articles (i.e., articles which put forward a working-class point of view) would have any chance of acceptance. Articles are judged on their “merit” forsooth!

The issue of “Student” which appeared following this action stated: “We appear in no cheap spirit of defiance. After all, the issues before us are simple enough. In response to student request, to fill a long-standing need at the University, the committee of the Free Discussions Club decided to bring out a magazine entirely student-produced, which would broach serious problems in a non-controversial manner. Because we believed that in this day and age issues are so clear that a man must take sides, that the old-style agnostic liberalism leads only to defeat, we embarked definitely on an editorial policy. That policy is well to the left. Editorially, ‘Student’ has taken its stand with the N.Z. working class; it studies the problems and fights working-class battles as they find reflection at the college. We do not deny that ‘Student’ has committed itself to this policy; but by no means and in no respect whatsoever does this mean that opposing opinion will not be published. Let those who charge this read the magazine carefully. They will see that not only are opposition views represented, but that they are fully encouraged. We want nothing so much as full discussion of the momentous issues about us; but we maintain our right to draw conclusions for ourselves.”

It will be seen that the editorial board does not attempt to confuse the issue as the other side attempts to do. It points out that it has taken up the working-class view in opposition to that of the capitalist class. It does not shrink from the free expression of opinion as long as it is honest and serious. For example, this third issue contains a discussion on the subject of special police in times of strike. One student explains why he would be a special, while another shows why he would not, and so on.

But this really free and genuine expression of opinion raised a howl throughout the most reactionary circles of New Zealand. And this howl was headed by the worthy “teachers” and “leaders” of the New Zealand Universities. The Professorial Board put forth its

policeman’s hand, banned the paper for ever, and seriously reprimanded the editor. The chairman of the Board, Professor Gould, in a manner similar to his satellites of the Students’ Association: “He did not think the magazine was a desirable publication, and one of his reasons was that it was not of a literary quality that would do credit to the college. . . . His opposition to the paper was chiefly because it was shockingly edited” (N.Z. Herald, July 31). The Hon. R. MacCallum, M.L.C., said that “there was a feeling abroad that the college contained an element that made for lawlessness.” Dr. D. M. Stout said that “the question arose whether the four or five students who held extremist views should be ‘sent down.’ He thought it would be much better to keep them at the college, as the other students would have a beneficial effect on them!” These statements seem to emanate from a police court rather than from a “seat of learning.”

The character of the “beneficial effect” promised by Dr. Stout can be gauged from a quotation from a letter received by the N.Z. Truth (June 7) from a student of the college: “If our student friends persist much longer in their agitation, you will probably be publishing accounts of their being chucked into the trough.” The same paper publishes a number of statements by “prominent public men” attacking the “rabid reds.” These writers are mainly ex-Major-Generals, big business men, and leaders of the Fascist organisation—New Zealand Legion. Thus the circle of accusers is completed—on the one hand, the intellectual flower of New Zealand, and on the other the would-be Hitlers of the country.

One and all they have revealed their fear of anti-capitalist activity among the N.Z. workers. They cloak their references to the subject under the old story of “attacks not only on the Empire, but on everything they hold sacred.” All they hold sacred are their money-bags, and they are determined to keep their clutches on those money-bags at the expense of the working class by starvation, and vicious attacks on militant workers, and ruthless suppression of all opposition views.

We greet our New Zealand comrades heartily, and congratulate them on the fine struggle they are putting up against the forces of reaction.

—Editorial Board, Proletariat.

RELIGION IS OPIUM FOR THE PEOPLE

"RELIGION is opium for the people." Thus Marx described religion as one means by which the ruling class has attempted to keep in subjection the masses which produce its wealth. Through religion the bourgeoisie has sought to explain to the worker that his miserable conditions are the will of God, to console him for his sufferings on earth by the promise of a reward in heaven, and to cajole him into obedience of its self-protecting laws and decrees by the threat of everlasting hell fire.

It is argued by bourgeois philosophers and theologians that religion is innate in man—that he cannot live without it. This is the false theory of thinkers whose task it is to explain the immutability of capitalist social relations and institutions. In reality, religion developed at any given period as a reaction to external circumstances which man at that time was unable to understand or to control. This explanation of the origin and nature of religion will be the subject of a later article. At present we will see that it is true by considering the history of religion in the past century and a half in France and Britain.

The dominant philosophy of the rising French bourgeoisie at the end of the 18th century was materialistic. This attitude was a direct reflection of the struggle of the developing industrial economy against the restrictions of the outworn feudal system, not the least part of which was the dominance of a wealthy, feudal Church. The issues were clear-cut and easy to understand. The bourgeoisie believed that, to overcome the Church, it must abolish religion. So God was dethroned and the Goddess of Reason took his place. The bourgeoisie, helped by the proletariat, was victorious. It conducted a vindictive struggle against the Church, which seemed annihilated. But the line of bourgeois development was now no longer clear-cut. The bourgeoisie found itself faced by an indefinite future. Moreover, it found itself in company with a proletariat which the struggle had made partly conscious of proletarian aims, and which was now to learn that Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were not for it, but for its exploiters. In the face of this changed position, the new rulers turned away from

their erstwhile Goddess. Robespierre acknowledged by decree "the supreme being—and a few months later the curates emerged from their cells and opened their churches." Later Bonaparte signed the Concordat with Rome.

Then followed a period in which the Church flourished. But with the rapid expansion of capitalism, intimately connected as it was with the accelerated scientific progress, in the latter half of last century, there followed a drifting away from the Church. The bourgeoisie felt all-powerful, reassured by its apparently complete control over nature. It had no need for supernatural ideas to explain the phenomena of its existence, which seemed to consist in the immediate execution of all its plans. Materialism, a mechanical materialism, became the dominant philosophy. Religion and science were in conflict, and at this period science won the day. In France the Church went into a decline. When, however, the process of capitalist expansion was checked as the contradictions within the system became more manifest with the restriction of the field of competition, the bourgeoisie, faced by inexplicable crises and barriers, became less sure of its mechanistic explanation of nature and reverted to philosophies which allowed for the inexplicable. Their helplessness is reflected in the mysticism of modern bourgeois thought, and it is manifest also in the pitiful attempts of some of their best scientists, like Edington and Jeans, to "reconcile" science and religion. The popularity of the Church is returning among the French bourgeoisie.

But, while the attitude of the ruling class has shown these remarkable variations towards religion, it is certain that it had never ceased to encourage the spread of religious beliefs among the working class and the lower strata of the middle class. Voltaire, who served as the model for the atheistical French bourgeoisie, said, "The common people need religion as a whip." This injunction was carried out by the atheist rulers, whose "reasoned godlessness" did not prevent their ruthless opposition to all forms of working class activity.

In Britain the same general changes took place. During the expansive period of British capitalism the materialism of the dominant

thinkers found expression in the Rationalist Movement, which was essentially an intellectual protest against religion in so far as it appeared to these enlightened sons of the middle class to be disgraceful that archaic religious doctrines should be taught while science had discovered the glorious truth. But the Rationalists never came to an understanding of the social basis of religion. They were and are zealous upholders of the capitalist State, with its system of social relations which is the basis of modern religion. "Bourgeois Liberal," "Freethought," and "Rationalist" societies in the English-speaking world commonly declare themselves to be rigidly 'non-political,' and depart from this as do the anti-clerical French Freemasons, only to outdo the orthodox in their patriotic defence of the established order. Charles Bradlaugh in England, the best and most personally courageous advocate of Freethought the British bourgeoisie ever produced, was also its principal champion against Socialism and Revolution in the 1880's. Similarly, Robert Ingersoll in America was a pillar of the Republican Party."

And both in Britain and America during the whole of the materialistic period, a large section of the ruling class continued to support the Church. So it appears that the Rationalists and Liberals were really supporting the interests of one section of the ruling class against those of another. Indeed, the fact that Huxley, one of the great leaders of "Freethought," advocated religion for the masses reveals the real nature of their protest.

During the whole of this period the Church was helped to spread its influence among the masses. The liberal movements did not extend to the masses. Instead, by keeping the people in ignorance of science, by stultifying the minds of working class children with an educational system, the aim of which has been to train them to be willingly exploited, and which has only developed a wider training as it has become necessary to equip the worker for more complex tasks, by faring the worker at every turn with reverence for God (and their authority) through the press, literature, entertainments—by these means has the ruling class aided the Church. The Church, too, offers the worker what seems generous help. This charity, like all charity, is designed to prevent the worker learning to help himself. This fact is made plain by the churchmen in our midst when they raised cries of protest

recently against the appalling housing conditions which exist in Melbourne's industrial suburbs. Their reason is given by themselves—that such conditions made these suburbs "hotbeds of Communism." These men mean by Communism any action on the part of the workers to better their conditions.

But the conditions under which the working class has developed have made the task of the bourgeoisie in forcing religion upon him more difficult. By taking the worker out of contact with elemental nature and surrounding him by machinery, the exploiters have made him less credulous. The worker who starts and stops a machine by a touch on a lever, and to whom a breakdown means that something has gone wrong with some part of the machine, has less need of a god to explain the machine and its defects than has the peasant to explain the "vagaries" of nature. Also, the capitalist-imposed narrowness of his existence forces him to occupy himself with his own position, which he comes to recognise as being due to his economic suppression as a wage slave. He is, therefore, predisposed to be irreligious—a fact which causes the Church to cry out in great travail. But so long as the worker remains ignorant of how he can overcome this suppression, so long as he feels helpless against his oppressors, just so long is he a prey to all the subtle devices those oppressors put in his way to keep him in ignorance. Religion is one of these devices. It offers him an "explanation" of his position and the hope of a better deal "beyond."

But in the course of events more and more workers are forced by their own experiences to realise that, by struggling in mass fashion for their wants, these are obtainable. The worker comes to understand that this mass struggle is the way to improve his lot on earth; he loses interest in a promised heaven.

The ruling class makes tremendous efforts to prevent this awakening. The Church plays its part, especially vigorously in such a time as now, when, together with the whole capitalist class, it openly fears the growing reaction of the workers who find themselves bearing the brunt of the crisis, and therefore joins in the attack on Communism, all working class activities, and upon the Soviet Union. There, where the connection between the State and the Church has been severed, where Church property has been declared to belong to the people, where religious worship is absolutely free, the Churches of capitalist lands

see to their horror that, although free to do so, the people, beyond a few, do not support the Churches, which are being closed as their congregations vanish. Of course, the clergy in our midst ascribe this to a persecution of religion by the Soviet Government, in spite of the evidence of innumerable visitors who have returned from U.S.S.R. In reality it is due to the economic freedom of Russia's workers, to their freedom from all the pernicious claptrap of the bourgeoisie, and to their ready response under these conditions to the intensive anti-religious propaganda campaign which is being conducted. The opposition of the Church to the Workers' Republic is in complete harmony with the opposition of the imperialist powers. That its nature is not altogether of a religious character is well shown by the Pope's frantic call in 1930 for united pressure of all governments to secure the "restoration" of freedom of worship and of "Church property." In 1932 he called on not only Catholics and Christians, but on all who believe in God to "unite all our forces in one solid, compact line against the battalions of evil, enemies of God no less than of the human race."

But its opposition to the Soviet Union is not an isolated example of the imperialist rôle of the Church. Religion has been used to "justify" slavery in America. In their savage penetration of Africa, India, China, and the Pacific Islands, the imperialists have made use of the Church, and have declared their mission to be a christianising one. They have made use of religious differences between the natives, particularly in India, where Hindoo and Mahometan are set against each other when it is necessary to disguise some imperialist activity or to distract attention from another. In the Great War every combatant made use of the Churches as recruiting agencies, and from their pulpits men were implored to go forth to "defend the right." God fought on both sides.

The capitalist nature of the Church has a firm foundation in its wealth. The Church of England, subsidised by the English Government, which pays the Parliamentary salaries of its bishops, collects tithes from the farmers of England. It owns several coal mines and a large interest in several breweries—to give only small items of its wealth. The Churches of Australia—Catholic, Church of England, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist—are

owners of huge properties acquired with the offerings of the people. The Salvation Army deserves special mention as the most hypocritical of them all. Its millions of property the world over has been bought with the pennies of the working classes among which it works in such a manner that the man who has fallen into its charitable hands can never forget the degrading, miserable experience. The wealth of the Roman Catholic Church is proverbial—wrung for the most part directly from the earnings of the workers. The personal fortunes of many leaders of the Church should serve to warn their followers that not only the poor are "blessed."

Every Church is a propaganda agency of the ruling class. In the Middle Ages it was practically the only one. Now it has been abundantly supplemented, but it remains a powerful weapon. It teaches the wealthy, the exploiters, to be "charitable"—thus providing a justification for exploitation and, as it were, a cheap ticket to heaven likewise" (Lenin). They are zealous upholders of the *status quo*, or of such modifications of it as seem essential for its continuance—for example, more charity to the workers to keep them from struggle. They teach, but, of course, do not and cannot practise the brotherhood of man—exploiter and exploited. The completely capitalist nature of the Church is well shown in Germany where it has become an essential part of the Fascist régime of terror. In each capitalist country one religion or sect has usually been singled out for special State recognition—the one most suited to the peculiarities of the country—that is, that one with the greatest mass following, as, for example, Roman or Greek Catholicism in the predominantly peasant countries of Europe. But the existence of various Churches leads to rivalry between their followers—a rivalry made use of and developed by the clergy to keep masses divided. This is clearly seen in the traditional Catholic versus Protestant bitterness.

In Australia the Church is not directly connected with the State, but the ties which bind them are many. The Church is free from taxation. It gathers wealth as the main official marriage bureau. Its undeniably great wealth, mainly in the form of property, is protected by the whole mechanism of the State. It is represented at State functions. It is encouraged to conduct religious instruction in

State schools in school hours. Its educational establishments have official recognition. In the country the State school often serves as the Church too. The ministers of the Churches have special civil status, including freedom from conscription laws. The State aids the spread of religion in every way possible. In State elementary schools working-class children are taught to "serve God," to reverence the Church and its priests; the teaching of science is rudimentary, and all criticism of the Church is kept out of school books. Such literature as the children read at school and are trained to read later almost invariably takes the Church for granted, even if it does not extol its virtues. The spectacle of a special service to the Victorian Police Force given last July in a Melbourne Cathedral is very significant. There the leader of the Church of England in Victoria more or less consecrated the police as protectors of society from dangerous influences. That the most prominent part of police activities during the past year has been the breaking up of working-class meetings and demonstrations—that is, the protection of capitalist relations (and of Church property)—is well known to the archbishop. Here again is solidarity between the State and the Church. (In passing, the fact should be mentioned that this same reverend gentleman last year openly stated that the war in Manchuria was to be welcomed as it helped Australian industry.) That the Church will again take up its function as recruiting agent in the event of another war is beyond all doubt. Already it is concerned about Australia's "inadequate defences."

It is abundantly clear that the Church stands for the maintenance of the existing conditions; that it supports the interests of the capitalist class. In the face of this fact what is the attitude of a class-conscious worker or intellectual to be towards the question of religion? The original Social Democratic revolutionary standpoint was that religion should be a private matter in so far as the Church and all religious teaching should be absolutely independent of the State. The earlier Social Democrats took atheism for granted as an essential part of a consistent working-class outlook. To-day the general renegade character of the Social Democracy is shown in its attitude to religion, which, though it is obviously a strong anti-working-class force, they regard as a matter for the individual to decide

for himself. Another attitude to adopt is that of the Rationalist. As stated above, these people are essentially of the middle classes. They once led a strong movement among the middle classes. However, since the development of capitalism to the point where it is tottering—to the point where it has become clear that only the suppression of the working-class movement can save it—the Rationalists have almost ceased their militancy. But the attitude of the Rationalists is shared by many more enlightened workers, who, of late years, have formed the bulk of Rationalist audiences. They hold that religion is entrenched among the people because they are ignorant. To free them from its grasp, education, and education *alone*, seems necessary. But such an attitude is based on the narrowest conception of religion. It does not realise that religion has a social basis, and no other than a social basis. "The roots of modern religion are deeply embedded in the social oppression of the working masses, and in their apparently complete helplessness before the blind forces of capitalism, which every day and every hour cause a thousand times more horrible suffering and torture than are caused by exceptional events such as war, earthquakes, etc." And it is only by removing this apparent helplessness that religion can be fought successfully. "No amount of reading matter, however enlightening, will eradicate religion from those masses who are crushed by the grinding toil of capitalism and subjected to the blind destructive forces of capitalism, until these masses, themselves, learn to fight against the social facts from which religion arises in a united, disciplined, planned, and conscious manner—until they learn to fight *against the rule of the capitalist in all its forms*" (Lenin, "Religion," p. 20).

That the freedom of the masses from capitalist rule does free them from religious beliefs is being abundantly proved in the Soviet Union. The fact that this condition is necessary makes the fight against religion subordinate to the whole fight against capitalism. But does this mean that nothing should be done against religion? Certainly not. It is absolutely essential to point out to the working class the rôle of religion. But it is essential that the working-class fighter should be one who works "not by means of abstract, purely theoretical propaganda, equally suited to all times and to all places, but concretely—on the

basis of the class struggle actually proceeding—a struggle which is educating the masses better than anything else could do" (Lenin, "Religion"). It is necessary to do everything possible to enlighten the workers about religion, to help the spread of anti-religious literature. It is necessary to point out the rôle of the Church in the every-day events of the workers' lives. For instance, it usually happens that the clergy pray and preach for the peaceful settlement of all industrial disputes—for harmony between employer and employee. Here the identical policy of the reactionary trade union leaders is repeated. This forms a basis for exposing the Church. But it is essential that the working-class opponent of religion does not adopt the anarchistic attitude of attacking the Church on every possible occasion. It would be definitely against the interests of the workers to bring up religious matters during a strike. This would lead to a

DIALECTICS AND IDEOLOGY

IN a previous article we outlined briefly the fundamentals of Marxist philosophy, but we made only casual remarks as to how Marxism, both as a politico-revolutionary theory and materialist philosophy, has withstood the test of actual practice; how dialectical materialism has found its justification by the recent events in the historical world arena; and how dialectical materialism has found its confirmation in recent scientific developments—in other words, how the theory and practice of Marxism have actually merged into one another. For theory now is inseparable from practice. But, in attempting to present our case, we will be forced to dwell upon the problems of ideology in general, and those of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in particular. This is inevitable, since bourgeois philosophy and the science which follows in its train have denied their own revolutionary heritage, and have reverted to idealism,* which is that weapon by means of which the bourgeois thinkers hope to undermine historical materialism. This idealist and sub-

*"Idealism in philosophy is more or less a crafty defence of clericalism—a doctrine which puts faith higher than science, or on a level with science, or which in general allots a place to faith" (Lenin).

PROLETARIAT

split, and experience has shown that the employer uses this very device to smash strikes. This attitude is the direct result of realising that the struggle against capitalism as a whole is much more important than the struggle against its part—religion. And, arising from this realisation also, the value of a worker who, while fully prepared to work actively in the working-class movement, has not yet given up his religious beliefs, is recognised to be equal to that of other religion-free workers so long as his religious remnants do not influence his activities to any extent. They are unimportant, and will probably be lost in the struggle. And it is certain that, having freed themselves from the yoke of capitalist economic and ideological suppression, the workers will become free of religious superstitions as they learn to construct their own Socialist society.

—R. Nixon.

jective philosophy is playing a reactionary rôle, in so far as it attempts to undermine the belief in science, and it denies the possibility of understanding objective reality; whereas the latter is the source of the proletariat's unshakable conviction of the inevitability of the fall of the old order and the building of the new.

Bourgeois Ideology.

By ideology in general we mean all the manifestations of intellectual life processes, and these, as has been pointed out by Marx, reflect the social consciousness of a class. This social consciousness is based on social conditions of existence, and the latter, in turn, corresponds to the economic structure of society. Thus, broadly speaking, philosophy, science, and literature will reflect the methods of thought, aspirations, sentiments, and moods of a class which expresses them per medium of its spokesmen—that is, scientists, philosophers, writers, etc. But the dialectic of historical process does not permit the view that this ideology is eternal, "fixed once and for all"; but, on the other hand, it forces one to regard it as being in a continual process of change, since this ideology changes with the

shifting of class forces in society. When viewed in this light, many perplexing inconsistencies and contradictions (themselves reflections of the contradictions of bourgeois society) of bourgeois ideology become disentangled and intelligible.

Thus bourgeois ideology can be subdivided into three successive phases, these being purely arbitrary lines of division:

(a) Protestantism and Atheism, the former corresponding to the great peasant struggles in Germany in the sixteenth century against the landowners and the seventeenth century English Revolution; and the latter appearing during the eighteenth century life-and-death struggles of the French bourgeoisie against absolutism.

(b) Bourgeois liberalism and agnosticism corresponding to the epoch of expansion of bourgeois method of production.

(c) "Modern" idealism and bourgeois Fascist ideology—or denial of its own heritage, developed in the epoch of the decline of the capitalist mode of production, coincident with imperialism and proletarian revolution. The former two are essentially *progressive* epochs of bourgeois ideology.

Protestantism and Atheism.

The great religious movements of the sixteenth century, which threw Europe into such violent convulsions, were merely reflections of violent class struggles which were undermining the foundations of medieval feudalism. These class wars between the rising petty bourgeoisie and peasantry against the feudal exploitation assumed a religious mask. But this religious camouflage represented an important ideological weapon, because the class struggle against Catholicism was at the same time the struggle against one of the most powerful feudal institutions—the Catholic Church. Where the politico-economic basis of the petit bourgeoisie was strongest, Catholicism was swept out of existence. Thus the North of Germany is an industrial country, and there Protestantism dominates till today. The South of Germany is still peasant, has many feudal relics, and Catholicism is still intact. Thus we see that religious revisionism was one of the ideological weapons of the rising bourgeoisie.

Another manifestation of the same phenomenon is Puritanism and the English Revolu-

tion. There the class nature of these struggles manifested itself even more strongly. Unprecedented violence marked the attempts of the French bourgeoisie to free itself from the political domination of the landed aristocracy. The bourgeoisie, then a revolutionary class, utilised materialism as a militant weapon in order to fight the ideology of feudalism—that is, religion and theology. Let us hear Lafargue:

"The bourgeois revolutionists of 1789, imagining that France could be de-christianised, persecuted the clergy with unequalled vigor; the more logical of them, thinking that nothing would be accomplished as long as the belief in God existed, abolished God by decree, like a functionary of the old régime, and replaced him by the Goddess of Reason. . . ."

Thus the ideology forged by the French materialists (Encyclopedists — Helvetius, d'Holbach, etc.) found its full expression as a class weapon of the bourgeoisie. This ideology denied the interference of a super-human force with man's activity. To them everything observable was in man's existence; man's history was the result of man's own activity. They were unable, however, to explain what determined this activity. Another source of their limitations lay in the fact that the general level of scientific knowledge was low at the time.

Thus the bourgeois ideology in its revolutionary epoch served the function of discrediting the past, and set itself to paint the new and coming world in contrast to the crumbling old world. But as soon as it had consolidated its power after the destruction of feudalism, the bourgeoisie found to its horror that class contradictions had not been eliminated from society, but merely class shifting had resulted. It had hitherto appealed to the proletariat with the slogans of liberty, equality, and fraternity; none of these would it grant—none of these could it grant.

This realisation revealed to the bourgeoisie social forces which wanted to go further than themselves. These new forces began to be more dangerous than the relics of the deposed old. To come to agreement with the latter became a necessity to the bourgeoisie. With this, therefore, their ideology was bound to become more and more diluted.

Bourgeois Liberalism and Agnosticism.*

The nineteenth century witnessed the unprecedented spectacle of capitalist progress and expansion. It also bore evidence of tremendous achievements in the domain of natural science. But the very nature of the class position of the bourgeoisie prevented the possibility of similar progress in social sciences. This is especially true of political economy, when, during its "classical" (that is, scientific) period, the Physiocrats, Adam Smith and Ricardo, attempted to make an objective study of the economic phenomena and to search out the general laws of production.

"But since the machine-tool and steam régime require the co-operative efforts of wage workers alone in the creation of wealth, the economists confine themselves to the collection of facts and statistical figures" (Lafargue). In other words, the science becomes purely descriptive. But it was even doomed to lose its youthful innocence when it was confronted with proletarian criticisms. Let us hear the secret revealed through the mouth of a bourgeois economist: "That labor is the only source of wealth appears to be an idea which is no less dangerous than false, because it unfortunately plays into the hands of those who opine that all wealth belongs to the laboring classes, and the portion which the others reserve has been stolen or robbed from them." The scientific truth that value is produced by labor simply does not suit the bourgeoisie." (Quoted from Marxist Study Course, No. 1.)

Thus during the period of greatest optimism of its class rule—that is, during the epoch of liberalism (granting of concessions to the proletariat)—the bourgeoisie was unable to grant complete freedom to its official spokesmen.

"If philosophical determinism reigns in the natural sciences, it is only because the bourgeoisie has permitted its scientists to study freely the play of natural forces which it has every motive to understand, since it utilizes them in the production of its wealth; but by reason of the situation that it occupies in society it could not grant the same liberty to its economists, philosophers, moralists, historians, sociologists, and politicians, and that

*Agnosticism is a vacillation between materialism and idealism—that is, in practice vacillation between materialist science and clericalism" (Lenin).

is why they have not been able to introduce philosophical determinism into sciences of the social world" (Lafargue).

For the above reason the physicist obtains full freedom, the biologist half freedom, and the philosopher no freedom at all to pursue his studies in the quest for knowledge; while simultaneously, the economist is given the task of providing an apology for the capitalist system, the sociologist the task of clouding the class issues of capitalist society, and the historian the task of distorting and misinterpreting historical phenomena in order to find an apology for imperialist plunder. Thus physics is the first science to become really materialistic, but its materialism suffers from many deficiencies, owing to the fact that its philosophical and social environment is hopelessly theological and idealistic. Thus, in rebellion against idealism in science, the physicists became victims of "mechanism." This failure on their part permits us to understand why, later, physics was doomed to pass through a "crisis." Both biologists and physicists were necessarily subjected to the influence of materialism. This, of course, could not be sympathetically regarded by the bourgeois class in whose employ they were, and with whose class interests it collided.

"Modern materialism is so flatly opposed to the mental state of this class that bourgeois ideologists naturally regard it as intolerable and improper; as something which is unworthy of orderly minded people in general, and of respectable men of science in particular. It is not surprising that all these respectable men of science consider themselves morally obliged to free themselves from any suspicion of sympathy for materialism. Often enough, they denounce it all the more vehemently in proportion to the degree to which, in their own special researches, they incline to adopt a materialist outlook" (Plekhanov).

It took a long time for Darwin to decide whether he should publish his "Origin of Species," because he foresaw it would deliver a deadly blow to religion. But agnostic Thomas Huxley was a "double-faced" agnostic; on the one hand, he would conduct polemics with bishops against religion, and, on the other hand, he advocated the study of the Bible in the elementary schools.

Thus we see that the liberal bourgeoisie ceases to be "liberal" as soon as its class interests are concerned, and that even during its most prosperous times their science and

philosophy are permeated and limited by the narrow horizon of its own class outlook.

Period of Decline.

This was further accentuated during the period of decline of capitalist economy. On the one hand we witness the breaking down of the whole of the economic basis of capitalism, and on the other an unprecedented growth of the parasitism of the capitalist class as reflected by the rentier or bond-holder class. The advent of imperialist war, the world crisis, and Fascism complete the picture of political and economic chaos, and, of course, this must exert a profound influence on contemporary bourgeois ideology. The stage is reached when the bourgeoisie is directly faced by the revolutionary proletariat on the one hand, and on the other by successful building of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The beginning of the twentieth century was marked by complete revolutionisation of physical science. Its exponents made most vital and profound discoveries in practical physics by having unconsciously utilised the dialectical method. But having achieved this, they are horrified by the fact that these discoveries do not (and, of course, could not) agree with the materialism of the nineteenth century—that is, mechanism. They see themselves compelled to abandon materialism precisely because of their ignorance of dialectical materialism. This ignorance results from the hostility of the bourgeois class to dialectical materialism, and precludes the physicists from acquainting themselves with this philosophy. Thus they renounce materialism and embrace idealism. Hence a "crisis" results in modern physics.

"Recent physics fell into an idealist swamp mainly because the physicists did not know dialectics. They combated metaphysical materialism and its one-sided 'mechanisation,' and by so doing they not only threw the water out of the bath, but the child as well. By denying the immutability of the elements and the properties of matter known hitherto, they ended with the denial of matter, the denial of the objective reality of the physical world" (Lenin, "Materialism and Empirico-Criticism").

"Thus matter disappears and formula remains."

But to say that only ignorance guided them would be to absolve them. The declining bourgeoisie demanded of its spokesmen jus-

tification of "spiritual values" against immoral materialism, so that the dethroned deity could reclaim again its rightful place in the heaven from which it was so rudely ejected by the bourgeois scientists of the preceding generations. "The philosophy woven into the new physical theories is entirely conditioned by the ideological needs of a ruling class approaching its doom, which is afraid of truth and asks for any weapon that might stay the advance of proletarian materialism" (D. S. Mirsky).

This glaring reversion to idealism is the most important symptom of complete disintegration of bourgeois ideology, and it permeates all the avenues of knowledge and philosophy. Yet there is another factor which influences these developments. The decline of capitalist rule is marked by the growing pessimism of this class. It needs a spiritual comfort. Science is not only able to give it to the bourgeoisie, but spells their veritable doom. The bourgeoisie is seized by a panic, the physician has diagnosed a fatal illness; it cannot believe this—it dares not believe this. The bourgeoisie goes to consult a quack. It is thus able to obtain consolation. The fortune-teller, the "economist," the herbalist, the astrologer, the "intuivist,"[†] acquire an increasing importance in the bourgeois scheme of things. This debacle is completed in the Fascisation of the capitalist State.

Proletarian Ideology.

"The interests of the proletariat are diametrically opposed to the interests of the dominating classes, but they are in complete accord with the objective course of social development and with the interests of the whole humanity" (Lapidus and Ostrovityanov). The above quotation puts into a nutshell the whole position and the historical mission of the working class in society to-day. This, of course, profoundly influences the ideology of the proletariat. Its historical roots are again to be found in its material mode of existence.

The birth of the proletariat coincides with that of Capital. Its appearance is accompanied by unheard of violence. "The expropriation of the immediate producers is affected with ruthless vandalism, and under stimulus of the most infamous, the basest, the meanest, and the most odious passions" ("Capital"). In its infancy it is compelled to fight the capi-

*Major Douglas. †Bergson.

talist class, but it is only able to wage the struggle because the objective conditions weld them into a class—that is, a portion of the population with interests in common. "The great industry masses together in a single place a crowd of people unknown to each other. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of their wages—this common interest which they have against their employer—unites them in the same idea of resistance—combination. . . . The combination at first isolated, . . . (form into) groups, and, in face of constantly united capital, the maintenance of the associations becomes more important and necessary for them than the maintenance of wages. In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements for a future battle" (Marx, "The Poverty of Philosophy").

Moreover, the very nature of co-operation between the wage workers and the socialisation of labor developed by the capitalist industry itself, create the necessary prerequisites for a higher social order—that is, Communism.

Thus, the class ideology of the proletariat is that of immediate social producers. Their rôle in society is essentially progressive, while the ideology of the bourgeoisie is that of the appropriators of wealth. That is to say, once having fulfilled their historical mission, their ideology is in essence anti-social. The inherent contradiction of capitalism is that social production co-exists with individual (that is, capitalist) appropriation. This contradiction leads to a point when "The centralisation of the means of production and the socialisation of labor reach a point where they prove incompatible with their capitalist husk. This bursts asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated" (Marx, "Capital"). This is, of course, coincident with the interests of the proletariat—the grave-diggers of capitalism. It is the dialectics of history!

Proletarian ideology is the conscious reflection of this dialectics. But by being a conscious reflection, it at the same time becomes the powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat. This ideology is forged in the actual process of struggle of the proletariat for emancipation, and thus becomes an integral part of this struggle. No other conception of this ideology can be propounded. It does not present itself from some higher heavenly power, nor is it "ready made" by learned men.

Marx's rôle consists in this—that he presented the proletariat with a method which is consistent with the objective reality of the social world; *but its importance lies in the fact that it not only interprets this world, but, above all, it offers the means whereby this world can be altered in agreement with the interests of the proletariat.*

Dialectics is not a formula, it is movement. Hence it cannot be separated from activity, but is an integral part of it, and the expression of conscious activity in its rational form. Therefore, it precludes "philosophical detachment" from actual practice; but, on the other hand, represents the fusion of the two. Dialectics thus represents the most complete and the highest method of thought as yet attained by human beings. This powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat spurs on the advance of this class, and with every victory so attained the proletariat learns how to apply the weapon of dialectics ever more effectively.

Dialectical materialism has brilliantly justified itself in the realm of history, which has witnessed a number of social revolutions in our era, one of which has already culminated in the successful democratic dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. The profoundest social changes which we have witnessed prove once again that social life is not determined by some abstract ideological factors, but by material conditions of production and by their by-product—the class struggle. Nobody nowadays seeks the explanation of the occurrence of great war in causes other than economic. The "learned" critics of Marxism have "proved" that revolution is impossible, owing to the fact of its incompatibility with human nature. These "thoughtful" philosophers were convinced by a real revolution about its "possibility" not so much by its logical proofs as by the rude shocks it inflicted. The international proletariat at the end of temporary stabilisation of capitalism begins, once again, to storm the capitalist fortress. The capitalist society has entered a blind alley, of which the only exit is Communism. The principal task of the world proletariat to-day remains the revolutionary conquest of political power.

This line of development of capitalist society was foreseen about eighty years ago by Karl Marx. Sixteen years ago the prediction of the greatest thinker of the nineteenth century came true when the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party,

overthrew their bourgeoisie. To-day, it becomes the question of practical politics in all the countries of the world. Communism becomes a life question for millions of workers and for the progress of society at large. In this way Marxism has survived all "crises" which were implied by various quacks from the camp of the bourgeoisie and its numerous spokesmen in the labor movement.

In spite of this, it is still alive, and presents an unparalleled example in history of being able to rally around its banner millions of

human beings. What a magnificent spectacle! At first, in the history of humanity it was a scientific viewpoint embracing in one tremendous synthesis all the problems of knowledge as well as questions of social life and history; now it becomes the property of the masses.

Humanity is passing out of pre-history into history, "from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom."

—S.R.

OUR UNIVERSITY

IT is the custom in radical circles to decry Universities as "class institutions," whose function is to serve the bourgeois State to the detriment of the working class. From time to time the University of Melbourne has been criticised by its own Labor Club, but up to the present the attack has been merely sporadic. It is the intention of this article to state the case against Universities more succinctly, and, by reference to our local institution, to marshal as many facts as may be to support the general thesis.

One might begin by examining the traditional conception of a University. In academic circles it is contended, and, such is the power of self-deception, generally believed, that the University is constituted for the pursuit of truth—often spelt with a capital "T." The theory is that, all ulterior and contingent circumstances disregarded, professor and student will discover and fearlessly proclaim what they consider to be the truth of any situation, whether scientific, religious, or political. And they will do this whatever obliquely they may bring upon themselves, whatever persecution or social martyrdom. That is to say, if, in their fearless voyaging through the seas of thought, they should discover the truth of the Marxian theories, they will immediately become revolutionaries, and seek to overturn the State for the benefit of mankind.

No very profound acquaintance with Universities is needed to realise the absurdity of this position. Any history of Universities, and particularly of their functioning in the twentieth century, will refute it at every page. In

war-time, the Universities of belligerent nations follow—indeed, they often lead—the jingoistic fervor of the people. Learned doctors produce literary, scientific, and philosophical proofs of the greatness of their race and the depravity of their enemies; historians employ their genius to show the righteousness of the national cause. The published war-time speeches of our own professors (available in the University library) give an excellent illustration of the way in which these earnest seekers after truth pander to the national arrogance. If every University is right, then truth must be many, and not one—a proposition repugnant to most philosophers. No, this truth theory will not do at all. It is so absurd that one can only wonder at the childlike faith of those who accept it.

The contrary position, and the one which it is the intention of this article to justify, is that the function of a University is to train and mentally condition men to be servants and supporters of the bourgeois State. It is not contended that this is done consciously and with Machiavellian deliberation. The curricula of the faculties are not under the direct control of a secret council of capitalists, who decide our fate while grimly chewing their fat cigars. It is not simple coercion that determines the function of any institution. Rather it is the resultant of a number of forces, some obscure, some plain for all to see. The necessity for preserving and increasing State grants is one clear influence. The desire of the Science and Economics staffs to serve the State in public capacities is another. Again, it is important to the social status of

University men that they should conform and be respectable, for if they fail in that, their professions are in jeopardy. These are only a few of the ways in which the ruling class guides and directs University thought to safe conclusions, curbs its enthusiasms, checks what it calls its extravagances, and in general moulds undergraduates to be ornaments of their chosen professions, and good members of society. They will teach us to think, will they? They will lead us in the search after truth? Tackle the average undergraduate, and you will see in what way they have succeeded.

This is a strong indictment, but it is not wanting in facts to justify it. Perhaps the best method of demonstration would be a piecemeal review of schools, faculties, and student activities.

To begin with the school of Philosophy. Here, if nowhere else, does one expect to find reason enthroned, and truth fearlessly proclaimed. At first sight, one is not disappointed. The staff is above suspicion. No deliberate perverting of youthful thought here, no forcing of tender minds into rigid moulds, no suppression of truth and elevation of falsehood. But after a little quiet meditation, one is not quite so sure. The intention is good, certainly, and there is no lack of hard logic. But where is the laborious digging about the roots of society that one is led to expect? Where is the laying bare of the causes of human behavior, of social misbehavior? Where are the full-blooded philosophies that would emerge from such an analysis? There is none of this apparent at all. Nothing but cloudy speculations about the nature of God and of the word "is," together with tentative suggestions that the real world is not what we think it is at all, but is what we would think it is if we could think as straight as God thinks. This sort of thing bears much the same relation to flesh-and-blood reality as does "Alice in Wonderland," and it seems for many to exert much the same kind of fascination. Indeed, the analogy goes deeper. Idealist philosophy bears the same relation to State authority as does Lewis Carroll's fantasia to parental authority. Both are administered to naughty rebellious children to keep them quiet, and if the children happen to like that sort of thing, the result is perfect peace—the peace that passeth understanding.

Of course, you are allowed to ask questions, but the answers, when intelligible, are apt to

be diverting rather than informative. For instance, if you ask the simple question, "What is the State?" you are told to read Bosanquet, who reveals to you in a kind of esoteric mystery exactly what the State would be like if it were not the State at all, but a kind of demi-paradise. Which, as has been said, is as interesting as some of the Hatter's remarks at the mad tea-party, and about as intelligent. The intention is good, but one cannot help feeling that there is a mistake somewhere, and that reason, instead of being enthroned, has been embalmed. And so the enquiring and rebellious mind is beguiled with fairy tales, and those dangerous secrets—the nature of the State and of the springs of human behavior—remain in safe keeping.

Now for the History school. It must be remembered in this connection that history is a dangerous explosive when properly understood. It was a knowledge of history that sent the throne of the Tsars toppling, and set up a Socialist State that is admitted by the daily press to be a menace to the world. If the working class had never learnt to read history, there would be no Communism, no twentieth century ferment. That is why history is so carefully administered to school children. If they ask why Wolfe captured Quebec, they are told that he would rather have written Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard"—a fact perhaps more interesting to a child, but scarcely of equal value in determining his future conduct toward the Empire.

It is not surprising, then, since the teaching of history is a social menace, to find that in the University it is not taught at all—unless, perhaps, you are disposed to regard as history a very competent catalogue of events, interspersed with entertaining stories, all without very much attempt to answer the question—why? Surely facts do not become history until they are linked together by an interpretive philosophy. Not that they are worthless, even of themselves. They have the value that attaches to the picturesque: they are like some old tapestries showing the loves and the sports of kings—delightful things to have on your walls, and quite in keeping with your standing as a good citizen. But facts are not history. History is dynamite, and must on no account be allowed within the University precincts. You may think out interpretations for yourself, if you like, but if you state them publicly, you are likely to be called a "baboon"

and a "buffoon," as happened to a student of this University who stated his theories with more enthusiasm than tact.

As with Philosophy and History, so with Literature and Law. Shelley was a rebel, they say, but he was only a poet. You can be a rebel too, provided that you only write poetry. And look what a fine lesson Law has for you. There is no need to worry much about social conflict. All is under the rule of law, and law works according to an abstract principle of justice, which is an attribute of God himself. How lucky we are to be under divine patronage!

But there is the school of Economics. This is a study of commercial affairs, which are also the chief concern of politics. Here, surely, there will be critics, iconoclasts, architects of the new order. But at the outset one is faced with a surprising disclaimer. Economics is not a formative science, it is merely positive. It does not discriminate between good systems and bad, nor ask the question—"What ought to be?" It merely points out the truth about what is. This would be bad enough if it were true, for there is no point in discovering the truth if you don't know how to apply it. But in any case, there does not seem to be any real effort to discover the truth, except when it is palatable. A lecturer in Economics I, on starting the year's work, is in the habit of including among his introductory gambits the statement: "You will be invited to consider the fallacies in the theories of Karl Marx . . ." (verbatim). Not—"You will be invited to study the theories of Karl Marx," because in that way you might discover a dangerous truth.

If the department of commerce were honest with themselves, they would admit that their function is not to develop the science of Economics, but to train men for business, train them to serve the bourgeois State. For such it is necessary to veil the naked truth. When a man has once seen the naked truth, he is no good at business again.

As for the "technical" faculties: they exist, of course, in order to keep the essential technical services going, and they do their work very efficiently. But the thesis of this article still applies—indeed, it applies here more aptly than anywhere else. Capitalist society must have men who can remove appendices and build bridges. And these men, in order to work well, must be quiet and amenable, and, above all, they must never question the established order. In other words, they must never

be allowed to think. It has to be admitted that this end has been achieved very adequately. Two circumstances have conspired to prevent the intellectual development of medical students and engineers. In the first place, they are of necessity subjected to mental drudgery of a mechanical kind, which leaves them very little time for more general study and thought. In the second place, they are isolated from the rest of the University in a way which prevents them from even understanding the problems which plague the more enlightened Arts student. A law student cannot be said to be educated in any real sense, but he does get some glimpse of horizons wider than those of his profession. This is scarcely ever true of medical students and engineers, with the result that it is in these faculties that Fascism is emerging in its most developed form. This must have been clear to any witness of the "lake incident" in 1932, in which most of the participants were medical students.

Something remains to be said about student activities. There can be no doubt that the societies exercise a powerful influence on undergraduate thought, for they provide facilities for independent thought and research, free from the doubtful advantage of professorial leadership. All societies have met with at least a superficial tolerance, although, alone among the societies, the Labor Club has been refused direct financial support. But this tolerance has its limitations. When the "All For Australia" League tried to suppress two radical editors of *Farrago* in May, 1931, in a way that can only be described as organised hooliganism, a member of the professional board lent his enthusiastic support to the venture, even chairing the meeting which was responsible for the worst excess of mob activity. In May, 1932 the suppression of free thought by mob violence was in a large degree due to implied encouragement from the Professor of History, while the actual throwing of the victims in the lake was suggested, almost in so many words, by the Registrar. In April, 1931, E. Tripp was refused permission to speak at the University, on the grounds that he would "depict Soviet Russia as a paradise," and in the same week the Rev. Father Hackett, S.J., was suffered to describe the Soviet Union in terms so fantastically horrible that even the Liberals were disgusted. In short, you are allowed to say what you like, provided it doesn't matter. There is no tolerance in times of emergency.

All these facts support the thesis that the function of Universities is to produce servants and supporters of the present order. But how is this to be reconciled with the opinions of professors and the like, who honestly believe that they are engaged in the pursuit of truth? The two theories are not difficult to reconcile. The fact is that there are at least two different kinds of truth. There is a truth for the middle classes, because for them everything which tends to support their interests, increase their security, or flatter their sense of power is true. And there is also a truth for those who have nothing to gain from capitalist society, and nothing to lose but their chains. Truth for such is to be found by reading the cypher of history, so that they learn their true relation to society, the nature of the deadlock which threatens to involve them in war, and also the means of their salvation. Certainly the professors are seekers after truth, but it is the middle-class truth they pursue: the truth that made England rich and Englishmen

poor, the truth that wasted Europe in 1914, the truth that has succeeded, in this twentieth century, in making life for the majority hardly worth the living. Professorial truth has a pretty record.

The net result of all this is that the University exercises an oppressive class function, even when the students are least aware of it. That this need not necessarily be so is shown by the occasional radical activity of Universities in other countries—notably in Cuba recently. This being so, it is the business of the Labor Club and of all clear-thinking men to oppose the middle-class "truth" of the Universities, and to promulgate the other truth, in which are the germs of freedom.

—Colin Fraser.

[The Editors of *Proletariat* welcome any discussion on and criticism of this article which is written by a student. If they consider that some valuable discussion will result, they are quite willing to publish any communication they may receive.]

RAISE HIGHER THE FLAG OF SOCIALIST CULTURE!

ON May 10 last, the square between the Berlin Opera and the Berlin University presented a strange spectacle. Student detachments in the uniform of Nazi Storm Troops, with torches in hand, surrounded a huge pile of books which the Nazi authorities ordered should be burnt. Motor lorries drove up with fresh baskets full of literature. The bands struck up, and as the flames seized the pile of books there arose to heaven the hymn of Germany's emancipation.

All this took place in front of the Berlin University, where 120 years ago Fichte delivered his speeches "To the German People," in which he called upon them to fight against Napoleon, but defended the heritage of the French Revolution. For Fichte never forgot that he once wrote: "From now on (since the French Revolution) only the French Republic can be the fatherland of an honest man." And from their pedestals the statues of Alexander and Wilhelm Humboldt looked down on this conflagration. Alexander Humboldt, the founder of the Berlin University, fostered the spirit of the epoch of French

Enlightenment and set himself the task "to study the progress of the spirit of the times, the progress of enlightenment, philosophy, and science." He was a liberal courtier, and strove to raise the Prussia of the junkers to the level which the bourgeois world of the West had attained. Wilhelm Humboldt was a great natural scientist, and had mastered the scientific knowledge of his time. Before the eyes of these two eminent Germans, the German students, egged on by the authorities, made a bonfire of the literature which they considered to be hostile to the "German spirit."

That they burnt the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin is not surprising. It is obvious that all they can oppose to the great scholars who lit up the way for humanity is yelping and mediaeval fanaticism. The study of modern Communism is the *memento mori* for those who wish to turn back the wheel of history. The Fascist *Tägliche Rundschau* warned the authorities against prohibiting the works of Marx, pointing out that it is impossible for a man to-day to get a clear idea of the course of economic development without a knowledge

of Marx, even if one holds the teachings of Marx to be false. For this the paper got the reward it deserved. It was suppressed, and was only able to appear after it had promised not to give expression to such disagreeable truths again. The Fascist youth are not satisfied with destroying the literature which predicted their inevitable end. They are burning the feeble offshoots of bourgeois democratic culture that appeared in German literature in the St. Martin's Summer of the Weimar period. Stefan Zweig, Heinrich Mann, Döblin—writers who desired in their works to defend democracy—were committed to the flames just as Remarque, Gläser, and other writers who sought to describe all the horrors of the World War. Neither Remarque nor Gläser have indicated the revolutionary way out of the *cul de sac* which imperialism has created. The fact, however, that these writers described to the cannon fodder of tomorrow the fate that is awaiting them sufficed to call forth the profoundest hatred of those circles who see a way out in a new imperialist war. We do not know whether, together with the Communist, democratic, and pacifist books, the works of natural scientists, who were either driven from the university or left it of their own accord as a protest against the triumph of mediaevalism, were also burnt. The bulletin from the German Book-Burning Front states that the works of Freud were committed to the flames, but does not mention the names of the great physicist Frank, and the chemist Haber, who during the war discovered a process for making artificial nitrogen, and provided Germany with the poison gases necessary for the prosecution of the war, and who has now been compelled to go with sunken head and a feeling of shame on account of the ruling class whom he served so well.

Marx once wrote that the spirit which in the brain of the philosopher builds up a philosophic system, is the same spirit which, with the hands of the worker, builds railways. These words were written by Marx in his youth, when he had not yet finally freed himself from the influence of idealistic philosophy. But in spite of their idealistic husk, these words contained a profound truth. There can be no State with a big industry, there can be no State which promotes technique, in which creative scientific ideas in any sphere are destroyed. The German bourgeoisie, which combats with fire and sword the spirit in the

sphere of sociology, in the sphere of the natural sciences, because it is incompatible with the "German spirit," thereby says that this German spirit has become incompatible with any progress, even in the sphere of technique. And, as a matter of fact, the seizure of power by the German Fascists is a proof that the bourgeoisie of this leading country despairs of the possibility of further development on the path along which it has developed hitherto; that it is seeking to save itself with the aid of alchemy, which has always gone hand in hand with autodafes and inquisitions.

The bonfire of books erected in front of the Berlin University was not merely a crazy trick on the part of a crowd of drunken students who have never loved books and who prefer to imbibe truth from beer barrels. The bonfire in front of the Berlin University is the fire showing to the whole world the limits which humanity has reached. We Communists have always said that capitalism in its death agonies destroys all that still remains of greatness and value in bourgeois culture. The bourgeois intelligentsia of the West would not believe this. They pointed to the development of technique and natural sciences in the capitalist countries. The agents of the bourgeoisie sought to maintain the influence of their masters over these intellectuals by telling them that the dictatorship of the proletariat gives no freedom for the development of scientific thought, because it sees in every scholar and savant a representative of the bourgeoisie. Now even the blind can see who was right. In the Soviet Union the old scholars who in the past were closely connected with the bourgeoisie, and the majority of whom even to-day have not yet adopted the standpoint of Communism, are working and enjoying the appreciation and support of the Soviet Power and of the whole country. The work of our chemists, our physicists and biologists, our geologists, is followed with keen attention by the whole country. Our country is proud of them. And the Communist Party, the leader of the land of the Soviets, calls upon its members to learn from these old bourgeois scientists; the Soviet Government rewards their achievements as achievements in the interests of the country which has bound up its fate with the advance of science. We Communists do not blindly take over the achievements of bourgeois culture. Communism is the culture which is built by emancipated labor on the basis of dialectical material-

ism. Communism leads the fight against the legacy of idealistic philosophy. Whilst, however, the German black hundreds to-day burn the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin in order to-morrow to burn the works of Darwin, we, on the other hand, are publishing translations of the works of the great idealist, Hegel, in order to study the way along which humanity came to Marxism. *Communism is not afraid of idealistic teachings, for it vanquishes them ideologically and by actions.* Communism builds its structure for the future on all the great achievements of the human spirit in the past. Fascism destroys the germs of the future lying in modern bourgeois science in order to kill the fruit of revolution in the womb of the bourgeoisie. If it should succeed in this, then pregnant Germany is bound to perish, for no development is possible, even for the bourgeois world, in the straight-jacket of mediæval obscurantism, in the claws of savage nationalism. This obscurantism is incompatible with modern technique and industry. This savage nationalism is bound to lead to disastrous war. From the bonfire which was lit in front of the Berlin University there arises not the smoke and fumes of burning paper, but the pestilential stench of the rotting German bourgeoisie.

But no matter how Fascism may rage, it will not achieve its aim. The economic and social development of Germany is far too advanced to be driven back, even with fire and sword, into the middle ages. This development has created those social forces which will overcome renaissance mediævalism. The blind fury which drives the Fascists to the demonstration of burning books is not a proof of their strength, but of their sense of weakness. They indulge in wild excesses, for it is only in the excesses that they see a chance of salvation. These excesses show to all people

to whom the cause of human culture is dear, to whom the achievements of the human spirit are dear, where are the saviours of this spirit, where the force is that will rescue the heritage of Fichte and Hegel, the heritage of Helmholtz and Haeckel from the Fascist inquisitorial fires. This force is the force that protects the heritage of Marx and Engels from the modern barbarians, and proves the truth of the words of Marx that the German Labor Movement is the successor of classic German philosophy.

Public opinion in the Soviet Union, in face of the bonfires on which the works of German progressive writers are burnt, will not forget for a moment what humanity owed in the past to the spiritual life of Germany. Public opinion in the Soviet Union will not believe for a moment that with the bonfires which flared up on the night of the 10th of May there disappeared Germany's capacity to serve the development of human culture. Public opinion in the Soviet Union will not permit Germany to be identified with the crazy Fascists, no matter how much they may claim to be the representatives of the "true German spirit." Public opinion in the Soviet Union knows that those capacities which made Germany the leading country will also in the future make it the leading Socialist country.

The burning of the heaps of books in front of the Berlin University signalises to the public opinion of the Soviet Union not the decline of culture, but the decline of bourgeois culture. It means that the flag of Socialist culture must be raised higher, that the men of science must make common cause with the working class which is building Socialism, for the working class is the only power which creates the preconditions under which the new great culture of humanity arises.

—Karl Radek.

LABOR CLUB ACTIVITIES, 1933

THOUGH the Club has passed through no crises this year of the kind experienced early in 1932, it has remained quite as active, and has, if anything, become more stable. It still presents the character of an active core rather than a broad front—a condition which can, to some extent, be explained, though not justified, by the fact that the University practically excludes members of the working class.

The main opposition is indifference, the A.F.A. League having gone the way of the Conservative and Liberal Clubs, and the Young Nationalist Organisation being almost completely dormant. Such indifference the Club has been doing its best to overcome.

MEETINGS.—Regular weekly meetings, once an ideal, have now become a realised programme. Attendances this year have been

fair; at lunch-hour meetings the average audience has been about 100, at ordinary evening meetings about 50, while debates and combined meetings have attracted larger audiences. Addresses and discussions at these meetings have dealt both with specific facts and with broader trends and policies.

Addresses of the former type have dealt principally with conditions in the Soviet Union and in Melbourne itself. We have had the good fortune to hear three people who have arrived back from the Soviet Union—Comrades Blake and Mrs. Baracchi, and Professor Greenwood. The two former speakers gave us accounts of the educational system and the conditions of art respectively. Comrade Blake's lunch-hour address, and more especially his amplification of it at the Easter Conference, gave us a good idea of the nature of student life in a proletarian State. Mrs. Baracchi, with her fresh pictures of the artist's life, the artistic training of children, etc., also left us with some living impressions. Professor Greenwood's address consisted mainly of a theoretical advocacy of social-economic planning, there being a reference only at the end to the will to carry out such planned activity as he had experienced it in the Soviet Union. This leaves us all the more eager to hear from Professor Greenwood of his experiences in the Soviet Union and in Europe and America, when he has time to speak to us at greater length.

Accounts of conditions in Melbourne have been given us by Miss Muriel Heagney and Dr. O'Day. Dr. O'Day's description of the health of working-class children in Melbourne at the present time was most informative, and very significant of the degree of capitalist exploitation and collapse. His address aroused great interest, and the meeting resolved unanimously "that we express our support of the movement to prevent the deterioration of child life, and our willingness to help it in any way." Members subsequently attended the conference called to organise the movement. Conditions of a different kind were described by Comrade Ralph Gibson when, under the title of "Hitler and Blamey," he gave us an account of the struggle for free speech on the streets at Brunswick and elsewhere, and showed it as part of the struggle against the growth of Fascism in Melbourne.

On the subject of broader social trends, the two debates held near the end of last term should be noted. Against the Young Nationalists' Organisation the Club affirmed "that the

suppression of the working class is essential to capitalist government." The large amount of historical fact and the social theory it implies were convincingly put forward by Comrades Ralph Gibson, Nicholls, and Finger, and the debate was won by the Club. In our annual debate against the Debating Society, however, we lost by a narrow margin. Our team (Comrades Manton, Nicholls, and E. White) took the negative against the proposition "that Fascism can maintain and consolidate its position."

Apart from an effective attack on political idealism by Comrade Nicholls and an account of the trials of the British engineers at Moscow by Comrade Watt, the remainder of the meetings held so far this year have dealt with one aspect or another of the question of war.

WAR.—It is in the attempt to emphasise the danger of an outbreak of war, and to promote and consolidate opinion against it, that the Club this year has spent a considerable part of its energies. The first three evening meetings of the year were devoted to the question. At the first, Comrade Ralph Gibson outlined the state of war in the Far East, and the position of the Soviet Union with regard to it. At the following meeting, Comrade Wright, of Sydney, in an address which, despite the rantings of *Farrago*, was exceptionally clear and well reasoned, took us into a wider field, and outlined the present war preparations and political groupings on a world scale. He concluded by criticising the sentimental pacifist arguments that had been brought forward at the meeting of the Debating Society on the previous evening, where the motion "That this house will, under no circumstances, fight for king or country" had been carried; and by stressing the need for organised resistance and an organised attempt on the part of the working class to overthrow the system that leads to war. At the third meeting, held on the evening before Anzac Day, Comrade Burton, the president of the Club, spoke in protest against the exploitation of Anzac Day for the purposes of militarist propaganda. This followed aptly upon the resolution of protest against the nature of the University Anzac ceremony which had been sent by the Club to the S.R.C. last year.

At the Easter Conference, where the nature and causes of war were discussed, a resolution was passed against imperialist war, in which it was stated that the Conference recognised "that such wars are fought for markets and supplies of raw materials," that "until capi-

alist society is finally replaced by Socialism, there will be continual danger of war," and that "only organised resistance to war preparations can effectively hamper the war plans of the imperialists." The resolution was published in part in the *Herald*, and in full in the previous (Anti-War) number of *Proletariat* (page 23). On April 22 the Club took part in the mass Anti-War Conference in the Bijou Theatre (reported in the same number of *Proletariat*), at which the Victorian Council Against War was formed. The resolution adopted by the World Conference at Amsterdam last year was moved by Comrade Burton. Comrade Nicholls spoke on behalf of the Club.

On May 9, a combined anti-war meeting was organised at the University together with the Students' Christian Movement and the International Relations Society. The speaker was the Rev. J. T. Lawton, and a united front resolution was carried. On the suggestion of Comrade Ian MacDonald, a provisional Anti-War Committee in the University was appointed. With the co-option of other members, a permanent University Anti-War Committee was subsequently constituted, with Comrade Nicholls as its secretary. This committee has since held lunch-hour meetings, and had its articles published fortnightly in *Farrago*. The Labor Club has willingly helped this committee in any way possible.

CONFERENCE.—The five-day conference held at Mt. Dandenong at Easter gave members of the Club a greater opportunity for discussion among themselves. Delegates from the Young Labor Group and the Youth Section of the Friends of the Soviet Union were also present, and gave the conference a broader basis. The numbers fluctuated between 30 and 40. Comrade Wright was invited from Sydney to act as conference leader. He led study-circles on "The Crisis," "Fascism," "The Labor Parties," and "War," and, in addition, gave us as an opening address an analysis of the situation in Germany. He led the conference in a very real sense of the term, and his unerring relevance and masterly control of discussion were among the chief factors in making the conference a success. Apart from Comrade Blake's address, which has been referred to elsewhere, the remaining three dealt more with policy. Ian MacDonald gave an interesting account of the agrarian position in Australia, and showed what the policy of

the Farmers' Unity Leagues must be in the consolidation and emancipation of small farmers. Comrade Innes, of the Socialisation Movement, opened a heated discussion on the socialisation policy of the left wing of the A.L.P. Comrade Sheppard gave us the academic view of Australian Socialism, and attempted to show the inevitability of gradualism. In discussions lasting deep into the night, a large amount of ground was covered, and many members returned with their political attitudes much more firmly grounded than before.

PROLETARIAT.—Needless to say, the publication of this magazine is one of the Club's most central and important activities. The intention has been to make its publication more regular this year by the publication of a fourth issue at the end of the year. The arrangement of examinations, however, may still render this impossible. Our circulation now appears to have stabilised itself well above the 2000 mark. Compared with this figure, sales inside the University are ludicrously small. However, it has never been the Club's intention to compete with *Hotcha*, and we can only regard this shortage of sales as symptomatic of that intellectual indifference to the central social problems which the Club is earnestly trying to dispel. Quite a wide circulation has been developed in other States, and we hear that *Proletariat* is one of the most widely read magazines of a Socialist character in all New Zealand.

EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES.—As can be seen from the above account, the Club's activities are centred mainly within the University, but it maintains also a connection with the movement outside. The invitation of members of other organisations to the Easter Conference, participation in Anti-War and Child-Deterioration Conferences, and, above all, the wide circulation of *Proletariat*, are evidences of this. In addition to this, the Club has been able to grant a small amount of financial assistance to the International Labor Defence, the Workers' International Relief, and the Central Strike Committee in the recent struggle against work for sustenance. Also, coaches in English have been provided for members of the Jugo-Slav workers' organisation. Thus, by its activities both inside and outside the University, the Club attempts in its small way to play its part in the fight for Socialism. —Q. B. Gibson.

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STUDENTS AND WAR

"We do not want war, but if it comes we must be prepared for defence."

This is the type of argument used by all imperialist war organizations in their attempt to gain public support. It is the type of argument used by our own Melbourne University Rifles, i.e., Officers' Training Corps, for the purpose of attracting recruits.

The question is: How much longer shall we allow ourselves to be deceived by this type of specious argument? How long will it be before we begin to suspect that every imperialist country can't fight a defensive war, and so there must be something hypocritical in the assertion that they are preparing merely for defence? How long before we see that, if we really do not want war, we can spend our time more profitably than by learning how to conduct it *if it comes*? Why not learn instead how to prevent it from coming?

The University Anti-War Council is a branch of the World Anti-War Movement, which aims at a scientific understanding and eradication of the causes of war. It points out that no isolated, emotional protests can save the world from the terrible destruction that will come with another war. Only a sober and scientific consideration of the facts, a penetration to the root-cause of war, and the organization of a force that will stamp out that cause, can serve any purpose. The Anti-War Council is opposed to all war preparations, no matter how they disguise themselves.

At its meetings and conferences it welcomes discussion, relying solely on the irrefutable logic of its arguments for their acceptance by the students.

EASTER ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

OPEN TO ALL STUDENTS.

PROLETARIAT

ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB

A Minority Group Within the University

Editors—Ian C. Macdonald, Joyce Manton

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CURRENT NOTES

1934.

THE closing months of 1933 were marked by a great increase in propaganda put forth by the ruling class throughout the whole world, stating that the end of the crisis is in sight. It is true that these bourgeois propagandists admitted that there is a long road to travel to the "prosperity" which they desire; but they nevertheless pointed to certain improvements in trade and production which, they said, marked the commencement of a general improvement in capitalist economy. How do these statements compare with the facts?

A host of events has shattered the illusions which the bourgeoisie has attempted to create. The crisis is deepening in Germany. Profound disillusion with the fascist regime exists among the great masses of the population. The working-class, despite the maintenance of the most ferocious terror, is rapidly gathering its forces and consolidating them. War preparations are being pushed ahead. The whole capitalist world has been shaken by the violent revolutionary events in France and Austria. The ruling class is having recourse, more and more, to naked white terror. The revolutionary upsurge in the Balkan States is evidenced by the fresh wave of terror there; for example, the shooting of the Roumanian railway workers, the torture of political prisoners on a gigantic scale, etc. Poland is the scene of constant fierce conflicts. The peasants, especially in White West Ukraine, are becoming more and more insurgent. In Ireland the workers are putting up a fierce struggle against the bourgeoisie and their fascist Blue-

shirt agents. In Britain, as elsewhere, the Reichstag fire trial has worked a great anti-capitalist outburst. In Spain, the working-class is continuing its persistent struggle against the forces of counter-revolution. In Italy, especially in the northern areas, numerous mass movements of workers and peasants, against the Mussolini regime, have taken place. In America the Roosevelt plan has proved to be incapable of solving the crisis of capitalism, but has resulted in a great intensification of the class struggle. In Japan the revolutionary crisis is rapidly approaching. The burdens of the Chinese war have opened wide the cracks in Japanese Imperialism. Fascist terror is more and more necessary to maintain capitalist rule.

In a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries great anti-imperialist struggles are taking place. The Cuban workers are preparing for the decisive struggles. In Palestine the Arab workers have made a powerful counter-thrust against British Imperialism, masking itself under the cloak of Zionism. In China the Soviets have again defeated the armies of the Kuomintang and the foreign Imperialists. In India revolts are constantly occurring.

All of these events indicate that the crisis in the capitalist system is producing violent convulsions within that system. The contradictions between capitalism and socialism are being accentuated. But the growth and strength of socialism in the U.S.S.R., together with its consistent peace policy and the revolutionary upsurge in all capitalist countries on the one hand, and the antagonisms between the

imperialist powers on the other, have so far prevented a renewal of armed intervention against the workers' republic. But the imperialist banditry of Japan in the East, and the savage threat on the European front, make the danger of war on the Soviet Union the main problem for the international proletariat.

Despite this situation, the U.S.S.R. has had numerous victories, of which the most important is the resumption of diplomatic relations with America.

From this brief outline it will be seen that 1934 is to be a year of storm. Wars and revolutions are already in progress. It will be possible to deal here only with some aspects of the crisis, with the acute threat of war, and with the latest developments in Australia.

Bankruptcy of Roosevelt Plan.

The tremendous wave of propaganda designed to confuse and obscure the real issues has now largely died down as a result of the exposure of the plan in practice. It was easy for Marxists to predict this failure. We knew at the outset that the ultimate result would be an aggravation of the crisis. From its inception it was obvious that it was designed to seize more profits for the big industrial and finance capitalists by crushing out their small, unorganized competitors, by impoverishing millions of farmers, and, above all, by conducting a nation-wide campaign against the working conditions and living standards of the working-class on an unheard-of scale. The shortening of working hours has meant a great intensification of labour. Ruthless wage-slashing, combined with inflation, has resulted in a sharp fall of real wages. The rapid extension of forced labour schemes for the unemployed shows clearly that American capitalism is making frantic attempts to improve its position at the cost of untold misery for the great mass of the population.

There has been a revival of industry to some extent. Especially in the steel, textile, and automobile industries there has been a sharp rise in production. But this is the result of two main factors—first, the wild speculation which is the result of inflation; and second, the increase in armaments and war preparations evidenced by the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars on naval building, the construction of scores of new aeroplanes, etc. This is the true face of the "recovery" which, it is alleged, has taken place.

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It was recently announced that to the 4,400,000 families receiving relief last winter (i.e., about 20,000,000 people), there has been added a further 1,000,000. This does not include several million people who are receiving relief from private charity schemes. What is the significance of such facts as these?

They indicate that the crisis is not passing. In actual fact the true explanation is that American capitalism is making a prolonged and savage onslaught on the conditions of the whole population, particularly the workers, while at the same time increasing the production of the means of destruction. The outcome of the Roosevelt plan can now be seen to be an increase in the instability of American capitalism, and hence of world capitalism, and the preparation of an attempt at solving the crisis by an armed conflict.

In the closing months of 1933 industrial production again declined rapidly, following the increase which amounted, at its peak in the middle of June, to 50.8% more than at the beginning of 1933. At this time the index of monthly production (1928=100) was 89.4. In August it fell to 83.8, in September to 78.0. It has since continued to decline.

Of great importance is the fact that American capitalism is unable to increase its production in the basic heavy industries. In past crises it has always been the rule for an increase in engineering production and the building of new industrial establishments to herald the end of the crisis. No such move has yet occurred, and, despite the pressure which Roosevelt brings to bear on them, many of the trusts, especially the railway companies, are extremely unwilling to renew their stock, because, in the past few years, they have been working only 30-40% of their capacity. In addition, the increase in exports which was expected to follow inflation has not occurred, because of a general shrinkage of the world market and increased foreign tariffs. Actually a drop in exports can be noted. Thus it happened that, just when the plan seemed to be succeeding, it suddenly and "unexpectedly" failed.

It has aggravated the class-struggle to a very high pitch. The wave of strikes which broke out almost at the commencement of the plan has continued right up to the present day. These struggles are becoming wider in their scope, and there is an increasing tendency for those participating in them to follow revolu-

tionary leadership. Bitter struggles are taking place in the coal and steel industries. The main scene of these is Pennsylvania, where 100,000 miners fought against the steel code. This struggle extended to 14 other States. Martial law was declared in New Mexico, while virtual martial law existed in many other places. The following happened at the town of Ambridge. Armed guards in hundreds were made deputy sheriffs. They attacked unarmed strike pickets. In a struggle lasting 45 minutes seven workers were shot dead and forty seriously wounded. "In the words of the sheriff, the picket lines were shot out of existence."

Strikes among textile and clothing workers, among the meat workers in Chicago, in the automobile industry, and a widespread struggle involving several million farmers in the wheat-growing States, give the lie to the talk of recovery.

Not only the American capitalist class, but the ruling class throughout the whole world, watched the progress of the Roosevelt plan with great interest. They felt that its success would bring about a revival in world trade, and would be a severe blow to the rapid upsurge of the revolutionary movement. In this belief they were supported by the Labor parties. They attempted to convince the masses of the people that the Roosevelt plan was the only way out of the crisis. It was a "bloodless revolution."

The rapid worsening of the workers' conditions, the impoverishment of the farmers, the bodies of the murdered miners and steel workers in Pennsylvania, the growth of naval, military, and air expenditure, the militarization of the unemployed, all expose the plan in the eyes of the toilers as an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to force an even larger share of the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers as a prelude to the armed conflict which is threatening.

British Optimism.

In many ways it seems that British capitalism has suffered less during the crisis than any other Imperialist power. In the statements of its diplomats there has been an air of guarded optimism.

There has been an increase in the number of workers employed. There has been a definite increase in production in the last six months. Largely as a result of the Means Test, which has reduced expenditure on unemployment in-

surance, the Budget has been balanced. Share quotations have risen steadily.

Since the war Britain has suffered from a chronic crisis in its economy and, even before the present economic crisis commenced, industrial production had not touched the 1913 level. Thus the crisis was less intense than in France, America, and Germany, only on the basis of the chronic stagnation of production. Stabilization at the present level has been attained in the following ways:

First, by abandoning free-trade and adopting an aggressive protectionist policy. Great Britain made use of its position as the only large importer of agricultural products (now that Germany, France, and Italy have made themselves self-supporting) to compel agrarian countries which supply Britain to take in return larger quantities of British products. Denmark, for example, must purchase 80% of its coal, iron, and steel goods from Britain. Thus Britain has practically succeeded in incorporating "independent" countries into its home market.

Second, Britain is the country richest in colonies, and has, thanks to the Ottawa Agreement a strong position in the Dominions.

Finally, following the abandonment of the gold standard, Britain has been able to stabilize its currency to a large extent by establishing a sterling "bloc" comprising about one-third of the world's population, and more than one-third of the world's trade.

As a result of these measures, British imports have been reduced by one-half in the past two years, while exports have risen slightly. Britain is now the greatest exporting country in the world. Nevertheless, its exports have fallen 50% during the crisis.

It will be seen that British optimism is based upon the exploitation of weaker competitors, and further oppression of the workers. The bourgeoisie themselves admit that a general improvement in capitalist economy is necessary before a marked improvement in British economy is possible. As in America, too, the export of munitions is very important at the present time.

This brief consideration of the state of the economic crisis in the two most important Imperialist countries leads us to the conclusion that capitalism is not passing out of the crisis. Desperate manoeuvres follow one another in quick succession. Sudden and dangerous rifts appear. The violent contradiction between

the contraction of capitalist economy and the rapid expansion of socialism in the Soviet Union makes the danger of war very great.

Threatening War.

During the past months the imminence of war has been frankly admitted by the bourgeoisie. They find it very difficult to hide the facts. The spokesmen of capitalism have, on a number of occasions, indicated clearly that they believe that the solution of the crisis lies in an armed conflict. Political manoeuvring is now completely subservient to the problems of the war, which has been prepared on a gigantic scale.

There can be no doubt that the chief danger is still the threat of intervention against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is passing from victory to victory. Out of the struggle of sixteen years the new society has arisen. Technically, the Soviet Union has taken a leading place in the world. Culturally, it is immeasurably superior to the capitalist world. The abolition of classes will soon be an accomplished fact. The standard of living will be trebled during the course of the second Five-Year Plan.

The proletarian dictatorship is showing to the toilers of the whole earth that this is the only way out for them.

The main danger point still lies in the East, where Japanese imperialism is continually making fresh provocations, seizing Soviet property, murdering Soviet citizens, and constantly threatening the Soviet border. To all these provocations the only reply has been a continuation of the peace policy which has always been an integral part of the Soviet's relations with the imperialist powers.

Despite the slander directed at the U.S.S.R. about "Red Imperialism," about the Red Army being an army of invasion (abuse which is hurled just as freely by the Labour Parties in the capitalist countries as by the diehards themselves), Soviet diplomacy has achieved some brilliant successes. These successes were built up on the basis of the international solidarity of the working class and not on the basis of its military power (though, of course, considerably strengthened by it). Only the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, only the widespread support given it by millions of class-conscious workers, have made it possible to utilize, in the interests of peace, the violent contradictions between the imperialist powers. Hence the recognition of the U.S.S.R.

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by America, the non-aggressive pacts with Poland and France, and the re-opening of trade negotiations with Great Britain were made possible. Not only is the Soviet Union the bulwark of the world proletarian revolution. The international proletariat is the bulwark of the Soviet Union. The two are indissolubly linked. The fear of revolution is one of the main reasons why the imperialists have been prevented from conducting a new war of intervention.

A single instance will suffice. It could be multiplied indefinitely from every-day experience. Japanese imperialism is being compelled by the crisis to conduct violent military adventures in Northern China and along the Soviet border. It is attempting to solve the crisis at the expense of the workers and peasants in Japan and China, and also by seizing the rich territories of Eastern Siberia. But the very measures intended to solve the crisis have only served to intensify it. The revolutionary ferment among the workers and peasants has flared into open revolt in some places.

An incident reported in the press a few weeks ago revealed clearly the militancy of the Japanese proletariat. A train was leaving the central station of Tokio with troops for the Manchurian war zone. A crowd of 30,000 assembled to "see them off." In the "excitement" of the departure, so says the bourgeois press, many of the soldiers were prevented from leaving. *In other words, the Tokio workers held a fighting anti-war demonstration in the heart of the city and prevented troops from going to the frontiers of the Soviet Union.* No matter how the capitalists attempt to disguise the character of these events and prevent their occurrence, they occur again and again throughout the world. In 1932, 6000 people were arrested in Japan "for communism." In 1933, 9000. Mass terror, torture, and brutality of every description are nevertheless of no avail against a movement of such magnitude and such resourcefulness.

The same story is being told everywhere. The revolutionary working class is challenging the existence of capitalism ever more strongly. Unemployment, wage-cutting, worsening of working conditions, and war are all seen to be products of the same system.

Such are the contradictions of capitalism that the ruling class is driving on to the war which can only intensify the crisis. The only

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genuine disarmament proposals, those of the Soviet Union, have been turned down almost without discussion. Disarmament conferences are still being used to mask war preparations. The desertion of Germany from the League of Nations reflects the increasing antagonism between France and Germany. Central Europe has become a powder-magazine, especially since the recent events in Austria. Britain, while pretending to vacillate on the question of German re-armament, is openly assisting Hitler to re-arm.

Munitions and war supplies of all kinds are being poured into Germany. Britain wishes to use Germany against the Soviet Union and against France. But at the same time British imperialism is threatened by America, and must therefore remain as friendly as possible with France. Hence its policy of apparent vacillation.

There can be no doubt regarding the undisguised preparations for war which are being carried out in every capitalist country. Secret preparations are also very extensive. We dealt in a preceding section with the effect which these preparations have had on capitalist economy, and showed the increasing economic decay which must inevitably result. There is no space here to deal with the matter in detail. It will suffice to quote Radek's summing-up of the position:—

"The imperialist powers are afraid of war, a war which, according to the well-founded presentiment of Baldwin, 'would lead to the collapse of capitalist civilization,' but at the same time they are doing everything possible to prepare this war."

This is the true analysis of the situation. The solution of the crisis lies in the hands of the working class.

Australia.

The Australian bourgeoisie has also conducted a campaign of "prosperity" propaganda. That there has been a slight upward trend in production covering a number of important industries cannot be denied. The building and engineering industries have improved during recent months. A part of this improvement can be ascribed to the acceleration of war preparations. Several factories are being built or planned, all of which will be capable of producing not only increased quantities of munitions, but also new varieties such as tanks, naval shells, the latest pattern machine-guns, etc., which were formerly imported. The

remainder of the increase must be ascribed to the necessity for replacing machinery and buildings which fell into decay during the earlier years of the crisis.

But no real evidence has been brought forward, or can be brought forward, to prove that the crisis is over, and that Australian economy will gradually return to its old level. Although the price of wool has gone up considerably, the main profit has been shared by the wool-brokers and the wealthiest graziers. The price of wheat is still at its former low level, and it is freely admitted that the position of the poorer sections of the farmers is becoming more and more disastrous. The discrepancy between the prices of industrial and primary products is still gradually increasing, with the result that the farmers are being even more severely exploited by the machine and fertilizer companies, which have reduced a large percentage of working farmers to a condition which is literally serfdom.

An investigation carried out during the past year by the Auditor-General's Department in South Australia revealed the following fantastic position of a number of farmers (taken at random from a group of 1500). Column I. contains the price which the farmer would have needed in order to clear himself of all debts (not to make a living), and Column II. the price actually obtained;—

No. of Settler.	I.	II.
1.	15/2	2/3
2.	24/9	—
12.	9/10	2/2
15.	2/8	2/3
21.	4/3	2/2

That these cases are not exceptional is shown by the Auditor-General's own words that "this group is roughly typical of upwards of 50% of the settlers in 1931, and of more than 50% in 1932." (His report goes up to June, 1933.) He revealed, also, that in the season 1932-33 there were 5.4% total failures among the farmers; 49.8% partial failures; while another 34.1% could pay only advances and interest. In all, 89.1% of the 1500 farmers of S.A. considered in the report were in desperate straits. And these conditions apply generally to the whole of Australia. Mortgages, loans, interest, rates, and taxes form a multitude of ways whereby bankers and industrial monopolists are squeezing the life-blood out of the toiling farmers of Australia.

The bourgeoisie in every State has been driven to make some sort of pretence of "relief." As reported in the "Age" of October 20, Argyle outlined the general proposals of the Government—facilitation of "negotiations" between farmers and their creditors, "voluntary agreements" between them, etc., etc.—all of which clearly foreshadow even worse oppression for the poorer farmers. For it is obvious hypocrisy to talk about a friendly agreement between debtor and creditor when the creditor has all the power on his side. The main aim of the Government is, in the simplest terms, to set up a committee of creditors over the properties of debtor farmers, the chief creditor to be president of the committee, and the committee to "direct" the affairs of the farmer, without any reference to his demands. [This state of affairs has existed in W.A. since 1931.]

The falseness of the "prosperity" propaganda is clearly shown by reference to a few facts of current Australian history. The Melbourne "Herald" of January 17, 1934, had a special section devoted to the prospects of Australian economy during 1934. On the basis of improved profits for the large monopolist group (it is quite frankly admitted that the larger interests have done "best" during the crisis) the economic "experts," business men, bankers, professors of economics, and the rest of the tribe continue to give quite a rosy hue to the picture of Australian capitalism. But at whose expense have these extra profits been obtained?

The attack on the working-class has been intensified. Just at the moment when the Federal and State governments had announced a remission of taxation on big agencies and industrial capital amounting in all to ten million pounds, the infamous Flour Tax was imposed, which, at one blow, lowered the living standard of the working-class enormously. The price of milk and tea has been raised. Food prices as a whole have remained at the same level despite wage-cutting. Further direct wage cuts have been inflicted, especially on the textile workers. The new Textile Award imposed wage cuts amounting to 50% in some cases. The meat workers have suffered a terrific drop in their wages, especially when it is remembered that many of them work for several months in the year only. A systematic policy of regression and replacement by sustenance workers is being carried out in the

railways. Many of the advantages gained during the Relief Workers' Strike have been gradually nibbled away. *In short, following the example of the bourgeoisie in Germany, America, Britain, France, Japan, and all other capitalist countries, the Australian bourgeoisie is continuing and intensifying its attack on the working-class.*

The workers have not taken these onslaughts meekly. On the contrary, they have responded by a number of strikes. A wave of strikes has spread over the whole country during the past few months. Meat workers, munition workers, miners, textile workers, wool and basil workers have all been on strike recently. The discontent has risen sharply, and increased militancy has been shown. More and more the workers have shown a desire for rank and file methods, although in most cases the trade union officials have succeeded ultimately in ending the strikes disadvantageously for the workers. An indication of this growing spirit can be seen in the success of militant candidates in the elections among the miners and tramwaymen, and the persistent struggle of the miners at Wonthaggi. So far, these struggles have been sporadic and rather brief in duration (except at Wonthaggi); but there can be no doubt that the Australian workers are now putting forward counter-demands to the attacks of the employers, and are not merely conducting a defensive fight.

So far it is not possible to say that any unity has been achieved between the industrial workers and the working farmers. There are great obstacles to be overcome. These obstacles are fostered by the capitalists in order to maintain the split between the two sections of the population whom they exploit. They tell the farmers that the only way to get out of their financial troubles is by lowering the cost of production. This, in capitalist phraseology, means, above all, wage cuts, for the industrial monopolists do not intend to forego their huge profits. Thus, according to them, low wages are necessary in order to make farms pay. The workers are led to believe that high wheat prices mean an increase in the cost of living. This is perfectly true. But, of course, the only correct point of view is that high wheat prices and high wages are both possible at the same time at the expense of the wheat merchants, flour-millers, machinery and chemical firms, etc., who at present profit greatly by paying low wages on the one hand, by buying their raw

materials cheap on the other, and by selling the finished food products, especially bread, at a relatively high price. This is exactly the case with the recent flour tax, which has benefited the farmers very little (often not at all), and the flour-millers a great deal. It is an urgent necessity at the present time to indicate to the workers and poor farmers that there is a basis of unity between them, and that the only slogan for them is to lighten the workers' and farmers' burdens at the expense of the capitalist class. Otherwise they will both be exploited. In view of the great war preparations going on in this country at the present time, it is necessary to bring this heavy and dangerous expenditure before the farmers as well as the workers, and agitate for a conversion of this money to relief of unemployment, farm debts, etc.

In view of the fact that 1934 is the centenary year of Melbourne, and is being hailed by the bourgeoisie as a year of "promise" and "prosperity," it is necessary to explain and expose the real character of the centenary celebrations. They are really designed to give greater profits to the big interests and, above all, to mask war preparations and spread war propaganda. The contrast between this propaganda and reality has been sufficiently exposed above. [This will be dealt with more fully elsewhere in this issue.]

Political developments of note have taken place in recent months. First, there is the above-mentioned increase in the militancy of the working-class, as shown by a wave of strikes, by the election of militants to high trade union positions, by the great success of the revolutionary candidate at the Flinders by-election, etc. In opposition to this there has been a marked increase in the organization of fascist forces and the fostering of fascist ideology. Statements by Kent Hughes and debates at the conference of Young Nationalists have been featured by the capitalist Press. At the next Premiers' Conference one of the points to be discussed is "Communism

and Revolutionary Activity." Revolution is breeding counter-revolution!

Of great importance are the developments within the Labour Party. Although it still influences the great masses of the workers, this Party has lost greatly in prestige. It has fostered disunity. It has assisted the Australian ruling class in a thousand different ways. Large masses of workers have become aware of this. At a meeting held by the Labour Party to protest against the flour tax, Scullin, the Federal leader, received a very bad reception from the workers present. Nevertheless, the Labour Party continues to manoeuvre under the slogan of "Unity." But this proposed "unity" is nothing but an agreement between the same old bureaucrats as to how the worker can be deceived. It is merely unity in words. The Labour Party still remains the same in its attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the anti-war movement and revolutionary organizations. How to deceive the workers by using revolutionary phrases—that is the main problem confronting the Labour Party at present. Just as fascism is counter-revolution in its outspoken form, so is this left manoeuvring of the Labour Party a result of the increased militancy of the Australian proletariat.

We have dealt very briefly with some of the main features in the world situation at the commencement of 1934. On the one hand we see violent war preparations, intense nationalism, economic collapse, and white terror cloaked under hypocritical talk of prosperity, disarmament, and peace; on the other the growing revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and the success of the Soviet Union. The danger of war, the danger of fascism—these are the main things confronting the working-class at the present time. Above all, the contradictions between the two systems, Socialism and Capitalism, are intensifying.

1934 will not be a year of fair weather and prosperity. Violent class-struggles and savage wars are the order of the day. The barometer indicates storm.

—Ian C. Macdonald.

Do You Know the Causes of War?

Come to the Easter Anti-War Conference.

-- SHORT STORY

THE CAMP MEETING

The following is the short story for which our prize of one guinea has been awarded. It deals with actual events which occurred in a relief workers' camp in Victoria a few months ago. Naturally, the names have been changed.

A number of entries were forwarded to us. They dealt with a variety of subjects. Most of the authors appeared to us to make the

mistake of delivering statements concerning socialism and the working-class movement in a more or less abstract fashion. The following contribution is the only one which gave a really unforced picture of an incident in the working-class movement, showing how that movement does not move along rigid, stereotyped lines. This was the main reason for awarding the prize.

NIGHT was falling at the relief camp at Woop Woop. The hum of the telephone wires overhead, the chirp of the crickets, and the croak of an old-man frog in the dam, were the only sounds that broke the silence of the evening; while the hum of the refuse pit and the B... O... of the big bull in the pen behind the tents created an atmosphere, compared with which the perfume exuding from a tannery was sweet-smelling.

Bob, hitching his seat a shade closer to the fire, asked:

"Well, are we all here?"

"No, not yet, there's a few to come," chorused the crowd round the open fire in front of the row of tents.

"Hey, come on, you fellows!" shouted Billy. "The sooner we start, the sooner you can get back to your cards."

"Righto, coming!" answered Frank, as he appeared from his tent followed by George, Ted, and Roy.

"That's 24. One missing—who is it?" questioned Bob.

"Oh! it's Clarkie—the father of 12," answered Charlie. "He's in bed."

"Blimey, he's always in bed!" chimed in several voices.

"Habit, boys, habit," philosophized Bob; "he must have spent a good part of his life in bed, to become the Daddy of a nation."

"Well, let's get to business," impatiently demanded Roy.

"Hullo! what's biting you, Roy? Cards going against you to-night?" questioned Mac.

"Picked him in one," chuckled Frank.

"Order! Order!" demanded Billy. "I move Bob take the chair."

"Second that," chorused the circle. "Set her going."

"Well," commented Bob, "I think we are all awake to the fact that Casson has sold us a pup."

"Hear, hear!"

"Too blasted right!"

"The least we were entitled to expect, when we were railroaded 250 miles away from home—up to this blasted hole—was that some effort would be made to fulfil their promises to us and make camp conditions livable. But, what's the real position? Why, there's nothing here. What's going to happen to us if it rains, with no drying sheds in camp?"

"I'll be crippled up with rheumatism," growled old Tom.

"How are we going to get on with our cooking if we get a bit of wind, with no fire-places in camp?"

"Yes, and smashing up wood with a pick, because they are too lousy to supply us with an axe, doesn't appeal to me," chimed in Billy.

"And get an eye-ful of this," wrathfully demanded Charlie, pouring a dark brown liquid out of a bottle; "this is supposed to be drinking water."

"Now, now! one at a time is good fishing," admonished Bob. "Give me a go."

"Sure! Order, boys!" commanded Billy.

"Well, it's evident we are all agreed that things are crook. Now, what's to be done about it? I suggest that we elect a committee right now to go and take up matters with the tramp."

"Hear, hear!" heartily supported Billy. "I move that we elect a camp committee of five—a president and secretary and three others—to carry out any decisions arrived at by meetings of the gang while we are here."

"In the last camp I was in," he went on to explain, "we elected a committee. I was secretary, and we succeeded in getting things fixed up pretty good before we left. We used to think that camp was crook, but it was a paradise to this. We had drying sheds, a mess, and even lamps and enamel plates and pannikins were supplied. While here—well, the tents and bunks are all right, and it would be a good place to sleep if it wasn't for the Ghost Train."

(The Ghost Train was the express, which ambled past the camp, doing 55 m.p.h., at 1 a.m. each morning, creating the combined effect of an earthquake and a violent thunderstorm.)

Hear, hear! and chuckles.

"And Billy snoring," chuckled Frank, amid laughter, Billy being credited with all the night noises of the bull.

"We have to do more than sleep here, chaps—we have to live here," continued Billy. "Yes, live here for three months, and if we don't see to it that things are made comfortable for us, we can't expect anyone else to. The heads might think they hold all the cards; they certainly worked this deal from a cold deck, and we should let them know at once that it's no good to us, and we are going to take a hand ourselves. Elect a committee, and give it the job of getting on to the trumps bug at the foot."

"I'll second the motion," spoke up Mac. "We found on the dole work that the only way to maintain and improve conditions, prevent speed-up and slave-driving, and stop intimidation and victimization of workers the ganger got in the gun, was to have job committees. The need here is urgent, and those elected are going to have their hands full, so I hope the motion is carried and that we get a good, live committee."

"Anyone against the motion?" questioned Bob. "Hands up!"

"Not on your life!"

All for the motion. Carried unanimously.

Bill left the circle and returned with an armful of green wood, which he proceeded to place on the fire, douching the flame and causing a dense cloud of smoke.

"Leave the fire alone!"

"What the blazes are you doing?"

"Cut it out!"

A chorus of protests from the men to windward. "What's the matter with you?" snarled Bill. "Don't you want a fire?"

"Why the hell don't you get dry wood?" snapped back Paddy, making a dive at the offending green timber. "Geel! you're a flea. Sit down and stop mucking about."

"How did I know it was green?" excitedly shouted Bill. "That's the thanks I get for trying to do you a turn."

"Do us a real good turn, Bill," drawled back Paddy. "Go and bury yourself."

"Order!" "Chair!" "Sit down!" drowned Bill's excited reply.

"Now, Bill," admonished Bob. "Try and behave yourself."

"Why pick me?" barked Bill, "I—" "Order!" "Chair!" "Behave yourself!" reduced Bill to a sulky silence.

"Righto, next business, nominations for president," announced Bob. "I take nominations."

"I move Bob," spoke several voices at once. "Any further nominations?"

"No race, Bob; you've got it all your own way."

"Next position. We want a secretary."

"Billy's the boy for that job," said Charlie. "Too right," quoth Mac. "I nominate Billy."

"I'll second that," announced Paddy; "if we give him plenty of work to do, it might stop him from making funny noises with that voice of his."

Billy's reply to this, "Funny noises, bunk! Do you know, boys, my voice won me my wife," was greeted with howls of derision.

"She had no ear for music," responded Paddy. "The poor girl must have been deaf," emphatically answered Bob.

"No, Bob, you're wrong," replied Billy, "I used to sing to her, I wish I had someone to love me, and she married me to shut me up."

"And no darned wonder," unanimously voted the gang.

"Any further nominations?" demanded Bob. "Billy does me," said Mac. "But," emphatically, "he'll have to cut out snoring."

"Hear, hear!" applauded the mob.

"Now three cheers for the committee."

Bill again left the circle and, reappearing with his bill, proceeded to place it over the fire to boil.

"You're always thinking of your stomach," said Paddy.

"That's all right," replied Bill, "an army always travels on its stomach."

"So does a snake," said Bob. "But that is no reason why you should get snaky and muck up the meeting."

"Who is mucking up the meeting?" demanded Bill. "I'm not," he asserted indignantly, jerking himself erect, tipping contents of billy into the fire and smothering everybody in ashes and steam.

When the uproar had somewhat subsided, Bob demanded an explanation from Bill. "Listen, Bill, if you are not trying to muck up the meeting, then what the blazes are you doing?"

"Garn," defended Bill, "I didn't do it on purpose. Any of you mugs could see it was an accident."

"Chair! Chair! I demand that he withdraw," indignantly from Paddy. "He called us mugs."

"Yes," agreed Bob, "most unparliamentary. I'm surprised at you, Bill. Plain, ordinary mugs wouldn't come to a job like this. We're a lot of silly bloody mugs."

"Hurrah!"

"I'll move," announced Billy, "that Bill get on to his belly and do what the army and the snakes do—travel." Hearty "Hear, hears!"

"No, Gentlemen," ruled Bob, "just for this once we'll temper justice with mercy; let Bill off and get on with the business. Nominations for the committee."

"Mac." "Yes." "George." "Yes." "We must have one of the card-sharps on. What about you, Frank?" "Sure, I'll be in it."

"Paddy." "No, you've got the best three there already. I'll move that Mac, George,

and Frank go on to the committee." "Hear, hear! I'll second that," from Charlie.

"All those in favour say, 'Aye!'" "Aye!"

Against, —. Carried unanimously.

"Well, that's that," said Bob. "We will see the ganger in the morning and place the position before him. Let's see, we want an axe to start with—drying sheds, fireplace, and decent water. That right?"

"Yes," agreed old Alf, "and there's another thing, too. We want latrines at the camp. That blasted water has given me dysentery, and it's bad enough having to wear out your bottom without having to wear out your legs walking 300 yards to and from the station."

"Yes," concurred Bob, "we want latrines, and also some disinfectant; that refuse pit is beginning to walk!"

"Anything else we should take up while we are on the job?" enquired Bob.

"Yes, put it on him for a copper or some kerosene tins to boil water in. We can't wash our clothes in our billys," suggested Charlie.

"I'll take care Mr. Ka-Hent Hues doesn't catch me in another joke like this," growled old Alf.

"Huh, the Fascist without a shirt," snarled Paddy. "If I could have got my claws on him when our blankets didn't arrive, he'd have been a Fascist without a skin."

"Too right," agreed Mac. "It's just as well they arrived to-day. If they hadn't, there would have been something doing." Sentiments in which the whole gang, with memories of an extremely miserable night, heartily concurred.

"Every dog has its day, boys," commented Bob. "We'll have ours, and we'll deal with that gent then."

"Anything else?" . . . "No?" "Well, get the billy, Mac, and we'll have a cup of tea. I declare the meeting closed." — J. Hannan.

IS EDUCATION THE SOLUTION?

— A DIALOGUE

MONTMORENCY and Williams had once been friends, drawn together by their desire to lessen the misery and chaos of the world. They had adopted, however, very different means of doing this. Montmorency wished to change human nature; and he believed this could only be done by means of education. Williams, on the other hand, thought there was nothing for it but a social revolution, for he considered that it was the social system, and not human nature, that was at fault.

Because of this difference, a certain coldness sprang up between them; but neither of them was content to let the matter rest at that. Each wanted to explain himself more fully, and felt that the other could not hear his point of view without eventually agreeing. While still in this state of mind they met, and very soon got to grips on the subject.

Montmorency: So you think, Williams, that I am following a dead-end by going in for education.

Williams: Yes.

M.: You are too uncompromising in your views. And what is more, you are extremely shallow in your thinking. You would do anything to advance the material welfare of humanity, wouldn't you?

W.: That is what I want.

M.: And yet you despise education.

W.: I don't despise it, Montmorency. I regard it as an extremely powerful weapon.

M.: Yes!—the most powerful of all weapons in the hands of the lover of humanity. Let me tell you this, Williams: every man, at the bottom of his heart, needs and desires something more than material welfare. It isn't just being alive that matters; it's self-development; it's changing from a nonentity into someone worth while. And that is what education can do for us. It can change people, by developing all their faculties, by making them use the intelligence, the sensitiveness, the powers, which are latent in them. It can enlighten them; open their minds to the beauty of the world; give them the gift of culture.

W.: That is what I admire so much in Soviet Russia. Education there is enlightening people; it is giving them all-round develop-

ment; and in particular it is making them feel that they are worth while, not mere nonentities. Soviet children are learning to respect themselves, to feel responsible; and responsibility is one of the keys of self-development. Do you know that those children have their own theatres and clubs, which they run themselves? And that the Young Communist League—whose members are from 15 to 18 years of age—has an important place in the building of Socialism? During the campaign to liquidate illiteracy, each of its members undertook to teach at least one other citizen to read and write. That is the way to make children develop all their faculties.

M.: Why, that's just why I am so interested in education; that's what I want to do with it. There is a world-wide movement to reform education. It aims at giving more liberty to the child; at making him responsible and self-reliant; and at making him learn by doing, instead of being spoon-fed by his teachers. You admit yourself that those things are worth doing; you say that they are being done in Russia; very well, if they can be done there, why not here?

W.: Because education is a weapon in the hands of society.

M.: Yes; it is a weapon, or rather a tool, by means of which society develops all the potentialities of the individual.

W.: No; it is a means by which society adapts the individual to itself.

M.: Prove that.

W.: I think history proves it. Take the education of a savage, for instance. The savage learns very little besides hunting, fighting, and a few tribal ceremonies. Why? Because that is all that his society requires of him.

M.: I don't consider that a fair example. If your rule does not apply to civilized races, it's not worth much.

W.: Then take the case of Athens and Sparta. There you had two very different forms of society, existing at the same time and within a short distance of each other. Sparta was a purely military state, autocratically ruled, always fighting for its life, and living only for war. Spartan children were trained

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as soldiers—endurance, obedience, courage and physical strength were the qualities which were developed in them, because those were what their social system required. Athens, on the other hand, was a Republic, and later the head of an Empire, living by commerce—which is as much as to say, living by its wits. The Athenian had something like a liberal education; his mind was highly trained and critical. The Athenian was an intellectual; the Spartan was a soldier. Why? In each case because of the society in which they lived.

M.: Very well; for the sake of argument, I grant you that the form of society determines the form of education. Well, we want a system of education that will develop the highest powers of every individual. What is there in our society to prevent that?

W.: Class.

M.: What do you mean?

W.: As long as there is one class which has wealth and power and another which lacks them, the powerful class will try to keep the rest in subjection; and it will use education as a means to that end.

M.: Ah yes, I know what you are going to say. I am going to be told once more that modern society is divided into two classes—bourgeoisie and proletariat; and then you are going to point out that, as a general rule, the proletariat's education stops when he is 14, while the bourgeois goes on to a secondary school, and perhaps to a University. But you forget the scholarship system. By that system the cleverest children from the working class get the chance to go to a secondary school, and even to the University. Do you call that keeping them in subjection?

W.: That is one of the most powerful ways of keeping them in subjection. The worker who has had an education of that sort does not go back to his factory or his farm; he enters a profession, becomes bourgeois, and despises his old-time companions. By that means, the best brains are culled from the working-class, and drafted into the bourgeoisie. The scholarship system may raise the individual; but it certainly degrades the class.

M.: Come, come, you are exaggerating. You can't really believe that the bourgeois deliberately tries to keep the workman under. If that was what he wanted, why should he give him any education at all?

W.: Because education is his strongest weapon. Didn't one of your great educators

say: "Give me a child until he is seven years old, and I will make of him what I will"? Well, the bourgeois schools have the working-class children, not till they are seven years old, but till they are fourteen; and it's during that time that the mischief is done.

M.: Really, Williams, I'm surprised at you. Here are you, whom I've always thought to be a sane person, letting yourself be carried away by foolish ideas. You are representing the bourgeois as an ogre, a sort of child-eater. Do you really think the average teacher tries to degrade the working-class children whom he teaches?

W.: No. It is done unconsciously, probably with the best of intentions. But the result is the same. The child leaves school, not fit to rule himself and to become a responsible member of society, but fit to be ruled. He has not learnt to think for himself; he has learnt to be passive and imbibed knowledge. He has not learnt to grapple with the problems of life; his attention has been distracted from them. He has learnt nothing about his place in society or about the economic conditions with which he will have to struggle for the rest of his life.

M.: But I've told you—

W.: No; let me finish. I know what you are going to say. You want to say that this is exactly your own complaint against education, and that you intend to spend your life in trying to alter it. But doesn't it strike you that all these features of education are not accidental? Haven't you ever wondered why—in spite of that world-wide movement you told me about—education has not been altered yet?

M.: Oh, don't imagine that I under-rate the difficulties. We have an immense load of ignorance, stupidity, and inertia to contend with. All over the world there have been experiments, attempts, and theories about education. Leading educators and the thinking public agree that we want a radical change. And yet the stupid business of cramming children with undigested facts—the slavery to the exam—goes on. There has been talk of reform for years, but nothing is done. Well, that's the problem that I'm going to tackle. It's not a little thing; it's a whole life-work at least.

W.: There is only one way to do it.

M.: What is it?

W.: By revolution. Given a successful revolution, the reform that you want in education will follow—must follow.

M.: How do I know that?

W.: Because a Socialist society needs individuals who are fully developed, mentally and physically. They must have physique, because they are to be workers and builders of Socialism, and that is no light task; they need all their intelligence to grapple with the problems that face them. They must be practical people, not mere theorists. They must be at grips with reality, because they are living by new moral values, and creating a new culture. Above all, they need to be responsible and able to rule themselves.

M.: And how are you going to give them all this?

W.: By a new education, which can only follow the revolution, not precede it. Soviet Russia takes education more seriously than any other nation. Since the revolution there has been a tremendous growth in education all over the country, even in its most backward areas. Already illiteracy has fallen from 68% in 1920 to less than 1%.

M.: I have heard of this, and rather admired the rapid development of education in a country that used to be, culturally, somewhere on the level of the Dark Ages. But what we need here is not more education so much as a different type of education.

W.: Why, that is just where Russia has made the most remarkable advances. The worst thing about our educational system is that it makes the child passive by giving him a theoretical, not a practical training; he is usually engaged in sitting still listening to the teacher, or else reading or writing, instead of getting up and putting what he has learnt into practice. The Soviets have done away with that; they have a system called polytechnization, which unites theory and practice.

M.: I have heard of polytechnization, but I don't know what it means. Explain it.

W.: Well, the idea is to teach the child about the general processes of industry and agriculture, and the part they play in a Socialist state. He can't understand industry and agriculture without a scientific training, so he learns mathematics, physics, chemistry, and natural history, and the teaching of them is linked with real productive activity.

M.: You mean that the child learns to use tools, and to make things, at school?

W.: Yes. Every school has workshops and workrooms, and children begin by playing with tools, and naturally go on to creative labour.

So the child begins with the right attitude to work. He acquires both skill and understanding. He learns that his economic life—his importance as a worker—is inseparable from his political and social life as a builder of Socialism. So that instead of being a mechanical labourer he is a thinker. In this way, a perfectly new intelligentsia is being created—"an intelligentsia which possesses the culture of the intellect that is closely connected with labour and action. . . . These are people who think and reason for the sake of acting, and who act and build consciously and intellectually."

M.: It sounds very fine. In fact, it's just what I want to make of Education. But I fail to see why we must wait for a revolution.

W.: But it would be maddest for a ruling class to train up its workmen in this way! Do you suppose that this new intelligentsia—an intelligentsia of action—would submit to be ruled? No; as long as the class division lasts, the ruling class must keep the workers "loyal"; it must teach them to respect the bourgeois method of living, to think highly of bourgeois culture, to believe in nationalism and imperialism. Teach the workers to think for themselves, to criticize their "betters," to accept responsibility, and there will be an end of class divisions.

M.: I agree with you. A man who has attained that perfection which mental and physical maturity bring can have no superiors, and will seek to have no inferiors. He will be satisfied only with equals. In a society built up of superiors and inferiors, such men have no place, except as the destroyers of society.

W.: Yes, and that is why our educators dare not try to produce such men.

M.: Do you know, I think that fundamentally we are aiming at the same thing. I too am trying to create a society composed of equals. But I have always thought that education is the only means; whereas you think that we must first have a social change, followed by a change in education.

W.: Yes, and the experience of the Soviet has shown the truth of my viewpoint. Just read this article, published in the "Student Vanguard." It is a report made by three American students who visited the Soviet Union in 1932. You will see how it bears out my contention:

"The impression we got from our study of Soviet education is that their system is complex and varied in form. This, however, is only to be expected, for besides the task of educating the youth, the government, faced with a tsarist legacy of millions of illiterates, and with a lack of greatly needed skilled and technical workers, was forced to institute a most comprehensive and necessarily multiform system of adult education. One of the things that struck us most on this tour through the U.S.S.R. was that almost everyone we met and everyone we spoke to was a student. Men and women, old and young—all are studying. One need not even talk to people, but need only to look at the kind of literature sold at the newspaper stands to realize how widespread is the demand for technical and political information. In the obscurest bookshops and on the smallest newspaper stands, one finds pamphlets and books on higher mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, politics, and economics; and these are not popular digests or 'Relativity Made Easy in 10 Lessons' stuff, but really rigorous text-books.

"Not only do 80 to 85 per cent. of the students receive stipends, but many of them, particularly 'Shock-brigaders,' are sent away to a summer resort or rest home for 2 months during the year at government expense. Other students may go to these resorts on payment of a very small fee. Student living expenses are further cut down by the reduction of rates they receive on railroad, trolley, theatre and cinema tickets.

"In addition to the government aid enumerated above, the students receive full workers' pay, workers' insurance, sick benefit

and so on when they work in shops, factories, mines or schools, during their practice period. It must be borne in mind that Soviet students never study theory alone, but always combine their theory with practice. Whether they be students of engineering, mining, physics or pedagogy, they always spend as much time working in their respective fields as they do in acquiring theory. Students usually study two and a half months of every semester (half the academic year) in school, and they work two and a half months either as common labourers or as engineers, according to the year they are in and the amount of theoretical knowledge they possess. Their practice is not a haphazard affair, but follows closely their theoretical studies.

"It is so arranged that the work they do during the two and a half months of practice is as far as possible an application of the theory they acquired during the two and a half months period of study. We found that even pedagogical students, in addition to their practice in schools, are also sent to a factory for a month every semester so that they may become acquainted with manual labour. This knitting together of theory and practice is not an accident. It is a direct outgrowth of Marxian teaching that theory and practice are not opposed to each other, but are complementary.

"The full implications of this we shall not go into, but one thing is certain, the Soviet student is not a creature apart from society (workers' society), but an integral part of it. He does not and cannot feel superior to his fellow workers, for he himself is a worker.

—N.S.S.

WAR IN THE PACIFIC

THE acceleration of the forces driving towards a new imperialist world war increases from day to day. Over the last six months a tremendous increase in this velocity has been remarked. What last year were only hinted at have now become incontrovertible facts. Veils have been dropped or cast aside, revealing war plans in all their naked brutality. Antagonisms the world over have intensified, have become so manifest that he who runs may read.

The Pacific presents itself as the threatening scene of a new world war. Here all possible antagonisms clash. Let us consider them.

The pound, the dollar, the yen—the depreciation of these in a race of recklessness, to undercut competitors by dumping goods at the lowest figure, has been an outstanding feature of capitalist economy during the past few months. The British and American interests (notably textile and chemical), which find themselves hard hit by Japan's lead in this

race, protest loudly and bitterly. But from Britain come equal protests against U.S.A.'s "unfair" subsidized shipping competition; in fact, the antagonism between Britain and U.S.A., which manifested itself openly at the World Economic Conference, has intensified during the past year. It is responsible in large part for Britain's temporary support of Japan's policy in the Pacific (in spite of the economic struggle between them), and is doubtless one factor in U.S.A.'s rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. Britain's heavy industries have a market in Japan, which must be protected against the encroachment of U.S.A.'s steel interests; they counterbalance for the moment Japanese attacks on British trade. Britain is also interested in Japan as a menace to the U.S.S.R. on the eastern front. But the alliance is essentially unstable and has in itself the germs of its own decay.

Unstable alliances of this kind entangle all the imperialist nations in the Pacific. Until recently the interests of Britain and Australia (read British and Australian capital) were assumed to be identical. Australian capital is of fairly recent growth, but long enough to have embraced both an anti-Japanese propaganda campaign, which enabled it to carry on war preparations, and a swing-over from that to a policy exemplified by Latham's Goodwill Mission. Australia has a favourable trade balance with Japan; the markets which Japan has been capturing in Australia are not for the most part those of Australian capital, but of European (including *British*). Hence the strengthening of the bonds between Japan and Australia will proceed coincidentally with the weakening of those between Japan and Britain. The time will come when the interests of British and Australian capital do not coincide. As yet, however, they are sufficiently in agreement to work as a political and military alliance.

On one point alone can the interests of all the imperialist powers be reconciled—that of hostility toward the growing power of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Soviets. Japan's intentions of conducting an interventionist war at an early date have long been flagrant. Britain and U.S.A. give support from the background—the press of both countries represents the U.S.S.R. as similarly preparing in imperialist fashion for this war. U.S.A., in spite of the treaty signed recently, would be by no means disappointed to see Japan's attacks

made on the eastern front of the Soviet Union; two enemies would thereby be weakened, and an opportunity opened for inroads on Japanese markets. In China the Kuomintang Government has signed a truce with Japan in order to direct all its efforts against the spreading Chinese Soviet Republics. In January we saw the accumulation of warships of U.S.A., Britain, and Japan assembled at Foochow, capital of Fukien, against the impending "rebel" attack. Foochow—the last strategic point on the Chinese coast not directly under the control of imperialist forces — was the centre of fierce competition among the very imperialists who were seeking to "save" it from the Chinese Soviets. The competition gives us a foresight of future clashes in the Pacific, on a much larger scale, between the same competitors.

Not only the revolutionary movement is attacked by these contending imperialisms. All China is marked out for division among them, and the growing national-revolutionary movement threatens to wrest from their grasp rich prizes of markets and raw materials. National movements in India, the Philippines, Indo-China, Malaya, Burma, etc., likewise directed against imperialist exploitation, form a great and growing menace to the hegemony of Pacific imperialisms.

And the fundamental antagonism underlying all these, the very source from which they spring, is that between the imperialist-capitalists and their own proletariat.

These antagonisms are reflected in the war preparations of the various Pacific powers, now no secret.

Japan, following on her conquest of Manchuria, has transformed it into an armed camp; the concentration there of troops (and with the troops, tanks and airplanes to an unprecedented degree), and besides this the provision of new railway lines of strategic importance, converging upon North China and Soviet Mongolia—these are now admitted war preparations. The Tanku truce, referred to above, set Japan free to attack Soviet Mongolia on withdrawing troops from China. (The situation was becoming rather hot; Britain and U.S.A. approve Japan's advances to the northwest, but not the threatened limitation of their interests south of Manchuria.)

The Soviet Union's response to these preparations has been primarily to pursue her steadfast peace policy, making agreements so far as is possible with one or other of the im-

perialist powers, thus dividing the hostile bloc. This policy has undoubtedly deferred for a time the Pacific war. A testimony from Col. P. Etherton (late H.M. Consul-General in Chinese Turkestan; Assistant Judge of H.M. Supreme Court of China, and late officer commanding 51st Anti-Aircraft Brigade, London Air Defences) is interesting: "War is the last thing Moscow wants to-day. Had Russia harboured any designs of territorial expansion, half a hundred incidents would have sufficed to set the Red Army marching. In fact, Russia's policy has been both moderate and non-aggressive." But the effrontery of Japanese-imperialist aggression has also been prepared for by a military reorganization of the Soviet Far East. Red Army troops in the area between Lake Baikal and the sea have doubled in numbers since 1931. Communications and supplies are being improved, and there is no doubt that Japanese capital's bid for empire will meet with stout resistance.

U.S.A., alarmed at the rapid fortification of islands, mandated and otherwise, by Japan, is indulging in a costly aerial survey of the Pacific. The U.S. seaplane flight from Frisco to Honolulu has acknowledged military significance—U.S.A. is seeking islands suitable for landing-grounds in a future Pacific war. If these are unprocurable in other ways, it has been suggested, she may endeavour to acquire them in return for cancelling part of the British and French war debts. The new U.S.A. naval building programme involves an expenditure of 380,000,000 dollars.

Britain, too, has her plans. Besides the consolidation of her position in Tibet and Western China, they comprise the provision of an impenetrable armament barrier between Malaya and Australia. Singapore (already one of the world's strongest military stations, an air base and naval base) and Darwin are being further fortified. Naval bases in the Dutch East Indies, built with British capital, are under British control. The new Imperial air-mail, which will link Britain more closely with the Pacific, is in the hands of Imperial Airways Ltd., a firm heavily subsidized from the British war budget. The Singapore Conference co-ordinates naval activities in the Pacific.

At present, as already stated, British and Australian capital can work hand in hand in their war preparations. In addition to those recorded in previous issues of "Proletariat," the increase of one and a half million pounds in the "Defence" vote has enabled the estab-

lishment of a new cordite and projectile factory at Maribyrnong, the provision of 36 fighting-planes and 24 seaplanes from England for immediate shipment to Australia, and a general boom in the Government armament industry. The Controller-General of Munitions Supply reports, on his return from Europe, that our provision for munitions compares favourably with provision overseas. Little wonder! Australia has been organized to become munition and equipment supplier of British and Australian armaments in the Pacific. So far have the plans advanced that the co-operation of the people is needed. This is the reason for Defence Week. Militarization, to be perfect, must include militarization of the minds of the people. This will be the hardest task for the warmongers: it calls forth all their energies, and so far these have found only a meagre reward. Defence Week failed to arouse public enthusiasm for war, even when disguised as the sacred cause of "defence."

By raising the cry "necessity of defence," imperialism and its agents hope to win support for their war plans from the masses of the people who realize that they have nothing to gain by war, and who are anti-war in sentiment. The defence catch-cry is thus used the world over. Japan "defends" herself against the "Russian menace" with a war expenditure of £93,000,000; she also has to "defend" herself against U.S.A.'s bigger navy. Simultaneously U.S. warmongers are urging the necessity of "defence" against the threat presented by the figures representing the number of line and engineering officers above the rank of lieutenant - commander, respectively: Britain, 2172; Japan, 1602; U.S.A., 1597. This in all seriousness (see "New York Times," 1/1/34).

In the initial stages of its existence, the Defence of Australia League urged the Australian people to "defend" themselves against "threatened" invasion by Japan — who has close at hand, in Manchuria and the adjacent regions, a far more attractive source of markets and raw materials than Australia affords. The press took up the Yellow Peril propaganda, and, following British cables, deplored Japan's dumping on Australian markets. Then on the discovery that Japan's purchases from Australian capital over 1932-33 were almost three times her sales, the anti-Japanese talk was abandoned. Instructed by such manuals

as M. H. Ellis's "The Defence of Australia" (Sydney, 1933), which proves that a Japanese invasion of Australia is impossible, the war propagandists learnt caution. Some decided to be frank; Sir George Pearce stated: "Most people consider aggression means a direct attack on the country, but there is a far greater and far more probable threat against the Australian people, and that is an attack on their trade."

So this is what we have to defend. "Defence" means defence of trade, defence of profits, at the workers' expense. Each penny spent on war preparations (and the "Defence" vote was £4,500,000 this year), each pound spent for battleships, airplanes, cordite factories, munitions generally, and the upkeep of the whole military establishment, is so much more from the workers' income, so much the more an attack on their living conditions. Actual warfare makes these still worse. This is abundantly proved in Japan, where wages have been cut and the factories are equipped with machine guns to prevent strike actions—which nevertheless occur. The Japanese anti-war movement is based on resistance both to imperialist war and the attacks on living con-

ditions which war brings. It has therefore the support of wide masses of the Japanese people, and so strong is that support that the renegade Trotsky recently advised the Japanese militarists not to be too precipitate; the Japanese people wished for peace, and war might mean revolution. His advice amounted, in fact, to this: "Delay your attacks in Asia until you have stamped out the workers' anti-war movement at home—that is the only guarantee for success."

That the majority of the people of the world are opposed to war, we know. The very foundation of the League of Nations testified to their weariness and disgust with war. That it still has the support of many not yet aware of its role is due to the same opposition to war, as yet largely uninformed and unorganized. Only the clearest exposure of the causes of war and the propounding of concrete measures of opposition to it can establish a strong and effective organization against war. The development of such an organization becomes increasingly imperative with the present trend of events in the Pacific.

—J. Hunter.

"ABOLITION OF THE FAMILY"

"Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists." (Marx and Engels: "Communist Manifesto.")

MARX made a very wide and careful study of the forms of the family that existed in primitive societies, intending to write a book on the subject. His purpose was to show the origin of the monogamic family, and why it is that it has now reached a stage when it is ready to develop into something new. Before he could write this book, however, he died, and his work was carried on by Engels. The general outline of the history of the family given by Engels in his "Origin of the Family" is borne out by the discoveries of modern anthropology.

Primitive Forms of the Family.

At the beginning of man's history, when he first began to break away from the animal world, he lived in forest country, spending part of his time in the trees and having very little more understanding of his environment than his animal relations. But gradually he began to increase his control over nature by making and improving weapons for attacking animals,

digging for roots, and so on. By degrees, therefore, the gap between him and the animals widened. The discovery of fire and the use of fish as food then caused him to leave the forests and follow rivers and settle on sea-coasts. The changed mode of life and the changed environment naturally caused him to have a different thought-world (a different ideology), just as it caused a change in his physique.

Even before he left the animal world, man had learnt the value of living in a tribe; that is, of co-operating with other animals of the same species for the purpose of resisting attacks and getting food. The size of these tribes was determined by two factors: firstly, they had to be large enough to meet hostile attacks with fair hope of success; and, secondly, they had to be not so large that they would exhaust the food supply. Within these tribal associations of fairly rigidly determined size, therefore, primitive man lived.

At this earliest stage of his development, he recognized no family relationships. There was free sexual intercourse within the tribe, every woman belonging to every man, and vice versa. But gradually the increasing complexity of the problems man had to face as he developed his control over nature increased his mental powers, and made him more dependent on them. He observed that some members of the tribe were not developing as rapidly as others. Being dependent on the tribe in his struggle to survive, he had to try to find the reason for this.

Slowly and painstakingly, he discovered that the less developed members were the children of incestuous sexual relationships, and so he proceeded to eliminate the possibilities of such relationships. The first barrier he erected was that between different generations, excluding the possibility of sexual relationships between ancestors and descendants. This marked the origin of the family, there being, say, four different groups representing four different generations, and sexual intercourse being permitted only within the group. All the members of the other groups were regarded as possible ancestors or descendants; that is, as possible family relations, and therefore as unsuitable mates.

With their increasing control over their environment, and their growing expertness at securing an adequate food-supply, the members of the tribe began to grow more numerous. Village communities were established, and large communal homes built. Often, however, the tribe was too large to live in one household, though hundreds sometimes lived under one roof.

At this stage of its development, the tribe was facing the problem of how to prevent sexual relations between brothers and sisters. This was difficult, for, while it was obviously known when children had a common mother, it was just as obviously not known when they had a common father. The fact that it was necessary for the tribe to split into two or more household groups, because of its increasing size, helped the savage to solve this problem.

What happened was this: Descent could be traced easily enough through the female line. Therefore, it was a simple matter to collect groups of women of common maternal descent and establish them as the permanent occupants of the different communal households. Their

brothers through maternal descent were also, of course, known, and the taboo between them and their sisters recognized. These brothers became impermanent members of their sisters' households, living with them only until they reached the age of marriage. Then they left their family home and went to live in another communal household, accepting all the women of that household as wife, and being accepted by them as husband. The children of these relationships were forbidden to marry, as they were descended from a common female line, and at the same time possibly had a common father. The daughters of the relationship remained as permanent inhabitants of the communal home; the sons left it for another at the age of marriage.

These permanent groups of blood relations, or *gentes*, were the classic form of the family in all primitive societies. In a more or less preserved form, they still exist among backward races, and traces of them can be found in the early literature of Greece and Rome. This literature shows that they once existed in Greece, Rome, Germany, and among the Celtic tribes.

Origin of Monogamy.

When people were living in a state of primitive communism, the establishment of the *gens* and the constant increase in the number of relatives with whom marriage was taboo, brought about a certain amount of pairing; that is, it was not unusual for a man to have a principal wife or a woman a principal husband for a certain length of time. The bond between them, however, was very loose, either party being able to dissolve the relationship at will. The pairing family, therefore, was not the same as the modern monogamous family.

Indeed, the main difference between all primitive forms of the family and the monogamous family is that the primitive families had a natural origin, existing because of their eugenic value; whereas the monogamous family came into existence solely because of a change in the economic basis of primitive society. Its economic basis is proved by the fact that it exists only in those societies that have passed out of primitive communism.

Why did some societies pass completely out of primitive communism and others not? The reason is that some of them were established in territory that was naturally rich, whereas others were not, and naturally the tribe that

lived in rich territory could adapt the products of nature to its own ends and increase its control over its environment in a way that was impossible to the others. The early tribes that inhabited the Old World were able to leave their old primitive hunting life behind them, and establish a new form of society, simply because their material environment provided them with tameable animals, which they learnt to breed. A constant and ever-growing supply of food was thus provided, and the daily necessity for hunting was gone. The growing of grain to feed the flocks and herds marked a further advance.

Now, these tribes had been living in a state of primitive communism; that is, they lived together in a group of *gentes*, in communal households, and did the productive work of the community together. The women did the work of the house—cooking, sewing, weaving, etc.—and owned the tools and utensils that were necessary for this, while the men hunted for food, owning the weapons necessary for their work. Men and women, therefore, both took part in the productive life of the society, being equally responsible for the well-being of the community.

When men began to breed animals, and to grow grain, however, their share of the communal wealth was immeasurably increased; and whereas in a hunting society the property communally owned by the women had been equal in importance to that owned by the men, it now looked very meagre by contrast.

In the communist society, inheritance did not constitute a problem. What little property there was, was passed down from generation to generation through female lineage, male lineage being unknown.

Now, of course, everything was altered. There was a large and increasing amount of wealth in the community, owned by the men. The old custom whereby men had to leave their family communal home on reaching the age of marriage seemed more and more impossible. They did not want to leave so much wealth behind them, especially as they knew that the men of the *gens* they were entering were not anxious to have a new arrival come to claim common ownership with them. Soon they came to regard inheritance through female descent as intolerable. The desire to keep their property in their own family led them to break up the *gens* and establish the monogamic family. "At this early stage we

can already see that the emancipation of women and their equality with men are impossible, and remain so, as long as women are excluded from social production and restricted to domestic labour." (Engels: "Origin of the Family.") Restricted as she was to domestic labour, however, there was nothing for it but for the woman to be taken by her husband to his home, there to be jealously guarded so that he would know that she could bear no other children than his.

Monogamy, therefore, came into existence as a direct result of the private ownership of property; it is as much a part of such ownership as class society is. It is natural, then, that it should be sanctified by the church and legalized by the state, these being institutions which are also products of the same society.

Abolition of the Family.

The time has now come when the private ownership of the means of production is a destructive force in society. In one country, therefore, this property has already been taken out of private hands and given back to the community; and in most other countries there is a Communist Party that works for this end.

With the abolition of the private ownership of property, there is naturally no longer any problem of inheritance, and the basis of the monogamic family is destroyed. Therefore, the legally enforced "faithfulness" of a wife to her husband comes to an end, and also the dependence of the children on the father. The marriage ceremony becomes a matter of simple registration, and can be cancelled at will by either member. Legal compulsion has gone.

Moreover, the development of large-scale industry makes it a foolish waste of labour power for woman to continue the old drudgery of housework. Most of this work can now be done outside the home, with infinitely less expenditure of energy, by modern industrial methods. Add to this the fact that children may receive expert attention and tuition at communal crèches, and it becomes obvious that the old foolish shut-in family life of women can at last come to an end. Woman becomes once more a productive member of the community, and the equal of man.

This will have far-reaching effects. The monogamic marriage to-day is supported by three kinds of compulsion: the compulsion of law, of economic pressure, and of moral prejudice. When all these kinds of compulsion have gone, will monogamy go, too, or will a

new monogamy, a spontaneous one, arise, founded on genuine attachments between people? In other words, if we were not forced by social conditions to have monogamy, should we choose it?

It is an everyday thing for love to spring up between man and woman, and for this to lead to sexual intercourse. If there were no compulsion whatever, would their relationship naturally tend to become a permanent one? Would this man and woman wish to live and work together, and to have their friends and interests in common? And would their children prefer to live with their parents, or to leave them?

We cannot answer this question. Only the future can answer it. All we can say is that such marriages and such families will be far more possible under Communism than under any other social system, because of the equality of the sexes, and the eliminating of the barriers that now exist between them. Men and women will be pursuing the same studies, facing the same tasks and the same problems; it will be possible for a friendship and comradeship to exist between them that is very rare nowadays. Engels, therefore, considers it is possible that monogamy "not only will not disappear, but will rather be perfectly realized."

And what if this does not happen? What if monogamy has no roots in human needs, and could never appear spontaneously? Then

let it go. "If like a man of inferior body," argued a Russian revolutionary, "the family must always lean on an outward crutch for support, then it is better that it go down into dust."

In any case, the family will lose its importance in one respect. We shall not see everywhere "men and women studying, planning, scheming, achieving, investing, sacrificing with the purpose, somewhere in the foreground of their minds, of eventually having families of their own on which to lavish their acquisitions, and with which to share their triumphs." This does not mean that we shall become individualists and work only for ourselves; the stress will still be on the social group, but this social group will no longer be the family. It will be much larger—ultimately the whole of mankind will be the object of our labours. With this change will come a new morality and a deeper sense of social responsibility. Already it is happening in Russia. "Russian youth," says Maurice Hindus, "is not taught to deny the family or to regard it in the same light as private property and religion, as a symbol of a brutal age fit for the garbage pile of history. It is merely being habituated to the belief that the big tasks, the big adventures, the big glories, lie outside of its portals; are to be found only at the doorstep of what they regard as the largest, all-embracing, and noblest of all families—the collectivist society."

—J.M.M.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CUBA

"The front of capitalism will not necessarily be pierced where industry is most developed; it will be broken where the chain of imperialism is weakest, for the proletarian revolution is the result of the rupture of the chain of the imperialist front at its weakest point. . . . Where is the chain going to be broken next? It is not impossible . . . that it may be in a country where the revolution has for its enemy a foreign imperialism, deprived of all moral authority." (Stalin.)

American Interests in Cuba.

Cuba's industries are largely financed by American capital, and it in turn supplies America with primary products and raw materials. It is therefore a colony of American imperialism.

The extent of America's domination is revealed in the fact that capitalists of the

United States have a total amount of 1760 million dollars invested in Cuba ("New York Times," Feb. 5, 1933). Many American companies, for instance, have enormous sums invested in the sugar industry, and to a lesser extent in the tobacco-growing trade. Add to this the fact that 70% of Cuba's sugar was exported to the United States, and the extent of America's interest is obvious. Cuba's position, moreover, makes it an important strategic and military base for the United States.

We cannot be surprised, then, if we find the United States taking care to safeguard its interests in Cuba by controlling the chief positions of authority. For instance, if we look behind the scene to discover how the notorious Machado kept office as President of Cuba from 1924 to 1933, we find that he was closely connected with American Imperialism. He

himself was the general manager of the Cuban Electric Company before he was elected as President, and was also one of its largest shareholders. Not only this, but the man who was instrumental in placing him in power was Henry W. Catlin, American representative of the great Electric Bond and Share Co., which controls the Cuban Electric Co. Machado's position was made more secure in 1928 by the appointment of his son-in-law to the position of joint manager of the Havana branch of the Chase National Bank, from which his Government received its financial support. No wonder, then, considering the source of his power, that Machado assured Wall Street: "Under my rule, no strike in Cuba will last more than 24 hours."

The Economic Crisis in Cuba.

The economic crisis has brought about a steady decrease in the export of sugar. This is due primarily to the diminished consumption in America and Great Britain, owing to the crisis. But not only has the sugar export fallen off to a very considerable extent; the Cuban exporters have also had to face an enormous reduction in the prices they receive. In 1932 they were receiving less than one-fifth of the price in 1923.

Because of the smaller export, great stocks of sugar were accumulated in Cuba. Machado's method of meeting the situation was typical of his class. In order to reduce the sugar reserves, and to exert some influence on the raising of prices, his government resolved to restrict the amount produced. An injunction was issued to this effect, the result being that the output of sugar declined from 5,136,000 tons in 1929 to 2,000,000 tons in 1933, and consequently there was a budget deficit of about 8 million dollars in 1932-33. One of Machado's methods of balancing the budget was to put higher import duties on articles of consumption, and make large cuts in the salaries of civil servants.

The result of this policy was an increase in prices and a decrease in wages, the workers' wages being cut in some instances as much as 70%. The restrictions on sugar production, moreover, caused a number of sugar-refining plants to close down, thus increasing unemployment. The unemployed—of whom there were about 500,000 at the beginning of 1933—received no relief, as there is no social insurance in Cuba.

The restriction on the sugar output had an equally harmful effect on the small land-

holders and tenant farmers, as the sugar-refining industries refused to work up sugarcane produced by these people, finding it more profitable to work only on what was produced on their own plantations, or on those of the large land-owners. The petty-bourgeoisie of the towns were also hit hard by the crisis.

The inevitable result of such an attack on the standard of living came with the revolutionary events of August and September, 1933.

The Beginning of the Revolution.

In 1930 and 1931, the upsurge of the revolutionary movement had already begun. Thus, on March 20, 1930, 200,000 workers took part in a general strike, and in August, 1931, 50,000 took part in a solidarity strike supporting the tramwaymen of Havana, and protesting against police terror; while for three months at the beginning of 1932, 15,000 tobacco workers were on strike in Havana. Following this came a wave of strikes on the plantations and in the sugar-refining factories, as well as revolutionary mass demonstrations of thousands of unemployed. Furthermore, at this stage the petty-bourgeoisie became aggressive, refusing to pay taxes and high rates for electric current, etc.

The students also were a significant element in the ranks of the militants, many of their leaders being imprisoned or killed when open revolution broke out.

Another section which supports the Communist Party of Cuba is the negro population, which is fighting for independence and self-determination, and sees in the revolutionary workers its real leaders.

The Treachery of the "National Opposition."

The movement of the middle classes in the towns and the country is only slightly connected with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. It is led chiefly by the bourgeois land-owners and forms a so-called National Opposition to American imperialism. When Machado was in office, the real purpose of its struggle against him was to gain an advantage for the Cuban capitalist against the American financier. It was a struggle that lasted from the beginning of Machado's rule to the end, despite the efforts made by American imperialism to unify the ruling classes of Cuba.

The National Opposition endeavoured to mislead the revolutionary movement of the workers, and to use them as tools against Machado. For this purpose they formed a "revolutionary" society, the "A.B.C.," which countered the terrorist activities of Machado

by using similar methods. To this organization they attracted large numbers of the petty-bourgeoisie (including many students), many small farmers, and sections of the politically backward workers. The A.B.C. exploited the discontent of the people, their propaganda against Machado being readily listened to.

By using such methods of camouflage, the bourgeois land-owners hoped to show the American imperialists that Machado's position was untenable, and that he must be replaced by someone more suitable to themselves.

In an attempt to prevent the revolution, Machado employed terrorist methods. In 1931 an extra guard was formed, and, together with the police, the army, and the rural guard, it attempted to suppress the revolutionaries. The methods adopted were characteristically fascist, and served only to increase the hatred of the people against their oppression.

In August, 1933, the situation was tense. The entire population felt that the overthrow of Machado could not be delayed much longer. Strikes broke out.

Open Revolution.

On August 7, 1933, Machado, at the instigation of the American ambassador, had it announced by wireless that he had resigned from office. At once, 10,000 people assembled in front of the Capitol in Havana, and began to march to the Presidential Palace to celebrate the event. When they reached this building, however, they were greeted by Machado's police, who opened fire. Open revolution broke out, and Machado was forced to flee.

Machado gone, the American ambassador had another puppet elected—Céspedes. Strong in the knowledge that he was supported by the United States, the new President followed the same policy as Machado, while the Cuban people, finding their conditions were in no way improved, again became dangerously restless. The result was that on September 5, open revolt again broke out, and the Céspedes government was thrown from office.

The Bourgeois Junta.

Now, however, power was assumed by a Junta led by a professor, a lawyer, and the man who had led the military uprising—Sergeant Battista. This Junta is still in office, though it is scarcely likely to last much longer than the previous governments. It also attempts to aid the bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers. The plantation workers are now demanding that the great estates and plantations be divided; the workers are demanding

bread, increased wages, and the right to form unions. Almost the entire population is demanding the end of the rule of American imperialism. This was demonstrated on September 7, when thousands of people massed in the streets of Havana to celebrate International Youth Day, having forced the Junta to grant permission after its initial refusal. On this day, the demonstrators carried red flags, and slogans reading: "We pay no debts to Yankee bankers," "Drive the Marines out of Guantana," "Let's have no government that will deal with Yankee extortioners."

The United States was not slow to interfere. When Céspedes was overthrown, Roosevelt rushed thirty warships, together with planes and marines, to Cuban waters. The American forces of intervention were established in order to prevent the workers from seizing the plantations and mills.

New Stage of Revolution.

The significant thing about the present situation in Cuba is that the workers are not only making economic demands, but are also agitating for political power. Besides demanding an eight-hour day, social insurance, etc., they are struggling for workers' control. There is a genuine upsurge of the proletariat, for it is obviously the workers who have created a condition favourable to the ultimate overthrow of Capitalism and Imperialism in Cuba.

The latest reliable reports that have reached Melbourne indicate a growing discontent with the Junta. There is a great increase in the number of workers' committees in the factories. These are called "soviets" by the workers themselves, and are in fact the germs of soviets. All the trade unions in existence are red trade unions, with the exception of the railway workers' union. The peasants are disappointed with the new government. Students are demonstrating against high fees, and on one occasion demanded the resignation of certain reactionary professors. A number of violent assaults that have occurred indicate that the revolution is proceeding to a higher stage.

And, above all, the organized revolutionary workers are rapidly gaining ground among the masses of the people. The Communist Party of Cuba, which aims at giving a scientific leadership to the struggle, is continually increasing its influence over the workers and peasants. To quote Gomez: "Its prestige has increased steadily as the sole revolutionary party, as the militant vanguard of the proletariat of Cuba."
—E.W.

LOOK HERE STALINGRAD!

LOOK here Stalingrad
Come through on those tractors!
What's the matter down there
Forgetting the job you took on
in the face of the whole world?
Comrades! Workers!
A pretty mess you are making of things—
Give an account of yourselves.

So wrote Red Putilov's steel workers in
Leningrad
in an open letter to the tractor plant on the
Volga.
Fiery words blazoned across the face of
"Pravda."

Remember how you vied with Kharkov Rostov
Cheliabinsk
for the site of our first tractor plant
How your drowsy one-horse town woke to life
when you won?

And now. What are you doing?
You are bringing disgrace on us all
Making us the laughing stock
of the Exchanges in New York and Europe.
"Stalingrad, a white elephant," they say.
"Russians can build but not run their giants."
They are wrong? Prove it!
Can you not feel in their scorn
the swift training of machine guns
along the borders to the East and West!
On guard, comrades
To work in a new way!

Five years in Four
So we have sworn
Have you forgotten?
This year we open 518 new factories—
Kharkov's tractor works, Moscow's Amo;
Clear the Urals, Siberia's wastes, for
Magnitogorsk Kuznetstroi;
And you, proletariat of Stalingrad?
You hear our black earth crying out for steel
horses

We of Red Putilov challenge you
It is our right
We've kept our steel pledge
Sealing our land's new foundations
We call you
As we once called you
To the barricades
For our deathless October
Brothers, to the fight for technique!
On to the front of socialist construction!
To work—in a new way!

Consternation
Shame in Stalingrad
Along the Volga floats the black banner
Shop meetings, heated discussion,
fresh brigades forming
Finally these words back to Red Putilov
"Dear Comrades you are right
We shall answer
Not with words
But . . . Tractors."

Mac . . . Natasha . . . old Michael . . . and the
entire country
Watch for daily reports in "Pravda"
Yesterday forty tractors
To-day forty-six
To-morrow Fifty
sixty
sixty-five
Stalingrad is coming through!
BREAD
SOCIALISM
Answering Putilov the whole earth
Not with words
But
Tractors.

—Myra Page.
(Selection from a forthcoming novel,
"So This Is Moscow.")

THERE IS NO GOD

RELIGIOUS people say the Communists will never succeed in obliterating the belief in God from their minds. According to them, this belief is a deep-seated instinct—an integral part of human nature, and those who lack it are unfortunates—spiritual sub-normals, who do not know what they are missing. Any attack on God springs from a deficiency—an inability to know him—and should be regarded with pity.

The Communists reply that they really do understand what "spiritual" insight is, but deplore its existence, regarding it as one of the greatest enemies of human progress. They quote Spinoza: "Religious prejudices and superstitions transform people from rational beings into beasts, since they altogether prevent the use of one's reason to differentiate truth from falsehood." They want people to see that though the belief in God certainly exists, it has become unworthy of mankind, being nothing more nor less than *the inevitable complement of ignorance and fear*. To them, religion is a dope which offers a way of escape from the task of grappling with harsh facts; in other words—"the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

The roots of ancient religion lay in the savage's fear of the forces of nature. To him they were unknown powers, over which he had no control. He could not tell what they would do next, or understand why they should threaten him with destruction. When they spared him, he was grateful, and offered them gifts. Soon, too, he learnt to offer up sacrifices in order to placate them, and predispose them to continue sparing him. If the savage's activities had rested at this, the human race would almost certainly have been destroyed at an early stage of its evolution, through its inability to cope with its environment. Even if it had not been destroyed, it would certainly never have progressed beyond the state of savagery.

Fortunately, however, in the struggle to survive, primitive man slowly and laboriously gained some degree of understanding and control of his environment. This gradual emergence from an animal state resulted from the making and improving of weapons and tools with which he could control his environment; and not from any religious inspiration. The

fact that religion is a conservative factor in human life is apparent even at this early stage.

As man proceeded to strengthen himself in the face of nature, its powers became less mysterious and terrifying to him, and the ancient gods lost their power.

But at that period of man's history, when he passed beyond the stage of merely *appropriating* the products of nature, and learned how to *increase* these products through his own efforts—that is, at the stage when he began to assume real control over nature—at that stage, class society first came into existence. With the necessity for more work, a slave-class made its appearance; with the necessity for central control, a master-class came to power. Therefore, as soon as men were freed from the fear of nature, a new fear was born in them—the fear of having the means of life taken from them by other men. There was, therefore, still room for a god.

But now he was no longer a personification of the forces of nature; after all, the forces of nature were no longer very fearful. What was fearful was human nature, with its terrible new power, which it used for the exploitation of others. And not only did men fear each other; they also feared themselves—the harsh prompting in them that said: "Enslave other men, or you will be enslaved yourself." They became sin-ridden; conscious of their imperfections, and unable to grapple with them. How natural, then, that they should build a new God, and how natural that this new God should be—the perfect man; the one who forbade killing and stealing and adultery; the one who said expressly: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's ox, nor his ass, nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant." How natural, too, that with the establishment of class society and the consequent need for institutions of government, a priest caste should arise and sanctify the existing system. Frequently, indeed, we find that the priests themselves were the recognized rulers; in Egypt, in the early history of Israel, and among the ancient Britons and the Brahmins of India, we find the priests in power. The kings or chieftains of the tribes were their puppets. But whether they were the recognized rulers or merely tools in the hands of these rulers, their social function always has been, and still is,

to uphold class society, and to keep the exploited class passive in their subjection.

And so we see God again acting, not as an uplifting inspiration to men, but as a conservative force in their minds—the chief character in an imaginary world where they retired for "spiritual" consolation. Men could not make God's commandments the simple accepted customs of their society, for that society was based on the direct antithesis of these commands—on class; that is, on slavery and robbery and all their consequent evils. Therefore, underlying the belief in God and the pretence at wanting to do his will, there is always the sneaking knowledge that this is impossible—that, at the best, one can do no more than establish a sort of compromise, for the forces of society are pulling in a completely opposite direction. A typical expression of this antithesis between what social life actually is and "what God wants it to be," is the manner in which exploitation and charity go hand in hand.

Throughout its history, class-society has turned some strange somersaults, and naturally enough its God has done the same. Every ruling class that has existed has gone through a period when it has developed the forces of production and felt confident of its power over society, and its ability to exploit the slave-class. Confidence in itself and in the future has made it feel in a position to dispense with God; this has invariably happened in the periods when the ruling class has felt itself to be the progressive force in society. The time comes, however, when the property relations accepted by the ruling class act as a fetter on the forces of production they have developed. The ruling class loses its grip; it becomes reactionary; the progressive force now lies with the dispossessed class, which suffers through the dislocation of society, and has nothing to lose by changing the existing property relations. When this period comes, naturally and inevitably, the ruling class becomes God-conscious again; and just as inevitably the uprising class becomes atheistic. It holds the future in its hands—God is superfluous.

Previously, the overthrow of class rule has always led to the establishment of another class rule. The reason for this is that the forces of production have never before been sufficiently developed for society to be able to dispense with a slave class. That time, however, has now come.

With the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, therefore, and the establishment of a classless

society, God enters upon a new phase of his existence. Society no longer lives a life independent of man's control. "Fear of the blind force of capital—blind because its action cannot be foreseen by the masses—a force which at every step in life threatens the worker and the small business man with 'sudden,' 'unexpected,' 'accidental' destruction and ruin, bringing in their train beggary, pauperism, prostitution and deaths from starvation: this is THE *tap-root* of modern religion." (Lenin: Religion: p. 19.) When the "blind" force of capital is understood and destroyed, and social planning takes the place of economic anarchy—when society no longer controls man, but is controlled by him, then the basis for the belief in God has gone.

You may say, the God that is based on fear may vanish, but what of the God of the scientist—the Power that must surely be behind the wonders and the harmonies of the physical universe?

He is a myth of the bourgeois philosophers, says the Communist. Of course, there is a great degree of harmony in nature, for everything that is inharmonious is ruthlessly destroyed. If you like, the physical world is wonderful—but then, it has produced us who can control it, so we must be more wonderful. Why God?

And what of the Christian God—the God of love?

The Communist replies: "The working-class must turn the whole world into a single concern working for itself, make the brotherhood and freedom of the people a realized fact" (Lenin: Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship). With Communism, the God of love will go, for there will be no reason to exalt to the heaven that which has become a simple custom on earth. The God of love is a product of class society, being the projection into a divine form of that which it is impossible to attain in class society. Christians should remember that, for every good turn they do an individual, the colossal forces of Capitalist economy do him a thousand bad ones. Their Christian love, therefore, is no more than a mawkish kindness—the inevitable complement of the brutality of Capitalism. Their "spiritual" life is a wretched and fanciful compensation for their barren material life. It will be unnecessary in a Communist society. God will disappear; for man, for the first time, will have full control of his life.

CAPITALISM, COMMUNISM AND THE TRANSITION

THE evolution of man from the brute world is at the same time the evolution of human consciousness and organized knowledge. Step by step humanity has built up its experience of the world into a series of sciences, reflecting with ever-growing accuracy the processes of Nature. The barriers of ignorance and the no-man's land of superstition which lies beyond them have been gradually pushed back, winning for science new fields of whose very existence primitive man was unaware.

At an early stage in the development of science the universal reign of law was established in relation to inanimate Nature. Mechanics, physics, astronomy, and with them mathematics, were the first fields in which experience and experiment brought to man the knowledge of natural law. The extension of this knowledge to the field of living organisms was a much later development; to man himself, later still; to human society, it has begun, but has yet to fight its way to recognition. And the fight is all the harder because, in the actual growth of human society, the field which the onward march of science must bring under the sway of natural law is already encumbered with not only the superstitions of the past but the institutions of the present. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that from the first the study of society has been at once the expression and the inspiration of acute struggles within society itself.

Political economy, or economics as it is now generally called, is the science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material necessities of life in human society. These laws can be studied in the actual working of a given period, or as they operate over a long succession of periods: that is, as laws governing production and exchange in a given social system, or as laws governing the change from one system to another. The study of these two sets of laws can be carried on independently up to a certain point. But just as in biology the development of the foetus could only be fully understood in relation to the stages in the evolution of man, so in economics the significance of existing factors can only

be fully grasped in relation to the historical development of society.

It is not merely a question of tracing the origin or the first forms of a particular thing, such as money. Money as a medium of exchange can be traced back to the cowrie and the cow; bank notes and credit in general can be traced back to the certificates of gold deposited with the merchant houses; but money in action, the functions and effects of the use of money, can only be understood in relation to the changing forms of production and exchange within society. It is the same with every other economic factor; just as in zoology there are no final, permanent forms, so in economics nothing is final and unchanging. And the forms of one economic system have not only derived from the past but also lead on to the future, bring into existence conditions through which the old system is destroyed and a new system arises.

It is this fact of constant and universal change in Nature and in human society which gives science in general, and economic science in particular, its *practical* aim. "Abstract" science is an illusion of the laboratory scientist who does not know and does not care who will eventually make practical use of his discoveries, in contrast to the "practical" science of the technical expert who is directly associated with production. In the last analysis all science is practical: man is constantly striving to increase his knowledge of natural laws in order to use that knowledge for practical aims, in order to use natural laws to enable him to adapt his surroundings to his needs. In economic science this purpose is openly avowed, from the earliest Mercantilist treatises to the latest works of Sir Josiah Stamp and Mr. Maynard Keynes.

But economics is the science of the laws of production and exchange in human society—not human society in the abstract, but actual human society, which as it exists to-day is divided into classes. The practical aims of the science are therefore not the same for all members of society. The class which holds a privileged position in the existing system approaches economics with the fundamental assumption that the main features of the present

system are eternal; that no system based on other presuppositions can "work." From this it draws the logical conclusion that any economic science which puts forward an analysis showing the possibility and even certainty that some other system will arise is the product of ignorance or mere charlatanism. Because of this, the economics of the privileged class is incapable of a scientific analysis of the laws of production and distribution in capitalist society. It remains a superficial account of statistical trends, of the machinery of production and distribution, without any understanding of cause and effect; like the pseudo-science of medicine in the Middle Ages it abounds in quack remedies and superstitions. But the presentation of these quack remedies and superstitions in pseudo-scientific form has a practical aim: to maintain the existing system; to gloss over the growing conflicts within society and to present a "theoretical" solution, within the system, of contradictions which are inherent in it.

The subject class—in existing society, primarily the industrial working class, the special product of the existing system—can have no such aim. From the early stages of large-scale industry, when its effects on the working class began to be evident, the desire for a new system which would remedy the defects of the old found expression in the writings of the utopian socialists, giving the first vague outlines of a new economic system. But the economics of the subject class was first made into a science by Marx. Marxist economics is not only the scientific analysis of the existing system; just because it explains the facts and relations of capitalist production, it is also able, on the basis of this analysis, to show the laws of motion within society. The analysis reveals within the existing system factors which make for the destruction of capitalism and its replacement by a new system. Precisely because of this, it is the economics of the subject class, the class whose practical aim is the abolition of the effects of capitalism and therefore of the capitalist system itself.

And because Marxist economics is scientific, because it shows the laws of production within the existing system and sees that their operation must inevitably change the system; in a word, because it understands the facts, it has no need to explain the facts of the world to-day by invoking supernatural forces like "Bolshevism," "economic blizzards," "lack of confidence," "America's short-sightedness"

and other psychic entities which are the stock-in-trade of the economists of the privileged class. The latter are totally unable to explain on the one hand the condition of the capitalist world to-day, and on the other the new organization of production and distribution in the Soviet Union. They cannot explain them because the explanation is completely outside the range of their economics. Capitalism has reached a stage in which the completely unscientific character of its economic pseudo-science has become manifest. Capitalist economists flounder helplessly among the new facts of a period of capitalist decline which obstinately refuse to fit into the conceptions and "laws" which were at best a superficial description of the system in its earlier stages.

The new facts which have emerged in the final stages of capitalism are not, however, outside the range of Marxist economic science. In fact they come as a confirmation of the whole theory of Marxism. The ultimate test of the natural laws as they are formulated by man from his experience is whether he can use them to shape his surroundings to his needs. The laws of capitalist economics have broken in the hands of those who tried to use them to shape society: the governments of the privileged class. But working class economics is to-day proving its validity by solving in practice the contradictions which are more and more deeply undermining capitalist society. The economics which first carried through a complete analysis of capitalist society and discerned within it the factors which would destroy it, was also able to foretell the process of change and the basic features of the new society which would take its place. And men were able to use this science, this knowledge of the natural laws of social development, in order to bring about the new society, just as they are able to use the laws of chemistry to create artificial fertilizers or explosives, and with equal certainty. So it is that now the movement of society can be seen not merely as an interpretation of past history, not merely as a deduction from an analysis of existing society, but in concrete reality.

The purpose of this book is to outline "the historical movement going on under our very eyes." As the starting point of the process it is necessary to take the existing capitalist system—but not because it is the primary stage in the history of man. On the contrary, the nature of the capitalist system and its place in history cannot be fully understood unless

it is at least realized that it is only one link in a long chain of economic systems. So far as this development is known, it began with the system of primitive communism, survivals of which have existed up to recent times in the village communities of India, Russia, and other countries; and it continued with the successive emergence over the greater part of the world of the tribal system, the dynastic and slave-owning system, and the feudal system, which in turn have paved the way for the existing capitalist system.

In all these different systems, after the stage of primitive communism, society has been divided into classes. This division into classes had its basis in the functional division of work at a time when there was as yet but little technical development in production. In *Anti-Dühring* Engels points out that:—

"The division of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary outcome of the low development of production hitherto. So long as the sum of social labour yielded a product which only slightly exceeded what was necessary for the bare existence of all; so long, therefore, as all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society was absorbed in labour, so long was society necessarily divided into classes. Alongside of this great majority exclusively absorbed in labour there developed a class, freed from direct productive labour, which managed the general business of society: the direction of labour, the affairs of State, justice, science, art, and so forth."

The division of society into classes, and the successive economic systems which replaced primitive communism, have steadily helped forward the development of man's productive powers; and this growth has been enormously accelerated under capitalism. In "The Communist Manifesto" of 1848, Marx and Engels wrote:—

"The bourgeoisie, during its class rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more powerful and colossal productive forces than all past generations together."
The productive forces in the world to-day, however, are probably a hundred times greater than they were in 1848.

But precisely because the division of society into classes arose from the low productive level of primitive society, and because the technical development of society has now reached a stage in which only a small portion

of the time of society need be absorbed in labour, the historical justification for the division of society into classes has disappeared. This does not mean that class society no longer exists. On the contrary, within the capitalist system, still dominant in five-sixths of the world, class divisions have reached their most extreme form and are continuously widening. It is therefore only through the destruction of capitalism that a new, classless society can arise. The study of capitalism as one phase in a succession of systems of production and exchange therefore involves a study of the factors within it which lead to its destruction; and, secondly, an examination of the process of transition—the parallel destruction of capitalism and building up of the new classless society—as well as the general character of the new social order.

When Marx first put forward his scientific analysis of the existing system, and showed its place in the series of changing systems of production and exchange, the conclusions reached were necessarily incapable of proof by the only finally conclusive method: application in practice. Now, however, not only are the factors making for change more obvious and insistent; through the Soviet revolution of 1917, and the subsequent transformation of the system of production and distribution in the area covered by the Soviet Union, a mass of data has been accumulated with the aid of which economic science—necessarily, as already explained, the economic science of the working class—can test the theoretical conclusions already reached and formulated by Marx, and at the same time develop them in more concrete and detailed form.

And because economic science has a practical aim, an examination of the data accumulated in the experience of the Soviet Union must necessarily be followed by the application of the conclusions reached to other countries, particularly to countries in which the capitalist system has reached its highest development: that is to say, Britain, Germany, and the United States. The concrete, detailed application of the laws of social change depends on the concrete, detailed circumstances in which they operate; above all, the rate of change, the length of the transition from one system to another, depends on the special stage of development reached within each country, as well as the general stage reached in the process of change viewed as a whole.

That the statement of economic laws is necessarily also a statement of political aims does not make it less "objective." In the last analysis, politics is the struggle of classes in society, and the basis of that struggle, however much it may be covered up in abstract phrases, is always the mode of production and distribution of the material necessities of life, which is also the subject matter of economics. Science which is not practical does not exist; practical economic science is political economic science. The conception of non-political economics is itself the product of an abstraction, and a false abstraction at that—the abstraction of products from their production; and the attempt to formulate economic laws in relation to products without reference to their producers, the attempt to represent and explain as relations between things processes which are really relations between persons.

It is because of this abstraction that the economics of the privileged class finds itself helpless to explain a situation in which the relations between persons stand openly revealed, when the development of the system itself tears asunder the veil of things and reveals the natural laws of production and dis-

tribution operating in and through a brutal struggle between classes. But the brutality of the typhoon and the earthquake does not disprove their reality, nor does it make it any the less necessary for man to study their causes and effects. Man's knowledge of all the forces of Nature, of the conditions which give rise to them and the laws of their operation, is the basis on which he can adapt himself to them, and progressively bring them under his control. So it is also with the natural laws of social development, as Engels pointed out in *Anti-Dühring*:

"The forces operating in society work exactly like the forces operating in Nature: blindly, violently, destructively, so long as we do not understand them and fail to take them into account. But when once we have recognized them and understood how they work, their direction and their effects, the gradual subjection of them to our will and the use of them for the attainment of our aims depends entirely upon ourselves."

—Emile Burns.

—From "Capitalism, Communism and the Transition" (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.).

CENSORSHIP IN AUSTRALIA

DURING the past three or four months the Customs Department of the Federal Government has been swiftly and silently at work, engaged in a wholesale censorship of "seditious" books. In other words, this "democratic" government has been occupied in stupefying the minds of its subjects by preventing them from coming into contact with ideas from abroad. The facts are as follow:

As early as July last year, consignments of books which had already been purchased by Melbourne booksellers were held up by the Customs officials, and, after examination, selected volumes were sent to Canberra for inspection. There, after some months' delay, all these works were banned as "seditious literature." The fact that the books were subjected to no further sifting at Canberra, all those selected by the Customs officials, and no others, being censored by the Government, indicates that here (as elsewhere) the word of the permanent official is law. The Book Censorship Board, by the way, has just decided to lapse, as it has no work to do. These

banned books have already been destroyed, and the supplies already in Melbourne are beginning to run out.

It is impossible to get a complete list of these books; but the following works have already definitely been prevented from entering Victoria. The list differs slightly in different States:—

The Communist Manifesto. Marx and Engels. The State and Revolution. Lenin.
The Task of the Proletariat. Lenin.
The Paris Commune. Lenin.
Letters from Afar. Lenin.
What is to be Done? Lenin.
Imperialist War, 1914-1918. Lenin.
Towards the Seizure of Power. (2 Vols.) Lenin.
The Only Way Out. Emile Burns.
The Crisis, Tariffs, and War. Palme Dutt.
The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma. Badayev.
Memoirs of a Bolshevik. Piatnitsky.
The Second Five-Year Plan. Molotov.
The Class Struggle in Britain. (2 Vols.) Fox.
Conditions of the Working Class in Britain. Hutt.

Gathering Storm. Myra Page.
Storm Over the Ruhr. Marchevitz.
Barricades in Berlin. Neukrantz.
Roar China. Tretiakov.
Bill Haywood's Book.
Ten Days that Shook the World. John Reed.

A conspicuous feature of this censorship is the silence with which it is being carried out. Ban "Red Heap" or "Brave New World," and the liberal press will protest loudly against this flagrant interference with the "liberty of the subject." But this far more sweeping confiscation is greeted with silence; hundreds of students may never have heard of it. This makes it all the more important to bring to light the facts of the censorship, and make their significance plain.

What is their significance? To the worker it is that an attempt is being made to render the struggle against worsening conditions a blind one. Censorship cannot stop this struggle, for it is bred by economic oppression; but if knowledge of the causes and development of this oppression, and of the methods for scientific struggle against it, are prevented from reaching the workers, then their struggle is made ineffective.

So out go the Communist Manifesto and any other books from which the workers can find what capitalism is; out go books like "What is to be Done?," which give them methods of organization against it; out go novels like "Gathering Storm," which are a literary reflection of working class life and struggles. All these are condemned and destroyed by the government before they can reach the workers.

And what is the significance of the censorship to students? It is that an attempt is being made to limit them to a one-sided view of social theory. Certain sources of knowledge which they need for discovering the truth about the nature of the State, the economic system, and so on, are forbidden by the Customs officials. The necessity of these books for an all-round knowledge of social theory is revealed by the fact that a number of them appear on the University syllabus. Thus, the "Communist Manifesto," "The State and Revolution," and Stalin's "Leninism" are recommended as text books in Modern Political Institutions, while the Manifesto is recommended for Economic History, and "The State and Revolution" for Political Philosophy. Also, despite the neglect of con-

temporary authors by the English school, those students who are interested in literature, not as an academic subject, but as a vital social force, must feel the loss of the censored working-class novels.

The bare text of "The Communist Manifesto," "The State and Revolution," and sections of "Leninism," are being printed in Australia, and therefore they will continue to be available for a time; but commented and full editions of these works are becoming very rare. Moreover, though nothing has been done so far to prevent the distribution of these books provided they are printed within the country, it is hard to tell how complete the government intends its ban to become, and how quickly it intends to carry it out. So far, for instance, books published by Gollancz are still being admitted.

But it is clear that the government will attempt to continue and even to increase its censorship, for it cannot relieve the economic conditions of the workers, and it is these conditions which give rise to the class struggle, and the consequent need for revolutionary literature. This also explains why the ban on "seditious" literature is being enforced at the present time, when some of the censored books have been freely admitted for years. As long as only a few of these books came into Australia, the government did not trouble to ban them. But the economic crisis was followed by a great increase in the demand for revolutionary literature, which, during the last five years, has been pouring into Australia. This literature is being read by all kinds of people, and the demand for it is still growing. The government has taken alarm: hence the censorship. This censorship, therefore, is only one more manifestation of the crisis in capitalism and the consequent intensification of the class struggle.

The crisis explains, moreover, why in Melbourne, and more especially in Sydney, books dealing with the real nature of war are so conspicuous on the censorship list. The power of capital in Australia is attempting to maintain itself, not only against its own workers, but against its economic rivals in other countries. The final step of economic rivalry is war. Hence the war-fever which this class is attempting to stimulate in connection with the "defence" of Australia; and hence the ban on any kind of literature which might cool this fever by showing that the workers are being

asked to kill one another in order to preserve the conditions of their own exploitation. This is why such books as "The Attitude of the Proletariat Towards War," and Lenin's analysis of the last imperialist war, are banned in Sydney.

This censorship, then, is a weapon in the hands of the forces that lead to fascism and war, and the fight against it is part of the fight

against fascism and war. The University must be one of the centres of this fight, for the University, of all institutions, is surely the one that is particularly concerned with freedom of thought. We students, therefore, must use every means in our power to drag this surreptitious censorship into the open, and to organize protests against it.

—Q.B.G.

OUR SPRING

BRING us with our hands bound,
Our teeth knocked out,
Our heads broken,
Bring us shouting curses, or crying,
Or silent as to-morrow.
Bring us to the electric chair,
Or the shooting wall,
Or the guillotine.
But you can't kill all of us.
You can't silence all of us.
You can't stop all of us—
Kill Vanzetti in Boston and Huang Ping rises
In China.
We're like those rivers
That fill with the melted snow in spring
And flood the land in all directions.

Our spring has come.

The pent-up snows of all the brutal years
Are melting beneath the rising sun of revolution,
The rivers of the world will be flooded with strength
And you will be washed away—
You murderers of the people—
Killers and cops and soldiers,
Priests and kings and billionaires,
Diplomats and liars,
Makers of guns and gas and guillotines,
You will be washed away,
And the land will be fresh and clean again,
Denuded of the past—
For time has given us
Our spring
At last.

—Langston Hughes.
—From "International Literature."

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Melbourne.

THE New Year's work will soon be commencing at the University. Several hundred Freshers will be brought into contact with a new sphere of activities. Those students completing their courses are faced with the problem of "What they are going to do next." For the students as a whole there are problems of increasing complexity to be considered—both in Australia and overseas. What is the position of the majority of the students in relation to international events, and to the rapidly changing Australian situation?

It must be admitted that the students as a body are lagging far behind the rate of development of the class struggle here, and have no accurate conception of the real nature of recent international moves. Above all, interest in and knowledge of particular student problems are practically non-existent. It is perfectly true that there are several fairly active societies in the University which hold regular meetings, debates, discussions, and even study classes. But these societies embrace a very small minority of the students, and, without exception, approach the problems which they deal with in an abstract manner without any correlation with the specific problems of the students at this University. An example will suffice to prove this. The Labour Club has on a number of occasions dealt with the subject of how war is being prepared at the present time, in whose interests it is being prepared, and has pointed the way to struggle against the war danger. Its propaganda has been substantially correct. It has insisted on the importance of the working class as the main force opposed to war. But this is not sufficient to interest and organize the masses of the students. It is also necessary to point out the part students should play in opposing war, the relationship of war to cultural reaction and decay, the prostitution of literature and art to the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie, etc.

From another angle it should be possible to organize considerable opposition to war. The Melbourne University Rifles is a military body organized for the purpose of training officers. At the time of writing this body is encamped at Portsea, with a total of three hundred men—the highest number since the introduction of voluntary training. Many of these students

have been deceived by bourgeois "defence" propaganda. Some are quite definitely antagonistic to war, but nevertheless take part in preparing for it. It should not be very difficult to convince them that this talk of "defence" is only a bogey used to conceal further preparations for an imperialist war. This work has not yet even been started by the Labour Club, although it would prove very fruitful.

Another question closely linked with that of war is the question of fascism within the University. There are indications that a fascist group will be formed during the coming year. Our information suggests that there is a controversy between the organizers as to whether the club should follow the "German" or the "Italian" brand of fascism. It is obvious that such a controversy can result only from a complete ignorance of the true nature of fascism, for German and Italian fascism are in essence the same. The difference between them depends upon the fact that Italian capitalism was stabilized temporarily under the rule of Mussolini precisely because world capitalism as a whole underwent a process of relative stabilization following the tremendous crisis of the immediate post war years, while Hitler came into power during a terrible economic crisis which has deepened under his regime. Of course, Italy is now being very hard hit by the crisis, and despite all the demagoguery of Mussolini (who now declares that fascism is different from capitalism*), the Italian ruling class is attempting to solve the crisis by the only methods known to the bourgeoisie—by attacking the living standards of the workers and pushing forward to war.

*Mussolini in his speech at the recent celebrations of the eleventh anniversary of the Fascist march on Rome stated: "We come to the last question. Can the corporative principle be applied in other countries? There is no doubt about it. As there is a general crisis of capitalism, solution by the corporative state seems to be necessary in other countries." The "Manchester Guardian" ridiculed this Fascist tripe very aptly when it remarked: "Does Fascism want to save Europe by its example? With its low wages and vast unemployment it will take years to do this." Not, of course, that Fascism will ever solve Europe's problems. But the "Manchester Guardian" is a bourgeois paper and the British bourgeoisie may some day have recourse to Fascism.

Fascism is the most violent form of capitalist dictatorship. It represents the height of anti-working class terror and chauvinist nationalism—both products of capitalist decay. White terror and bloody war: that is the true formula of fascism.

A campaign against the growth of fascism in the Melbourne University will therefore be necessary. Besides pointing out those aspects already mentioned it should be possible to conduct an exposure of the cultural reaction which follows from fascism—an exposure not only of the obviously reactionary character of the campaign against revolutionary intellectuals, but also the disguised reaction which is contained in much current literature. Discussions should be arranged on such topics as "Fascism and Italian Literature" (the aping of Nietzsche, glorification of intense individualism and nationalism and the creation of "heroic" types), and "Humanism" in its various forms, which serve as a cloak for literary reaction. These discussions should pass over to consideration of such subjects as education and philosophy. Great use can be made of the Soviet Union as an example of the application of Marxism to all problems of life. In the School of Education and the Teachers' Training College nothing is taught regarding the principles lying at the root of socialist education. The profound significance of polytechnical education is not mentioned. Above all, the essential class character of education is totally ignored. All these problems should be raised by the Labour Club during the coming year. The task is certainly a big one, but is absolutely necessary before any organization can be built up on the vital issues of war and fascism.

The same remarks apply to "Proletariat." It is quite correct for us to deal with political and economic problems, and even some of the theoretical problems of the working class movement, but these must be linked up with subjects of special interest to students and teachers. In this issue an attempt has been made to do this to some extent; but much is still to be done. The delay in publishing the present issue is partly due to financial diffi-

culties, but mainly to improper organization and lack of support. Those who should be the chief supporters of the paper—the students—are those least interested. The reasons have been outlined above.

Sydney.

The Labour Club in Sydney has much the same problems as those facing us in Melbourne. It is characteristic that they are able to sell 100 copies of "The Soviet To-day" in the University, while they are unable to interest more than a few students in current student affairs. However, towards the end of last year an excellent start was made with the publication of "Student," a regular organ which is distributed free in the University. The first issue contained a note regarding certain irregular proceedings in the election of student representatives. This sharp comment won considerable favour among the students.

New Zealand.
The fact that we have very little news to report indicates the weakness of the student movement in Australasia. There is practically no contact.

A Labour Club with twenty-five members has been formed in the Auckland University. Further suppression of student papers and radical thought is being carried on systematically in the Universities.

In America the National Student League has grown to large proportions. In the City College of New York big demonstrations in support of the Cuban revolution were held. The vast expenditure in war and intervention in Cuba were very effectively contrasted with the general poverty of the students and raising of fees. A strong movement developed against the Officers' Training Corps. Numerous students were dismissed as a result.

English Students are active in the anti-war movement. Good support has been given to the unemployed hunger marchers. In one demonstration a very effective slogan used was: "Scholarships, not Battleships."

Australian students should learn from the experience of their colleagues overseas. It is time to take a hand in events instead of looking on.

Do You Know How to Prevent War?

Come to the Easter Anti-War Conference.

THE REICHSTAG FIRE

ON the 27th February, 1933, at about 9.15 p.m., the streets of Berlin were illuminated by the leaping flames of the burning Reichstag building, symbol of German constitutional government. Watching the flames, Hitler turned to Sefton Delmer, Berlin correspondent of the "Daily Express," and made the cryptic statement: "You are witnessing the beginning of a great new epoch in German history. This fire is the beginning."

Through a unanimous press, and by means of wireless announcements, speeches and posters, the Communists were immediately accused of having wilfully set fire to the building. It was announced that Van der Lubbe, who was found in the building and arrested, had in his possession a membership booklet of the Dutch Communist Party, and that he had made a full confession. On the following morning, Ernst Torgler, chairman of the Communist fraction in the Reichstag, who was Communist faction in the Reichstag, who was accused of complicity, voluntarily presented himself at Police Headquarters to deny the charges levelled against him by the Fascist authorities. He was arrested on the spot. On March 3rd, three Bulgarians—Dimitrov, a leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Popoff and Tanef—were also arrested. The burning of the Reichstag was to have the character of an international Communist plot. In the days after the fire, the Fascist propaganda instigated a great wave of atrocities against Communists, Socialists, and Pacifists.

What was the background of this? And what was the hidden meaning of the statement Hitler made to Sefton Delmer? Germany was suffering more than any other country from the economic collapse. This led, on the one hand, to a steadily increasing oppression of the workers by a series of governments ruling by "emergency decree"—those of Brüning, Papen, and Scheicher; and on the other to the increasing militancy of the workers, as demonstrated, for example, by the Berlin traffic strike of November, 1932. On January 28th, 1933, Hitler agreed to join in a government of "national concentration" with the industrialists and Junkers, whom he had so furiously denounced. Hitlerism, which so far had been making rapid strides, was now on the wane, while, with the Communists and the rank and file of the Social-Democratic

workers, anti-fascist feeling was running high. Election day, March 5th, was drawing close, and bourgeois papers abroad were predicting a greatly increased Communist vote and a sharp decline in the National Socialist vote. Now was the time to act! The National Socialists must be given power, and the Communists exterminated at all costs. The Berlin police passed under National Socialist control, and plans for bloody revolution were suddenly "found" in Karl Liebknecht's house (despite the fact that in previous searches "nothing incriminating" had been found). And while the press campaign against the Communists was its height, when every effort was being made in a desperate attempt to convince the people of the terrorist nature of the Communist Party, the cry went up: "The Reichstag is in flames."

From the outset it was clear that the National Socialists had everything, and the Communists nothing, to gain by the fire. As the "Temps" of March 1st pointed out, "That the Communists had nothing to gain by the fire, and everything to lose, is obvious from what actually did occur." Further, as was pointed out by the German Communist Party in a statement issued on March 25th: "Anyone who has even the slightest knowledge of Communism, of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, of the decisions of the Communist International, and of the German Communist Party, knows that the methods of individual terror, arson, acts of sabotage, and so forth, do not belong to the tactical methods of the Communist Movement." On the other hand, the Nazis desperately needed a provocative act which would drive the Communist Party into illegality and disrepute, and enable its election activities to be ruthlessly suppressed. This fact, even without further evidence, made it fairly clear that the Nazis themselves were the criminals.

But further evidence was to hand, and it convinced the World Committee for the victims of Fascism that Dr. Goebbels concocted the plot. Capt. Goering directed it, and Heines, a murderer and prominent Nazi functionary, led the incendiary group. Here are a few outstanding facts, selected from the full account of the Nazi conspiracy that is given in "The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror."

Dr. Oberföhren, chairman of the Nationalist group in the Reichstag, and a well-informed confidant of Hugenberg's, wrote a memorandum in which he set down what he knew of the preparation and plans made by the Nazis for the burning of the Reichstag. When this became known in Germany, through a reference to it in the "Manchester Guardian," Goering puts his justice machine into action, with the result that Dr. Oberföhren was soon found dead in his flat. He had "committed suicide"—so the Government report stated. Two other persons who knew the secret of the Reichstag fire—Erik Hansen and Dr. Bell—were also murdered.

It was stated that Van der Lubbe was a Communist, though the Leyden Young Communist League reported that he had been conducting counter-revolutionary activity for some time, and that he resigned from the Party in April, 1931, in order to forestall his expulsion. The first reports also stated that he had in his possession when arrested a membership booklet of the Communist Party, and some Communist leaflets. But so incredible was it that a criminal would carry such convincing proof of his political party when executing a political crime, that this piece of evidence was allowed to lapse.

The fire was lighted simultaneously at many points, and it has been estimated by experts that at least ten persons must have been concerned. All made successful escape except one half-wit. Further, a considerable amount of incendiary material must have been used, and the chief fire brigade director (Gemp) stated that, on entering the Reichstag after the fire, he had seen large quantities of unused incendiary material lying around. How was this smuggled in? Here Goering and Goebbels found themselves in difficulties, and the court took the defensive. First, judges, prosecuting counsels, and defending counsels made a desperate attempt to prove that Van der Lubbe had committed the crime *alone*. Again, efforts were made for some days to prove that incendiary material was not used, but some mysterious liquid fuel, which could have been smuggled through the closely-guarded doors. But, as these attempts failed, it became clear that there remained only one means of entrance for the material and exit for the incendiaries, and that was the underground passage which connects Goering's house with the Reichstag.

Gemp also stated that the fire brigade had been summoned too late, and that Goering had expressly forbidden him to sound a general call for reinforcements to fight the fire. Needless to say, he was later ignominiously dismissed from his position. Finally, there is the interesting fact that, although the election campaign was at its height, the principal Nazis—Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, and others—all happened to be at Berlin on the night of the fire. Goering burnt the Reichstag well, but he left an ineffaceable trail behind him.

The trial commenced at Leipzig on September 21st. The counter-trial held at London and Paris had found the Nazis guilty, and the Communists innocent, so that Nazi "justice" was put on its mettle. For eight months the accused had been in prison, and five of these months they had spent in chains. But they were not broken, and Dimitrov's first words were a fighting challenge: "I am here not as the accused, but as the accuser." This is the spirit with which the four Communists faced the court throughout.

It was Dimitrov's courage and intellect which forced Goering himself to appear in court. Before the onslaught of this drug-addict, the alleged "objectivity" of the court's procedure was shattered. Not only did he rave about Communists, and how *he* had suppressed them, but also he made some bad mistakes. For example, he declared that he first knew of the fire at 9 o'clock; that is, at a time when only those preparing to start the fire could have known of it. Before the whole court he roared that the accused were Communists, and therefore guilty. When Dimitrov attacked him with penetrating questions, he shouted threateningly: "You wait until you are outside the power of this court."

Dimitrov calmly replied: "Are you afraid of my questions, Mr. Prime Minister?"

Whereat Goering—a witness—ordered his removal from the court.

All the Fascist witnesses were failures, being proved perjurers by the accused. Grothe, the witness on whom the Nazis had staked all, committed perjury so often that even the Bench reluctantly reprimanded him. Ex-Major Weberstedt thought that Lubbe both had and had not a cap on, when he had seen him in the Reichstag. Heines and Schulz had previously been sentenced to death for murder. Heisig, a Nazi detective, who was sent to Holland to investigate the affairs of Van

der Lubbe, returned and made statements about the depositions of two Dutchmen—Albada and Uink—which were later denied on oath by these men.

This repeated lying disturbed the Government so much that orders were issued to German newspapers not to publish more than sixty lines daily. The well-known American jurist, Garfield Hays, Soviet journalists, and other foreign reporters who did not write "favourable" reports, were excluded from the court.

Such travesties of justice have been staged before under capitalist rule—Sacco, Vanzetti, Mann, etc.—but never before, perhaps, has there been such world-wide realisation of the guilt of the accusers. The voice of the inter-

national proletariat was raised in such protest that it caused Fascist justice to hesitate, to cower, and to pronounce Dimitrov, Torgler, Taneff and Popoff *not guilty*.

But Fascist justice still went on. For months the four Communists were kept in gaol, and in danger of their lives. Their accusers, however, stood condemned by the workers of the world, who continued to raise protests against them. The result of this was that, suddenly and secretly, the acquitted Bulgarians were taken by plane to Moscow. Torgler, however, as a German subject, is still in close confinement, waiting further justice at the hands of the Nazi government of Germany. It rests with the workers of Germany to see that he gets it. —E. Vanshel.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank all friends who contributed entries to our short story competition. We hope to conduct similar competitions in the future when our finances permit.

Our appeal for funds did not bear much fruit. Only one donation (£1) was received. We thank this comrade very heartily for it.

We would like to draw the attention of our readers and subscribers to the state of our finances. We are urgently in need of support if we are to expand, or even to maintain publication. We can record a growth in our circulation from 2200 to 2600 approximately for our last issue. To maintain this means a heavy burden on our slender resources. So we again appeal for assistance. Donations of all sizes will be welcomed.

Publications Received:

As evidence of our firm position at the present time we publish the following list of magazines and papers which we receive regularly:—

"The Labour Monthly"—A magazine of International Labour. This is edited by the well-known Marxist writer, Palme Dutt, who contributes the Notes of the Month to the magazine.

"International Literature"—Organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers. This is a quarterly magazine, containing short stories, extracts from forthcoming novels, poems and articles of criticism by revolutionary writers.

"The Student Vanguard"—Published by the English revolutionary students.

"The Student Review," which is the mouth-piece of the National Student League in the United States.

We receive a number of journals from the Soviet Union, of which the most important are:—

"The U.S.S.R. in Construction," which in pictorial form depicts the mode and rate of development of Socialism in that country.

"The Soviet Culture Review," which is a monthly magazine devoted to the practical and theoretical problems, together with the achievements, of Socialist culture.

"School in the U.S.S.R."—A new magazine which again deals with all aspects of Socialist education. Here, for the first time, it is possible to obtain a complete view of the Marxist approach to education.

We also receive such newspapers as the "Daily Worker," organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain; several French and German anti-fascist papers, the organ of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and occasional copies of the "Daily Worker," which is the organ of the Communist Party of U.S.A.

This list indicates the widespread interest which "Proletariat" has aroused. We wish to extend our contact, and hope to exchange with other magazines in the near future.

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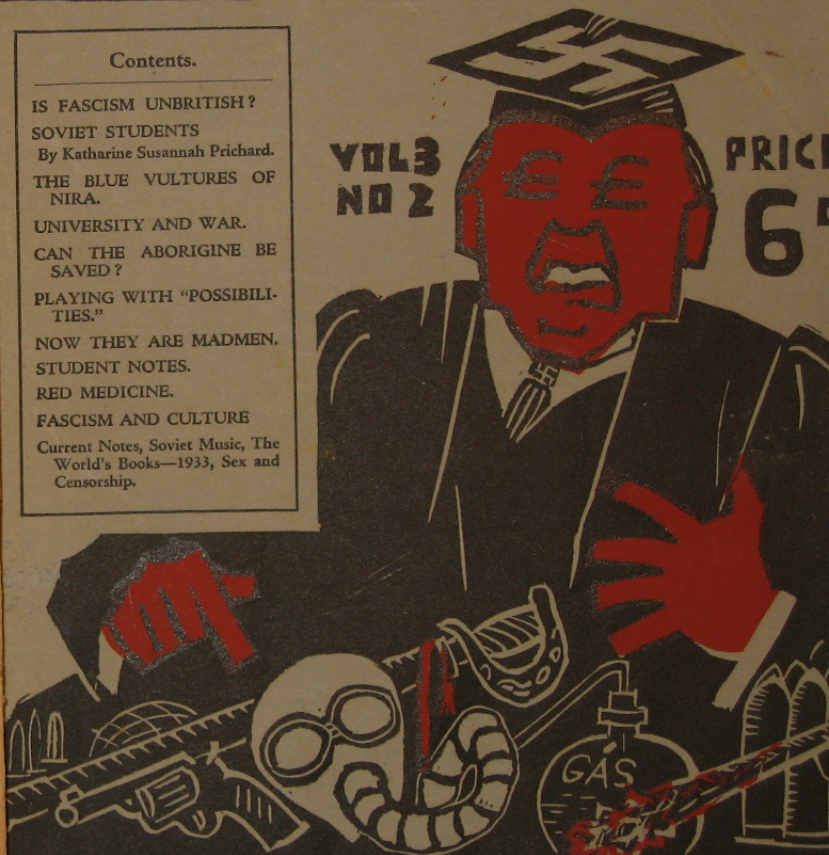
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THE FATE OF "PROLETARIAT" IS IN YOUR HANDS!

WE have received many requests for a new issue of "Proletariat." The fact speaks for itself. "Proletariat" continues to appear irregularly. This is not due to lack of material or enthusiasm, but to lack of hard cash.

We cannot write separately to all our friends who have sent us letters of congratulation and helpful criticism. We acknowledge all these here.

There are many deficiencies in "Proletariat." Many of these are due to lack of space. Because of this we have to leave out important items. Illustrations are too costly for us.

Apart from printing, all the work of "Proletariat" is the voluntary effort of students. The cost of production is so high that its continued existence depends on rapidly increasing its circulation to at least 3500 from the present 2700.

If you think "Proletariat" worth while, if you do not want an important counterblast to the mass of bourgeois propaganda to be stifled, you must help us in this work. SELL "PROLETARIAT" TO YOUR FRIENDS. BECOME A DIRECT SUBSCRIBER. SEND US NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF OTHERS. We have no elaborate advertising organisation at our disposal.

We appeal to our agents to supply prompt payment.

Can anyone supply us with names and addresses of students in Adelaide, Brisbane, Perth, or Hobart?

We thank all who have helped us in the past by donations, house parties, and sending us names of possible buyers. "Proletariat" relies for its continuance on increased sales, increased subscriptions, and direct donations or guarantees. If we can establish a working fund, we will be able to publish regularly and more often.

All money should be sent by money order or registered letter to—
A. Finger, Business Manager of "Proletariat," University, Melbourne, N.3.

Back numbers of "Proletariat" are available at 7d. each posted.

WE acknowledge the following exchanges:—"Labour Monthly," "New Zealand Soviet News," "U.S.S.R. in Construction," "International Literature," "Soviet Culture Review," "English Student Vanguard," "South African-Indiela Yenkululeko" (Road to Freedom), "American Student Review," "This Unrest" (Oxford), "Student" (Sydney University), "War—What For?" as well as many other publications, including illegal German newspapers and English "Daily Worker." We have also a copy of the illegal "Rote Fahne." Most of these publications are available to students in the Labour Club library, which is housed in the S.C.M. room, Club House.

PROLETARIAT

ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB

A Minority Group Within the University

Editors—Ian C. Macdonald, A. Palmer.

Volume III. No. 2.

August, 1934.

EDITORIAL

IT has been rare for most students here to come into contact with the actual events of history. They have been condemned to play, for the most part, the role of bystanders. Their approach to reality is confused by academic romanticism and carefully nurtured class prejudices.

In the present state of the world, such a position is no longer tenable. At our University, for example, many students were able to hear a presentation of facts regarding the Wonthaggi strike by an actual participant in it. What the opinions and thoughts of his listeners were does not concern us here. What we are concerned with is pointing out that inevitably students must come more and more into contact with the actual facts of the class struggle. The march of events will compel them to take sides, whether they wish it or not. For who would be so foolish as to deny the sharpening of this struggle in the capitalist world to-day? It is only necessary to point to Germany, San Francisco, and Wonthaggi.

IT is obvious that it is of vital importance to grasp the significance of international events as well as of those occurring in our own immediate surroundings. It cannot be denied that fascism and imperialist wars are the gravest dangers in the world to-day. Nor can it be denied that the main force opposed to fascism and war is the organised power of the workers.

In every capitalist country in the world we see the rapid concentration of these two diametrically opposed forces—on the one hand, finance-capital being driven to the extremities of fascist terror in order to maintain its existence; on the other, the constantly growing organised forces of the workers being driven to resistance by sheer economic need. We see sharper and sharper and more and more violent clashes that cannot but be fought to the end.

Only when the workers take state power into their own hands can this struggle be ended. Only then will the development of socialism be possible; only then will the problem of unemployment and poverty be solved.

This problem, which is driving the workers to resistance, is also becoming increasingly urgent to the majority of students.

THE question of future work, of employment, is an essential one for most students. At the most, it is a matter of a few years for all of them, before they are compelled to seek a means of livelihood. The present system, now passing through the acutest crisis in its history, means the abolition of the great bulk of opportunities for University graduates. Jobs as salesmen, canvassers, and, in many cases, "the open road" are the lot to which numbers of them are condemned. It is apparent that some drastic change from the capitalist system is necessary before the pent-up and distorted forces of humanity can be released and unfolded to their fullest extent. The historic task of the proletariat, "the class that holds the future in its hands," is to free itself and the whole of mankind from the present hell of capitalism. The Soviet Union is a living example of this truth.

In our University the Labour Club has much of importance to say to students, both in its meetings and discussions, and in the pages of "Proletariat." We appeal to all students who are concerned with the development of culture and the full utilisation of scientific knowledge, to support the Labour Club, which is the standard-bearer of these ideas in the University.

—THE EDITORS.

CURRENT NOTES

The Decline of German Fascism.

HITLER fascism has murdered von Schleicher. It has shot down Heines (murderer of many Brownshirt workers), Roehm (the leader of the Brownshirts), Gregor Strasser (the greatest organiser of the fascist party), and an unknown number of storm troop leaders. Many of the most blood-stained supporters of German fascism have followed the same violent road to death along which they drove so many proletarian revolutionaries. The tension inside Germany has consequently been enormously aggravated. Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels declare that once more they have saved Germany from disaster! Another "conspiracy against the state" has been dealt with in typical Nazi fashion!

What is the significance of these violent events? It is absurd to believe that these violent measures were dictated only by the necessity for disposing of a troublesome faction. This would be to ignore the underlying forces which, by compelling Hitler to adopt such ruthless measures, have, in the same process, revealed themselves clearly for all to see. Their significance lies in the fact that they are the clearest possible evidence of the extent to which the disintegration inside the ranks of the German ruling class has developed. Only from this standpoint is it possible to assess their significance, and, what is more important, their consequences.

Like every other ruling class, the German bourgeoisie has never, at any time, been welded into one united, homogeneous party. The very nature of capitalism prevents this. But they have always managed, even during the stormy revolutionary period immediately following the first world imperialist war, to present a sufficiently united front to the proletariat to prevent the overthrow of capitalism. But the recent events signify that the class relations are altering rapidly in favour of the proletariat.

Behind the death of Von Schleicher there lies the defeat of a more moderate section of the bourgeoisie, which desires compromises with France, and to some extent with Poland; a less ferocious attitude towards the Soviet Union, and an agreement, if possible, to form a new coalition government with the Social Democrats. Schleicher had hoped to do this before Hitler came to power. He represented a group of industrialists, centring round Otto Wolf in particular, who were hard hit by the purchase of a controlling number of shares in the Thyssen-controlled general steel works (i.e., the biggest monopoly in Germany), carried through by the Bruening Cabinet in 1931. Thus the German state bolstered up the tottering fabric of the heavy industry in the Ruhr, supporting its monopoly against competing groups.

Schleicher, as representative of these weaker groups, came into sharp conflict with Hitler, who is a pawn in the hands of the Thyssen group—the most furious instigators of war—war against the Soviet Union in particular.

The threat against the life of Von Papen reflects the widening of the split between these industrial magnates and the land-owning Junkers. Of course, different sections among each group disagree with the policy of the group as a whole, but in general it is possible to see this cleavage fairly clearly.

However, the most important feature of the recent changes is the dissolution of the Brownshirts, the real mass organisation of German fascism. When Heines was being taken to execution, he shouted: "You black dogs! Long live the Brownshirts!" and in this one sentence the notorious murderer revealed the essence of the split. First, the Brownshirts were sent on a "month's holiday." Now it seems that only the "reliable" elements will be retained.

The Brownshirts comprise members of the lower middle class, the unemployed, and a backward section of the workers, all naturally opposed to the oppression of capitalism, but deceived by the anti-capitalist demagoguery of Hitler. The Blackshirts comprise students, officers, sons of the bourgeoisie, whose continued favourable existence depends upon the existence of capitalism. Hence the antagonism between the two which revealed itself so completely. The Brownshirts became "unreliable" because they saw through the deceit practised by the fascists. Hence it was necessary to disband and disarm them completely, and retain only those members who were still willing to sell themselves to Hitler. The Blackshirts, together with the Reichswehr, are now the main forces at Hitler's disposal. They form the great bulk of the secret political police. The basis of Hitler's power has been narrowed by these actions of his which were forced upon him by the rapid development and open expression of the dissatisfaction among those of his followers who really believed that he intended to establish "National Socialism."

The real significance of the execution of the storm troop leaders does not lie in the extermination of a "dangerous" faction (Heines and his fellows intended to use the Brownshirt discontent for their own base ends), but in the open burning up of the wrath of the rank and file supporters of the Hitler regime. Not only has Hitler been driven to declaring open war upon other sections of the bourgeoisie, but he has been compelled to smash up the mass organisational basis which fascism, the "open terrorist dictatorship" of the most reactionary of the finance capitalists, had managed to secure for itself amongst broad strata of the toiling and oppressed population.

The events in Germany indicate that the rule of the capitalist class is becoming more difficult to maintain in face of the disagreement between its various groups and mass pressure from the millions who suffer under the yoke of capitalism. The disintegration in the bourgeois camp, and particularly the dissolution of the Brownshirts, who thus must openly come out into the fight against Hitler, is of extreme importance for the working class which is leading the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in Germany.

It is not the place here to go into the question of the situation in Germany in detail. We can only draw attention to the importance of these events in so far as they enable us to get a perspective of the future prospects of fascism, not only in Germany, but also in those other countries at present oppressed under the fascist dictatorship, and even in those "democratic" countries in which the process of conversion into a fascist dictatorship is taking place.

The German events reveal how rapidly and violently great fissures can appear in the ranks of the ruling class under the blows of the continuing world economic crisis, and the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling millions of the people. Certain fascist groups, particularly those in Italy and in the Balkans, have managed to maintain their rule for a considerable period (in some cases for 12 years and more), not because fascism offered any real solution of the problems of the people, but because capitalism as a whole passed through a period of relative stabilisation and prosperity after the first series of revolutionary outbreaks extending from 1917 to 1923. That is to say, fascism in Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, etc., came to power at the end of a revolutionary wave, when the forces of the working class were paralysed by prolonged struggles in the imperialist war and numerous violent civil wars. Capitalism attained a temporary and relative economic stabilisation, which enabled the bourgeoisie to take the offensive, and, in addition, set a great part of its economic machinery in movement once more. Thus these fascist states were able to consolidate their positions for a time. Italy was the most successful. The conditions in the Balkans were not nearly so favorable. Nevertheless, the fascist bourgeoisie has maintained its rule there up to the present.

The case is different with Germany. Hitler came to power when the period of relative economic stabilisation had long since ended, when the world economic crisis had shaken the very roots of capitalism, especially in Germany, when the proletariat was advancing ever more strongly against the bourgeoisie. While bearing the character of the open terrorist dictatorship of finance capital, Hitler fascism, because of the objective conditions, was bound to undergo the processes of decay much more rapidly than Italian fascism. Hitler made a number of promises, not one of which he has kept. The millions of misguided workers who believed in him have been largely disillusioned. The recent events can only accelerate this process of increasing discontent. The onrush of the economic crisis gives the Hitler government no respite. In recent weeks there has developed an acute food shortage in Germany, especially in the great cities. This is the direct result of the agrarian policy of the fascist government, combined with the prolonged attack made upon wages and unemployment relief payments in the past few months. The press records that in the last few days the first food queues seen in Berlin since 1923 have made their appearance.

It is possible to make conjectures only regarding the full effect of the open crumbling of the fascist dictatorship upon the great masses of the

German people. The reports indicate one thing clearly—that millions of fresh fighters against fascism are rapidly entering the field of battle. Revolutionary activity is rapidly increasing. A leaflet, completely exposing the significance of the violent upheaval among the Storm troops, circulated very widely in Berlin and other cities, being eagerly read and discussed by many hundreds of thousands of people. The intensifying crisis and the increase in the fascist terror have stimulated the revolutionary struggle of the working class. It has become increasingly manifest that the only way out for the German people is by establishing the Soviet power in Germany.

Italy.

THE open decay of fascism is not confined to Germany. In the majority of these countries where there is unbridled White Terror against the toilers, a rapid change in the relation of class forces can be readily observed. Italy is the chief country to which fascists point with pride as the living proof of the "success" of the fascist corporative state. Yet what do the facts show? They demonstrate two things in particular. First, that fascism is incapable of solving the problems of the capitalist world crisis, and is adopting essentially the same methods during the crisis as are carried forward in all capitalist countries, whether "democratic" or openly fascist, namely, driving down the conditions of the workers by wage cutting, speeding up, etc., extending and strengthening its grip upon the oppressed masses in its colonies, and, above all, marching on to further imperialist wars, spending fresh millions upon war preparations, despite the poverty of the great bulk of the Italian people.

The other group of facts proves that, as elsewhere, the main social function of Italian fascism is to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie by the most brutal terrorist methods. But, in spite of the White Terror raging in Italy, the Italian working class is increasing its organisational strength, and is rallying behind the revolutionary vanguard. Fascism is acting as a terrible hindrance to the development of the workers' struggle. At the same time the deepening crisis and the widespread terror create the objective conditions for successful mass revolutionary work.

Mussolini, when he seized power, made a number of demagogic promises to the workers. The real quality of his promises can be gauged by the following figures relating to the fall in wages between 1927 and 1933, these figures being taken from official fascist sources ("Lavoro Fascista"). Wages of metal workers fell by 23 per cent, chemical workers 22 per cent, workers in manufacturing industries 30 per cent, electricity and glass workers 22 per cent, glass workers 35 per cent, wood workers 18 per cent, etc., etc. From the same source considerable information regarding the marked intensification of labour can be obtained. The wages of agricultural labourers fell during the same period by amounts varying between 20-40 per cent. The official unemployment figures are somewhat above 1,000,000. Thus has fascism, in its desperate attempt to pre-

serve the domination of finance-capital, forced down the living standards of the toiling masses.

What is the other side of the picture? What response are the workers making to the attacks of the capitalist class? We quote a short extract from a report made recently upon the mass activity of unemployed and employed workers against the hunger policy of Italian fascism.

"The mass movements in Italy have increased considerably in the past year. In Trani 3000 unemployed demonstrated and took by storm the house of the fascists and fascist trade unions, shouting, 'Bread and work.' In Andria, 1000 agricultural unemployed demonstrated in front of the office of the Mayor. In Genoa, 1000 workers demonstrated in the streets of the city. In Canossa, 4000 unemployed demonstrated before the office of the mayor, and came into conflict with the police. In Capri, a political demonstration of 2500 workers was held in connection with the burial of a revolutionary worker. In Spezia, the masses of the workers participated in the meeting of the fascist trade unions in order to demand the maintenance of the piece-work scale. The strike slogan was issued. In Milan the chauffeurs demonstrated before the Mayor's headquarters. In Genoa a second demonstration was held in the streets. In Sassano and Monte St. Giacomo the population stormed the Mayor's offices. Eight of the demonstrators were killed and two gendarmes were wounded. . . ." And so on, almost indefinitely, the list of large-scale anti-fascist actions and demonstrations goes on. The discontent is not expressed only by these more striking methods. Within the fascist mass organisations, especially in the trade unions; but also, for example, in the youth organisation, "Dopolavoro," a tremendous decay has set in in recent years, and is becoming more pronounced. Many examples are recorded of former ardent supporters of the fascist regime turning away from fascism completely disillusioned. In numerous cases active attacks on the fascist authorities inside these organisations have been made, concessions and advantages often being won.

Italy is in a state of seething discontent, the existence of which cannot be hidden even by mass terror and rigid police censorship.

The example of Bulgaria is further proof of the instability of the fascist governments in Europe. Three months ago the Bulgarian bourgeoisie was compelled by the deepening crisis and the upsurge of the revolutionary movement among the workers and peasants, to substitute for the existing fascist coalition government an open military dictatorship. This means that in Bulgaria the social basis of fascism has shrunk so much that the army is practically the sole "reliable" force at the command of the ruling class. And perhaps the army is not altogether reliable!

This weakening of fascism, which is so pronounced in the present period, has resulted in increased international tension. France and Germany have become even more violently antagonistic. Italy and Germany are irreconcilable over the question of Austria. Mussolini is looking towards Turkey and Asia Minor more insistently as a convenient and rich market and source of materials. The desperate negotiations of France and Britain attempting to maintain the reputa-



Cartoon—(From "Student Review.")

tion of the League of Nations, Germany's shameless offer of itself for war on the Soviet Union, and the complex groupings of the imperialist forces in Europe are all taking place against a background of more warships, more aeroplanes, more tanks and machine guns, more poison gas.

Bourgeois Disintegration and Soviet Progress.

IN those capitalist countries in which the open fascist dictatorship has not yet been established, the same process of disintegration, combined with frantic war preparations, can be observed. Side by side with this there is the tremendous growth of the revolutionary movement, a tremendous outburst of indignation of the oppressed against the horrors of capitalism. The unprecedented wave of strikes in America, at present reaching its highest point in San Francisco, can be regarded only as a prelude to mightier struggles. Not only is the Roosevelt Plan being attacked. The Roosevelt government, the rule of the whole American bourgeoisie, is coming under the fire of the proletariat.

The English bourgeoisie, manoeuvring with traditional skill, is continuing its attack upon the workers, especially upon the unemployed. Mass demonstrations of the latter have again taken place in recent months. The hatred the English workers have for fascism is amply demonstrated by their rage against the brutality of Mosley's Blackshirt thugs. The police used this violent affray as an excuse to intervene more directly in political meetings, and thus endeavour to stifle the voice of the workers.

The flames of revolt are rising and spreading in the colonies. The great strikes in Bombay re-

call those of a few years ago. The complete defeat of the sixth campaign of intervention against the Chinese Soviets is a great blow to world capitalism.

Only on an international scale is it possible to estimate the significance of the recent violent events in Germany. The decline of German fascism, its violent death agonies, are but a part of the general disintegration of the capitalist forces throughout the whole world. This disintegration is occurring at different rates in different countries, but is inevitable in face of the continuance of the general capitalist crisis (although certain countries may have succeeded in slightly improving their position for a time), and, above all, in face of the increasing might of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Soviet Union remains the greatest single force in the world working for the maintenance of peace. The gigantic strides of its economic development go on unchecked. The cultural standard of the whole people has risen tremendously. The foreign relations of the Soviet Union, despite even the pressing danger of the Japanese imperialist war plans, have improved considerably, especially in the sphere of the guarantee of peace. The imperialist bourgeoisie, which so much desires war upon the Soviet Union, has been compelled to acknowledge in actual practice that the Soviet Union is the most important peace factor! even the great workers' republic, at the same time, stimulates the revolutionary energy of the proletariat in the capitalist world. The contrast between decaying, frenzied capitalism and victorious socialism is the background against which the revolutionary masses are realising more and more clearly the significance of the slogan: "Soviet Power."

Australia

Recovery?

THE Australian bourgeoisie asserts that there is a marked improvement to be observed in Australian economy in the past six months. They point to the increased price of wool, to a slight increase in building (an increase which has ceased in the past two months and actually shown some regression), to the favourable trade balance, etc., in order to prove this. That the crisis has for the present passed through its acutest stage they can be no doubt. The stage of depression has now been reached, which does not mean that the crisis can be overcome on this basis, nor exclude the possibility of an even sharper decline in production than has hitherto been witnessed. There is no evidence that the replacement of the basic requirements of industry (buildings, machinery, etc.), which is characteristic of the overcoming of a crisis, has been accomplished or will be accomplished. In addition, it is significant that wool prices have commenced to fall steadily again. This fact has been practically neglected in the capitalist press, which nevertheless made a great noise when the price of wheat rose one penny per bushel, owing to the failure of the American crop! It is from this angle that the bourgeois talk of "returning prosperity" must be evaluated.

A number of positive facts prove that there is no real sign of the much-vaunted "recovery." The situation of the primary producers has grown steadily worse. It is admitted officially that, of 70,000 wheat farmers in Australia, 50,000 are in grave and immediate danger of being forced off their land. The Country Party states that there are 99,000 farmers in Australia, of whom 80,000 are in the direst straits. More accurate estimates, such as those made by the Auditor-General's Department in South Australia, indicate that between 80 and 90 per cent. of Australian farmers are bankrupt! This evidence alone should be sufficient to explode the bally-hoo of the bourgeoisie.

Unemployment is said to be decreasing. It is difficult to make proper estimates based upon official statistics, because they are always less than the actual figures. In addition, because of the tightening up of the multitude of permissible income regulations, together with the expansion of the whole sustenance apparatus, it is likely that there is much greater "concealed" unemployment than before. In any case, it is certain that no real turn has been even started in the decrease of the number of unemployed.

The position of employed workers has not altered very much, except in so far as rationalisation has progressed. The Arbitration Court recently confirmed the decision to retain the 10 per cent. cut in the salaries of Federal public servants. This has given rise to considerable discontent among these servants, with several mass meetings as a result. Side by side with this wage cut the government, out of its budget "surplus," has decided to spend more upon armaments than in previous years. The official expenditure on armaments will be £4,800,000 during the coming year, an increase of £1,800,000 on 1932-33. Considerable advances are to be made in military mechanisation, while further munition workshops and factories are being renewed or constructed. Recruiting is to be conducted on a wider scale for the navy, as a new cruiser is at present being constructed. Thus the Australian ruling class shows how it is adopting the well-known methods of capital to solve the crisis, if possible, by force, by the armed seizure of further colonies and markets.

The Political Parties in Decay.

THAT the capitalists cannot see very much hope in the immediate future can be comprehended from their attitude towards the forthcoming Federal elections. First, there is a wide breach between the Country Party and the United Australia Party on a whole list of important matters. This breach is due to the clash of interests between the two groups of capitalists. A temporary union has been achieved only by ignoring the question of tariffs, which is (for capitalism) one of the vital questions. So it seems that this "union" must necessarily be very doubtful. The granting of a loan of £20,000,000 for an agrarian "relief" programme will do very little towards healing this breach. It may, on the contrary, aggravate it, because the floating of such a loan must inevitably lead to an increase in the strangle-hold which finance-capital has at present over the primary producers.

This disagreement and uncertainty as to what to do is expressed in the lack of a clear programme on the part of the bourgeois parties. Of course, it is quite possible that they intend to have another session of Labour government in an endeavour to stifle the rising tide of discontent which is manifest at present. Under cover of the Labour Party, the bourgeoisie could, in many ways, carry on its present policy more effectively. Naturally, the chances of exposure of the Labour Party during this process are greatly increased.

The Labour Party itself is undergoing a steady process of disintegration. As it is really a party supporting the bourgeoisie, it reacts, in a special way (because it is based upon the working class as its support), to all the forces working against capitalism. Thus, the Labour Party presents, at the present time, a complex picture of conflicting ideas. "Left" groups are splitting away from the old leadership. "Lang" groups and "socialisation" units appear side by side with the most obviously reactionary elements. It is characteristic that the Labour Party should break with two "irre-

concilable" groups while talking of unity. It must be understood that under no circumstance are the Lang and Scullin factions irreconcilable. Both play their part in deceiving the working class with sham talk about ending capitalism and introducing socialism, while at the same time actively sabotaging the struggles of the workers against capitalism. There are certain disagreements between them as to how the betrayal of the workers should be carried out (a disagreement which is of vital importance from a tactical standpoint), but objectively their function is the same, namely, to side-track the growing militancy of the workers into harmless channels, and, above all, to split their ranks as effectively as possible. During the Wonthaggi strike, when McKenzie, A.L.P. member for Wonthaggi, uttered the most atrocious slanders against the Wonthaggi miners and their leaders, not even the most "revolutionary" of the A.L.P. leadership repudiated his statements. On the contrary, Tunnecliffe has actually sent a note to McKenzie thanking him, on behalf of the A.L.P., for his services in the strike! That does not mean, of course, that the rank and file kept their thoughts to themselves. This is just one example of how the official Labour Party leaders stand together when threatened by a force which they know in time will break their reactionary, deadening influence on the Australian workers.

The Revolutionary Vanguard.

WHAT evidence have we that there exists in Australia an honest, really revolutionary leadership, whose methods of struggle, if adopted, must bring success? Recall in particular the evidence of the Wonthaggi strike, which is nearing a successful conclusion. The Wonthaggi strike was conducted under revolutionary leadership, which carried on a persistent struggle against the Victorian State Government. Despite the slanders of the capitalist press, the whole weight of the bourgeoisie against them, and the splitting tactics of the Trades Hall, the Wonthaggi miners were able to mobilise many thousands of workers behind them to bring financial support. The Wonthaggi strike is an example of revolutionary working class activity unequalled in Australian history for its high degree of organisation and consciousness of its aim. The workers of Australia have seen a new form of industrial action conducted under rank-and-file leadership. By developing this method and adapting it to the multitude of conditions which it meets, the Australian proletariat will forge a weapon which will lead to greater victories.

—IAN C. MACDONALD.

SHORT STORY COMPETITION.

We have not received sufficient entries to justify selecting a story for publication. The competition is still open.

The University and War

IT is a mistake to regard the war machine as consisting of armies, navies, and their direct sources of supply. Whatever might once have been the case in this regard, to-day preparations for war, and the conduct of war, must involve the close co-operation of every institution under the state. The land, industry, commerce, the church, the university—the co-operation of all is necessary to the smooth working of the war machine.

Consequently, the fight against war is a fight on many fronts. If the Anti-War Movement were to confine its attack to obvious militarism it would soon be outflanked and crushed. It must carry on the struggle against war preparations in every sphere of social and economic life if it is to succeed. Certainly there are key points, where the attack must be sharpest. Transport and munitions, for instance, must receive special attention. But the fight against war is the people's fight, and every man must strike his blow at the war preparations nearest to his hand. The farmer must struggle against military use of his produce; the worker in his factory must prepare to prevent industry from feeding the war machine. In the same way, students must oppose those tendencies in University life and teaching which make for war-mindedness, and must endeavour to prevent a recurrence of what occurred in the last war, when the University was mobilised as a kind of technological and general auxiliary to the armed forces.

What are these tendencies? The enquiry naturally divides itself into two parts. First there is the indirect way in which University teaching fosters war-mindedness, and drugs criticism of the policies which lead to war. Second, there are the more direct activities whereby the University actively contributes to the conduct of war.

In a previous number of "Proletariat" I have already given a general survey of the means whereby the University fosters support of bourgeois activities and drugs criticism of them. This enquiry must be more specific.

Throughout University teaching, an air of gentle apart-from-the-world tolerance is affected, and as far as possible this attitude is cultivated in student life and thought. Somewhere in the world there exists the Soviet Union, and in certain other places there seem to be strikes and wars; but these are of no moment. Much more important is the discovery that Julius Caesar was an epileptic. In general, the P.Q.S. will discuss any public question that is not of vital importance; the Debating Society exists for the pure enjoyment of debating. When, however, matters of real interest, such as Fascism and War, do arise, they are treated as subjects of chiefly academic interest. He who can display the utmost knowledge among you, he who has read the most books, he who can speak on the widest range of subjects, he is the greatest student (but at the same time he is in duty bound to attend the Annual Anzac Day ceremony).

This superficial detachment has been commended as representing the University ideal, but it is there that the gravest danger lies. In practice, everything is tolerated except active convictions: these only if they are orthodox.

The University not only provides an opiate for practical thought. It positively nourishes an unintelligent will to war. The whole trend of the teaching, in history and literature for example, is toward an uncritical antiquarianism, coupled with a nationalistic bias, that leaves the student vaguely aware of the trends of nationalism, and, not always vaguely, a supporter of them. The whole trend of economics is to hide menacing economic realities from the student, in a maze of market technicalities, and vaguely to suggest that imperial marketing arrangements are a good thing, and ought to be maintained. And so on through all the schools and faculties. Nowhere are the trends of modern policy clearly envisaged; everywhere the tendency is toward the support of the status quo, in ignorance or carelessness of the fact that the status quo is pregnant with war.

In the second part of our enquiry, as to the part played by the University in direct support of war, we cannot do better than go back to the history of this University between 1914 and 1918. The relevant material is available in official form, in a volume entitled "University War Lectures," published by authority of the University Council. The preface to this entertaining volume begins:

"At a meeting of the teaching staffs of the University of Melbourne and its affiliated colleges, held on Wednesday, April 21, 1915, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"(1) That during the continuance of the war the members of the staff of the University and affiliated colleges abstain from the use of alcohol, except under medical advice.

"(2) That the committee to be appointed at this meeting be requested to consider the question whether a University Rifle Club can be formed with advantage, and whether any other action can be taken in substitution for such a club, or in addition to it; and, further, that members of the teaching staff of the University and affiliated colleges pledge themselves to encourage volunteering for war service in Europe among the members of the University by such means as may be approved by the committees to be formed.

"(3) Although many special services have already been performed by officers of the University at the invitation of ministers, it is desirable to make it more definitely understood that such services are available, and therefore that the Council be asked to approach the Federal and State Governments with the suggestion that the members of the staff of the University would be willing to offer their services, as far as is compatible with the continuance of University work, to aid or supplement, wherever possible, the work of the scientific, technical, or professional branches of the Government departments during

the war, on any matters connected with imperial defence, in which their assistance may be useful.

"(4) That this meeting is of the opinion that public lectures under the auspices of the University should be given on the subject of the war, its causes, its importance to Australia, and the political and other problems which arise from it, and that the Council be requested to give its support to this course.

"(5) That the administration of the above resolutions be placed in the hands of a representative committee, with power to appoint special committees."

The first resolution may or may not have been fulfilled.

The second resolution resulted in the formation of the Melbourne University Rifles, superintended by Major (now Professor) Osborne. The M.U.R. did its job well as a recruiting and training ground for student volunteers.

The third resolution was carried out very fully and effectively. The Department of Bacteriology supplied vaccines; Chemistry, anaesthetics; Engineering, repairs to wireless generating plant, testing materials, etc.; Natural Philosophy, manufactured and supplied wireless parts, experimental material, etc.; Medicine, supplied men and materials to the Army Medical Corps, largely organised base hospitals, etc. The gas mask used by the Australian Forces was designed by the University.

As to the fourth resolution, it was carried out in full. A lecture was given on "British and German Ideals," the gist of which was that to a Britisher the term "not British" means "not fair play," while to a German the term "not German" means "not done in Germany." A lecture on the causes of the war, by a Professor who could not help but know what these causes were, represented them to flow from the arrogance of the Junkers and the philosophy of Nietzsche. A lecture on "Germany's Intellectual Strength and Weakness," after giving Germany great praise for her immense contributions to human thought, concluded by saying that this intellectual ascendancy was hot-tempered in debate and have shocking manners. A chemical lecture described a conversation represented as taking place between Professor Masson and a British chemist in pre-war days, in which the value of bromide gases as weapons of offence was remarked upon, but the project abandoned, on the grounds that it was contrary to the ethics of civilised warfare, and that Germany had a natural monopoly of supply, anyhow.

So they dragged on, lecture after lecture by members of the professional staff, each more hysterical, each more remote from academic regard for scientific method and for truth than the last. So much for academic detachment. So much for the cultural independence of Universities. In the times when these qualities are so urgently needed, the University is found, not checking popular hysteria, but leading it.

Nor has the University changed fundamentally in the intervening years. The University is playing a part in the war machine now. It fosters the vagueness and confusion of ideas that makes the

student an easy prey to war propaganda; in it are the officers' training corps, the M.U.R.; and we believe certain schools receive support from the Defence Department in return for services. The University would play a much larger role in actual wartime.

In the period of the Great War there were opponents of war among the students and staff. One of them was thrown in the lake as a result of speaking against the war. The opposition at that time was pacifist and ineffective. We must ensure really effective opposition, not only to war, but also to war preparations now proceeding.

The material given here points to the kind of work the University Council Against War must develop. Without attention to the relationship, actual or potential, of the University departments to the war machinery, its general activities will be ineffective.

Especially important are the staffs and students in the Engineering and Science Schools. These are most likely to be called, often indirectly, into the service of bloody destruction.

—COLIN FRASER.

CAMBRIDGE SPEAKS.

"We, the undersigned scientific workers and teachers of the University of Cambridge, wish to affirm our fundamental opposition to the use of scientific research in war and in preparation for war.

"We accordingly feel bound to protest against the Incident to Disinfection Bill now being introduced by the present Government.

"A situation may in the near future arise in which scientific workers would be subjected to considerable temptation and pressure to engage in research of a kind especially directed to the purpose of war.

"It is the duty of those scientists who refuse to be a party to the frustration and misapplication of science in war to try and dissuade their colleagues from betraying in this way the best interest of humanity. Such persuasion must necessarily take the form of the written as well as the spoken word, and since the Disinfection Bill will assuredly be interpreted as applying to research, as well as to combatant members of the Government's Forces, effective contact on this subject with our fellow scientific workers will be prevented.

"Finally, as citizens, we wish to record our protest against the further restriction of the civil liberties of the subject now introduced in this Bill.

"JOSEPH NEEDHAM (Biochemistry),

"ALEXANDER WOOD (Physics),

(and 77 other signatories representing Agriculture, Mineralogy, Zoology, Botany, Physiology, Parasitology, Physical Chemistry, Geophysics, Colloid Science, etc.).

"Cambridge."

June, 1934.

Is Fascism Un-British?

THE development of Fascism, both open and concealed, is a process which has bewildered millions of people who had put their trust in capitalist "democracy" as the guardian of their hard-won liberties.

Bloody reaction, stark barbarism ravages and rules Germany to-day; rules the Germany where but less than two years ago the Weimar Constitution and German Social Democracy ensured the sanctity of those democratic principles which Fascism, wherever it obtains, has ruthlessly suppressed. Germany, once foremost in cultural achievement, is now in the hands of thugs who carry out the dictates of big capital.

The Press of all capitalist "democratic" countries is horrified at the atrocities committed by Fascism—"It is inconceivable that in a civilised country like Germany such crimes could be committed. . . ." The Englishman gains heart—such things could not happen in a truly democratic country like his. So with the Frenchman, so with the millions whose trust is invested in the "democracy" Capitalism has given them. Recent events, however, are of such a character as to shake to its foundations the prevalent belief that Fascism is an alien growth, peculiarly suited to the German or Italian temperament.

Conditions for Fascism's Growth.

Fascism is inextricably bound up with the general crisis of capitalism. The post-war boom period, 1923-29, brought with it increased mechanisation of industry and further industrialisation in colonial countries (China, India, etc.) in order to secure more efficient exploitation. The inherent contradiction of capitalism, expanding production in the face of a decreasing market, put an end to this boom. Capitalism plunged into crisis! According to all bourgeois economists (including Professor Copland, Dr. G. Wood, and Dr. Mauldon), it was to be a crisis no different from other crises. It was to be short-lived and followed by rapid recovery. Now in its fifth year it shows every sign of intensification. Increased competition and rationalisation have brought with them devastating wage cuts, millions of unemployed, decreasing purchasing power and unparalleled misery. With all its boasted achievements capitalism cannot supply the simple wants of its wage-slaves. A stage has been reached, however, when the masses begin to fight back and organise in militant unity against the attacks on their miserable conditions. Radicalisation of the masses surges forward, the tempo increases, the very existence of Capitalism is threatened. The problem facing the bourgeoisie is how to stem the tide of revolution, how to preserve its profit-making machinery. Its benevolent "democracy" gives the masses opportunities to attack it. "Democracy" is scrapped; Fascism is called to power.

Fascism comes to power when capitalist democracy can no longer keep its workers in subjection, when large masses of the petit-bourgeoisie are ruined and clamour for a way out, and when

increased efficiency in exploitation is a dire necessity if profits are to be maintained. Fascism is the attempt to thrust the working class back into greater servitude than that from which it fought its way to "democracy." It is the open expression of the innate forces and motives of Capitalism.

While dividends were high, while immense profits were easily made, it was possible for Capitalism to grant concessions to the workers. After hard-fought struggles it gave them the right to organise in Trade Unions and the ballot box. These concessions gave the workers advantages in their struggles for better conditions. At the same time the creation of a labour aristocracy (on the basis of exploitation both of home and, particularly, of colonial masses) led to the development of a social democracy which deluded the workers into believing that their complete emancipation could be effected simply by adding to these "democratic" privileges. The further development of Capitalism, especially intensified in the period of general crisis, has taken away the basis for the granting of concessions and is rapidly destroying the illusion of emancipation through reform. Capitalist democracy is being unmasked. The success of the Soviet Union in the midst of capitalist failure is a big factor in this unmasking.

The organisation of the masses against inroads on their wages and living conditions must be stopped. The laws which obtained in the boom period are found to be not sufficiently stringent and comprehensive. They must be altered and new ones enacted to prevent the growth of "sedition" and "disloyalty." This process has been going on in every capitalist country. In some the mask of "democracy" has already been thrown aside; in others it is wearing thin. In these latter the worn veil may be thrown aside at the opportune moment; or it may gradually vanish, being replaced by degrees with "constitutional" enactments.

We are now in a position to question the truth of the Englishman's (or for that matter, the American's or the Frenchman's) contention that it is impossible for Fascism, with all its horrible accoutrements, to dominate his country.

The conditions for the growth of Fascism being inherent in the development of the general crisis of capitalism, it is seen that these conditions exist in England and Australia, as in every capitalist country.

It would be a vital mistake to assume that Fascism can develop only in the form of organised parties, like the Nazis, which will assume power when the time is ripe. The mask of "democracy" may vanish in other ways. A review of the activities of bourgeois governments the world over reveals an increasing tempo of fascism in the State apparatus. England and Australia are no exceptions. This tendency may just as effectively end in open capitalist dictatorship as the campaign of an openly Fascist party.

England.

In England Fascism is developing along two paths. Sir Oswald Mosley and his Blackshirts,

supported by Rothermere and his allies, are open Fascists. The more openly repressive administration of existing laws, the enactment of such measures as the Seditious Bill, are symptoms of the fasciation of English "democracy."

The lesson of Germany and Italy is being learnt by the workers the world over; consequently, Mosley is encountering severe resistance from the more militant sections of the British workers. Thus, on the occasion of his addressing the British Union of Fascists at the Olympia, interjectors, including women, were brutally kicked and manhandled by Mosley's thugs. Many were stripped of their clothes and bludgeoned into unconsciousness. Enraged workers who collected outside were dispersed by the police. In the mêlée between the Blackshirts and the workers the police arrested workers but allowed the Blackshirts to go free. (Exactly similar police action was taken in Germany before Hitler's coup.) In spite of the fact that Mosley aroused great resentment from big sections of the people, the Government's only action was to increase the powers of the police "to protect meetings." This measure is, of course, specially designed to give the police power to intervene in meetings, and will be used mainly against the workers. The Labour Parties supported the measure.

The new Seditious Bill, which has the support, not only of the Die-Hards and Liberals but of most of the Labour Party members, recently introduced into the House of Commons, is a very important step on the path of "free democratic" Britain towards open dictatorship. While the Bill, ostensibly, is only meant to repress anti-militarist propaganda among the armed forces, its actual effect goes far beyond this seemingly limited scope.

Any person who "has in his possession, or under his control, any document of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof among members of His Majesty's Forces would be an offence" may be sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

The increasing unrest of the military and naval forces (e.g., the mutiny at Invergordon in 1931) has its origin in the economic conditions. Capitalism has produced, but Capitalism cannot believe this, so it levels its attack against those who are capable of giving voice to this discontent, just as in Germany and Italy militants are sent to concentration camps for pointing out to poverty-stricken people the causes of their impoverishment.

The Bill also gives the police power, on the basis of "general" warrants, to search any named office or house, "and to seize anything found." Any person found in possession of "seditious" literature is liable to arrest. Thus a pretext is provided for the arrest and imprisonment of anyone, even though he may not be engaged in anti-militarist propaganda among the armed forces, but whose activities are a menace to the hidden dictatorship of finance capital. The Bill as it stands makes it immediately possible for the Government to treat as illegal (and imprison all members of) every militant working class organization.

Pressed in the House of Commons, the Government's spokesman refused to accept the plea that "pacifist" literature should be exempted from the scope of the Bill.

"In the case of a student," replied the Solicitor-General, "for of an ordinary man with an interest in political matters who happened to have a book of Tolstoy's advocating non-resistance, it was not suggested that that was not in his possession without a lawful excuse."

Tolstoy is permitted! What will happen if the "pervasive" writings of Lenin or Marx are found in the possession of "an ordinary man"? The British Government has already used a Statute of Edward III., under which persons who might in future be guilty of a "breach of the peace" may be arrested and imprisoned. Hanington and Tom Mann were recently arrested in this way.

In Northern Ireland, where the acute class struggle is intensified by the merging into it of the national struggle, the Government has secured the passing of a law under which it can forbid a "suspect" to possess a motor vehicle, and can imprison him for any period on suspicion alone.

These legal enactments are paralleled by the strengthening of the police forces, the special development of the secret police, and the use of military forces to aid the police.

For over a year there have been unemployed camps organised on semi-militarist lines.

To those who are inclined to doubt the possibility of their democratic liberties being taken away, these facts must come as a shock. They show clearly the tendency developing in the framework of Capitalist democracy towards a rigid regimentation of social and individual activities into channels not opposed in any way to the State—into a system not to be separated from open Fascism.

Australia.

In "democratic" Australia, also, the heavy hand of repression has acquired considerable experience in taking away liberties. The fasciation of the State apparatus has more than commenced.

This is clearly seen in the vindictive campaign of the police and the courts against freedom of speech last year in Brunswick and Prahran. (This was dealt with in the June "Proletariat" of last year.) Fierce struggles have occurred elsewhere in Australia, notably in Maryborough, Q., while at present a particularly bitter fight for the right to speak and sell literature is taking place in the Sydney Domain.

The Government has a secret system of banning books in the Customs Department, and many books, including some used as texts at the Universities, are prevented from reaching the people.

The Amendments to the Crimes Act, 1932, have given the Government much the same powers as the Seditious Bill entails in England. But the failure of the prosecution of H. Devanny, in 1932, as publisher of the "Workers' Weekly," the Communist Party organ, revealed that there were still loopholes. Since that time State Governments have been taking steps to stop these by enacting such measures as the Disloyalty Bill in N.S.W.

The Lyons Government has made it quite clear where democracy and free speech end, and "law

and order" begin, by the publication of a private brochure on "Combating Communism." This is devoted to self-eulogy of its achievements in this field. We quote verbatim:—

"When the Lyons Government took office there was much activity among the Communists and the near-Communists. The Government, seized with the gravity of the situation, and realising the objective of Communism, took immediate steps to combat the evil. During the first year of office, the activities of the Government may be summarised under the following heads:—

- Amendment of the Crimes Act;
- Amendment of the Immigration Act, giving greater power to deport undesirables;
- Tightening up the proclamation prohibiting the importation of Communist literature into the Commonwealth;
- Restrictions of newspapers in foreign languages;
- Removal of certain newspapers from the Post Office Register;
- Strict supervision over the grant of passports to Communists and persons desiring to visit Russia; and
- Refusal to naturalise Communists."

Further on in its brochure the Federal Government states that its policy has been "to prevent the spread of Communism by placing every possible obstacle in its way." These obstacles have included the forcing of the owners of premises let to militant organisations, all of which both the Government and its allies brand as Communist, to turn their tenants out.

THE WORLD BOOKS—1933

THE American journal, "Publishers' Weekly" states that in 1933 "the Christmas sales in the book shops were 25 per cent. less than last year."

This is typical of the way in which capitalism in its decline cramps and hinders the development of education and culture. An analysis of the categories and numbers of titles published in the more important capitalist countries, comparing them with the Soviet Union, shows very clearly the tremendous impetus which the most important branches of human thought and scientific investigation have achieved under Socialism:—

	Eng.	Ger.	Soviet
	U.S.A.	France.	land. manv. Union.
Technique . . .	218	584	595 1115 8513
Agriculture . .	60	530	194 627 3230
Natural Sciences			
& Exact Sciences	357	49	617 996 3106
Medicine, Hygiene	360	823	435 876 855
Social & Political			
Science . . .	621	653	1098 1346 3247
Religion . . .	632	636	1022 1913 176
Philosophy . . .	219	333	261 434 99

The figures speak for themselves. In capitalist countries works on religion far outstrip those on technique and agriculture.

It may seem that the Soviet Union is deficient in philosophical works. But in bourgeois coun-

Australia, too, has its hands of organised Fascists who are arming with the support of the military machine. It has its unshrined Fascist politician, Kent Hughes, with whom the "liberty-loving" Ministers of the "democratic" Victorian Government work side by side in harmony.

Yes, the veil is wearing thinner! The democratic rights of the people are being taken away. The capitalists can no longer afford to let us read what we want to, or say what we think. The spectre of discontent is abroad. Capitalism fears the spread of discontent is not, but with laws backed by the whole force of the State apparatus. And where these laws and their enforcement fail, open terror is called in.

Many people are opposed to this open, brutal Fascism. We have pointed out sufficient of the nature and development to it must also be directed against its more subtle developments within the framework of "democracy."

Students must recognise that curtailments of their liberties are being prepared. They must realise that if they are to fight for free and untrammelled development of culture, if they are to help clear the path for advancement towards higher ideals, to a higher society where oppression, destitution, unemployment and war will be unknown, then they must ally themselves with the working class against Fascism in all its forms. The alternative is Fascism itself.

—EGAL WHITE.

tries few materialist philosophical works are written, while a whole host of mediaeval obscurantist trash is poured forth.

For example, the "Stock Exchange News for the German Book Trade" records that "the economic depression has had its effect upon astrological and occult literature (seen also in Australia). There has been an increase in the number of publishers who publish books on fortune-telling, character-reading, and similar mystic sciences, in transcendental methods in science and other spheres."

In one sphere books are increasing in capitalist countries—in the sphere of war. It is impossible to give exact figures. Let us quote from the English trade journal, "Publishers' Circular":—

"Whoever studies human nature can observe that the decline in the output of books on pedagogy is made up for by an increase in the number of books appearing on war and military science."

The Soviet Union still lags behind in history, art, philology, and law. However, its gigantic strides in the sphere of general culture, and particularly in science and technique, reveal the tremendous forward strides taken by socialism beyond what capitalism ever dreamed.

—I.C.M.

Towards the Emancipation of the Aborigines.

"No people oppressing other peoples can be free."—Marx and Engels.

IT is no exaggeration to state that there has been a great awakening of interest in the Australian Aborigines during the last two or three years. Some weeks ago the Minister for the Interior informed the newspapers that he had received a flood of protests against the sentencing to death of eight aborigines who had been charged with the murder of two white men. We can also recall the widespread opposition to the proposal of the Lyons Government to send a punitive expedition to Caledon Bay "to teach the natives a lesson."

To-day, a number of scientific, humanitarian, religious, and working-class political organisations are closely concerning themselves with the problems of the aborigines. Even smug bourgeois scholars, who have reconciled themselves to the early disappearance of the aboriginal race, are eager to see that they depart in peace.

Anthropologists and other observers have provided a considerable amount of literature dealing with the mode of living, customs, and culture of the natives of Australia. Their tribal systems have been described. We know of their amazing skill as bushmen and hunters, of their high degree of intelligence, hospitality, and physical strength.

But on the political and social problems of the aborigines there is a great deal of confusion. Let us, therefore, clarify some vexed questions, and point the way to the emancipation of the aborigines.

1. What is the Economic and Political Position of the Aborigines?

There are about 60,000 full-blooded aborigines in Australia. An expert estimate gives 1,000,000 as the population prior to the British invasion. In Victoria, there are only about 50 aborigines alive to-day. Compared with other regions, however, Victoria was never very thickly populated with the brown people. It is in areas such as the Coorong, in South Australia, once teeming with game and fish, and inhabited by thousands of natives, that the decline in population is most tragic.

The principal groupings of aborigines are now in the Federal Government Territories of North and Central Australia. As the principal industries in these regions involve work for which the natives show some aptitude, their exploitation by graziers (and others) is now part of the economic life of the country.

The Commonwealth Year-Book tells us that about 2500 aborigines (one-third of whom are females) are in "employment" in the Federal Territories. Apparently the Arbitration Court draws a "colour line," because the standard wage for these workers is 5/- per week. Two shillings out of the five are paid into a "trust account." Trust funds which are not claimed after six years are confiscated by the Government.

However, it is incontestable that the bulk of the aborigines in "employment" receive no wages at all. M. M. Bennett, in "The Australian Aboriginal as a Human Being," says that the majority of the aborigines are employed in the bush; and here "it is the practice for employers to apply to the constable-protector for a general licence, costing 10/- a year, to employ an unlimited number of aborigines without paying them." Bleakley's well-known Report stresses the fact that the natives have no alternative to accepting such miserable conditions, as their hunting-grounds have been invaded by stock.

These Federal Territories, then, together with the Mandated Territory in New Guinea, constitute the "Empire" of Australian capitalism. From the slave labour of the natives are ground the colonial super-profits of the Australian bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, the aborigines, like the million masses of Asia and Africa, suffering under European and Japanese imperialism, are robbed of all political rights. They have no representation in Parliament, and no local government other than what remains of their ancient tribal system, the laws of which are not recognised by the Australian Constitution. The aborigines have no right to own land. They have an inferior position in courts of law compared with white men. Nor is there any "sanctity" for native women, who must submit themselves, whether married or single, as concubines to the white men.

A vast quantity of evidence is available on this first question. But without investigating further we can agree that the aborigines are oppressed and enslaved in a shameful manner under Australian imperialism.

2. Has Imperialism Been Beneficial to the Aborigines?

Earlier we have calculated the appalling shrinkage of the aboriginal population since the coming of European "civilisation." Perhaps no people, whether they be the natives of the Belgian Congo or the redskins of America, or the victims of the Spanish invasion of the New World, have been so systematically crushed and exterminated.

Capitalism came to Australia "dripping from head to foot with blood and dirt." The history of the British colonisation of Tasmania is soaked with blood—firstly, the blood of the victims of the convict system, and secondly the blood of the natives.

By 1847, capitalism had virtually exterminated the unique curly-haired Tasmanian aborigines. This crime was soon extended to the more fertile of the coastal regions of the mainland. The few natives who survived were impounded in mission stations.

Organised "shooting hunts," poisoned water-holes, and cyanided meat soon decimated the tribes. Europeans raped the native women and spread syphilis and tuberculosis. Prostitution of

native women was encouraged by gifts of liquor to the males. The "Queenslander," 8/12/1877, reports that "each white man carrying a rifle tries its range on every blackfellow he sees."

In 1904, the Western Australian Government appointed a Royal Commissioner to report on aboriginal administration. The report sets out that blacks were found to be chained by the neck, half-starved, and hammered by the police. The police received a money grant for every native captured. Native prisoners were made to plead guilty at the muzzle of a rifle.

In 1929, the notorious massacre of natives of the Northern Territory, in connection with the killing of a dingy-shooter named Brookes, gave a further illustration of the murderous imperialist policy. A "constable-protector," who admitted having assisted to shoot 31 aborigines, was "white-washed" by a Board of Inquiry. According to a judge, "the police mowed the natives down wholesale."

Already this year we have seen a number of "trials" of natives, resulting in the victims being thrown into tropical jails for breaches of laws of which they are totally ignorant.

On this second question, therefore, we must find that the aborigines have been brought very close to total annihilation at the hands of the imperialists.

3. Are the Aborigines Doomed?

In a foreword to a popular booklet, "Blackfellows of Australia," by Charles Barrett, appears the following statement by Theodore Fink, quoting Sir Arthur Keith:—"The racial map of the world is changing rapidly. In less than a century not a trace will be left of the race which dominated the whole continent of Australia for tens of thousands of years." The verdict of bourgeois science proclaims that the aboriginal race must perish.

It is true that the aborigines are dangerously close to extinction. But the bourgeois scientists reckon without the upsurge of the revolutionary movement among the working class. History has shown that where the working class succeeds in emancipating itself from capitalism, it simultaneously emancipates all oppressed peoples within its territories. There has been no more outstandingly successful feature of the proletarian revolution in Russia than the solving of the "National Question" (i.e., the liberation of oppressed peoples).

The empire of the Czars contained scores of subject nationalities. Kazaks, Uzbeks, Bashkirs, Tartars, Yakuts, Karels, Udmurts, Chuvashes, White Russians, Moldavians, as well as Jews, Poles, Letts, and Estonians, were facing extinction or assimilation at the time of the October Revolution in 1917. Many of these peoples were of nomadic habits, destitute of education, and totally untrained in industry.

The Revolution halted the doom which threatened to overtake the oppressed peoples of Russia. Lenin, developing the teachings of Karl Marx, pointed out the tasks of the Russian proletariat—the direction of the formerly oppressed nationalities along socialist lines, eliminating the capitalist stage of development. Under the leadership of Stalin, it is becoming "possible for

the backward peoples to overtake Central Russia in a political, cultural, and economic sense."

The changes brought to the oppressed peoples of Russia by proper medical and sanitary systems, education, cultural development, political freedom, collective farming, and stable industries, indicate what Socialism offers the Australian aborigines.

Bourgeois scientists who predict the extinction of the aborigines, also reckon without the broad sections of the population who are vigilantly watching the treatment of the aborigines, and who are exposing and resisting the worst of the attacks being launched against the natives. The growth of the anti-imperialist movement, which may later develop into an international campaign against the oppression of the aborigines, is a vital factor for their preservation.

We must, then, reject decisively the bourgeois theory that the aborigines are doomed to extinction. Even without Socialism, they may be saved from extermination.

4. Are the Aborigines Capable of Social Advancement?

Frederick Engels, in "The Origin of the Human Race," describes the social evolution of the human race. He indicates that the "Australians and Polynesians still remain in the middle stage of savagery."

The aborigines in their natural environment had developed the use of fire for the cooking of fish, game, and farinaceous roots and tubers. They thus had a varied diet, and an independence of climate and locality which enabled them to follow the course of rivers and coastlines, and spread over the continent. Stone and wooden implements and weapons were in use. The development of simple domestic utensils, reed baskets, nets, and canoes indicated the evolution of the aborigine towards the higher stage of savagery.

But the geographical position of Australia, and the plant and animal life of the continent, acted as a brake on the evolution of the aborigines. "The superior development of Aryans and Semites," says Engels, "is, perhaps, attributable to the copious meat and milk diet of both races, more especially to the favourable influence of such food on the growth of children."

In Australia there were no native cows or goats to provide milk; there were no beasts of burden. There was no known indigenous grain which could be cultivated. Once again, the production and reproduction of life and its material requirements proved to be, in the words of Engels, "the decisive element of history."

But there is no longer any obstacle, other than Capitalism, which condemns the aborigines to stagnation in conditions of savagery. The Leninist policy of the Soviet Union has changed the whole social conditions of races formerly living in illiteracy, poverty, and bondage to the Czar. National cultures have been preserved and developed, and scores of national languages printed for the first time in history. Agrarian and industrial techniques has been mastered by these so-called "backward" peoples.

Animals, food, machines—pre-requisites for the development of the aborigines—now exist in abundance. On this question, then, can we not

determine that the aborigines, under a Soviet Australia, would in time develop rural and urban industries, raise their cultural level, and become completely independent of the white people.

5. What Steps Are Necessary to Achieve Aboriginal Emancipation?

The bourgeoisie is not concerned with the emancipation of native races. "We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians," said Sir Joynson Hicks in 1925. "I know in missionary meetings it is said that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant! We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain."

Hicks was a Tory politician. A similar viewpoint is held by the Lyons Government, which has conducted an offensive against the natives, and answers with its tongue in its cheek that the natives are not ill-treated. Chicanery is the essence of the Lyons Government's dealings with the natives. It utilised a "Peace Mission" organised by missionaries, to lure the Caledon Bay natives to Darwin, where they were arrested and brutally handed in the cells. At the time of writing, the Government is planning a police drive to capture more witnesses for the trial, despite assurances that such action would be avoided.

The Scullin Labour Government effected no changes making for improvement in aboriginal conditions during its term of office. The colonial policy of the Labour administration was exposed at the time when Scullin deported a number of political prisoners of Dutch imperialism who had escaped to Northern Australia. Replying to protests against the deporting of these workers back to the fever-infested Javanese gaoles, the Federal Government answered that they were merely "continuing the policy of previous Governments" in such matters. Four or five years ago, members of a deputation to the South Australian Labour Chief Secretary (Whitford) reported that they had received an astonishing reply to their request that a certain aborigine should be permitted to reside in Adelaide and draw rations. The native had complained that he and his sister were thrashed at a mission station because they refused to attend church services. Rejecting the request, the Labour politician said, with cynical

humour, "This man must return to his own country."

We can accept the statements of Professor Wood-Jones, that missionary activities among the aborigines have been a failure. The real nature of the mission work is seen in the case of the "Peace Mission" to Caledon Bay. Here the natives were "apprehended" (to use the expression of a Federal Minister) by a missionary. The alleged "murderers" were then "taken for a ride" to Darwin, where they were handed over to the police. Then the "holy" policemen returned to Melbourne, being applauded by Archbishop Head and other upholders of imperialism. With few exceptions, the missionaries cover up the crimes of imperialism against the oppressed colonial peoples.

But we must also realise that the sending of an anthropologist to work among the aborigines, as urged by Professor Wood-Jones, barely touches the problem. This plan might assist in gathering scientific data. However, we already possess sufficient information to enable us to formulate a policy to save the aborigines. What is wanted is not only more information, but political action to prevent further oppression.

It seems clear, then, that the solution of the problem of the emancipation of the aborigines lies in the setting up of an autonomous aboriginal republic, under the political leadership of the Australian working class. This, in turn, is contingent on the formation of a Soviet Australia.

For the immediate preservation of the aborigines we must depend on the rallying of the widest support in a campaign having as its objectives:—

- (1) Cessation of hostilities against the aborigines, whether by the Government officials and police, the missionaries, or commercial exploiters.
- (2) The granting of full political and legal rights to the natives, including the right of trial by native juries.
- (3) Full trade union wages and conditions for all native workers.
- (4) The preservation inviolate of all native reserves.
- (5) The provision of free medical, educational, and cultural facilities to all natives.

—G.R.

STUDENTS AND THE BALLOT BOX.

In a few weeks, many of us will be taking part in the Federal elections. What do these elections mean to us?

They mean that we are being called upon to play our part in the great fraud of "government of the people, for the people, by the people."

It has been very much easier for dominant capitalism to rule when it has been able to persuade the people that they do the ruling.

What, then, is the position of the student who has seen through the parliamentary fraud? Can the elections be tossed aside contemptuously? No. The advanced worker or student, while recognis-

ing Parliament as the basest capitalist deception, nevertheless recognises that its tribune can be used by real working class representatives to expose the reactionary manoeuvres of the capitalist parties, and to bring forward the real questions affecting the masses of the people. He looks back at the record of invaluable service done by the Bolsheviks in the reactionary Czarist Duma, by Karl Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin in the Reichstag.

Parliament is a base deception, but its own machinery can be most effectively used to expose its real character.

Red Medicine

"WHEN a Russian becomes ill, the Government does something about it. In fact, the Government has already done something about it, for Soviet Russia has decided that the health of the individual is the concern of society as a whole. Indeed, the Soviet Union is the one nation in the world which has undertaken to set up and operate a complete organisation designed to provide preventive and curative medical care for every man, woman, and child within its borders."

This is one of the statements of the authors of "Red Medicine," Sir Arthur Newsholme, M.D., a well-known English Public Health authority, and Mr. John A. Kingsbury, LL.D., formerly controller of public charities for New York.

These men investigated medico-hygienic arrangements in eighteen European countries, hoping to evolve a medical system which would comprise the best in each. Their investigation was thorough, and resulted in the formulation of a number of postulates of a good medical service, which, together with a summing-up of capitalist medical services, appeared in their 1932 work, "Medicine and the State."

It occurred to the lawyer and doctor, having completed this task, to carry out a similar investigation in Russia; not that they expected to find anything approaching the standards of the countries previously examined. Such a wealth of discoveries, however, resulted from this afterthought, that they felt compelled to publish them in a separate volume—"Red Medicine" (Heinemann, 1934)—which, because of their thoroughness, is a valuable source of information.

How does the Russian system of medicine compare with that in other countries? It is proposed to consider separately and briefly (with "Red Medicine" as our authority on conditions in the U.S.S.R.) various aspects of the question.

Industrial Conditions.

The authors of "Red Medicine" make the observation that, as with social life, so with health, the factory has become the central unit instead of the home. Treatment of disease begins in most instances at the factory or collective farm, each of which has its own medical and nursing staff, creche, and special diet kitchen. Each worker is overhauled at intervals of three or four months; if any signs of disease are present he is referred to an institution for treatment. Absentees, especially frequent ones, are given special medical attention. Whereas in Melbourne the doctor must sacrifice the treatment in a race against time, in the U.S.S.R. the tendency is for the doctors to be too rigorous and to overdo rest and convalescence. Complaints are made to a committee of doctors and workers, who also decide on the sending of fellow-workers to sanatoria and rest homes.

It will be seen from the above that preventive medicine takes precedence over curative in the factories and farms, and a glance at working conditions emphasises this. The health of the workers

in each factory is safeguarded by a committee elected from among the workers. In spite of the intensiveness of work in general in the U.S.S.R., due to socialist competition and piecework, overtime is quite rare, unlike what is seen in capitalist countries. Several factors are responsible for this. In the first place, workers' factory committees regulate the pace of work. Secondly, the short working day and week are important. Seven hours for ordinary workers and six for workers in dangerous or underground occupations constitute the working day, and every fifth day is a complete holiday. Workers in injurious trades receive 24 days' leave annually, ordinary workers 12 days; during these vacations many of them find their way to rest homes in beautiful surroundings. The "shock brigades," the best workers, are sent to Livadia, formerly the Czar's Crimean residence.

In the third place, the earliest signs of overwork or neurasthenia in a worker are noted by the factory doctors, and the worker is sent to a night sanatorium, where he receives special attention from the time of cessation of work in the evening to its resumption next morning.

The recreation arrangements also call for some comment. Sports and physical culture are very popular in Russia—an entirely post-revolution phenomenon—and since one-fifth of the workers are on holiday every day, the 100 sports grounds in Moscow, for instance, are always in use. Swimming and boating are also very popular. Perhaps most favoured of all are the "Parks of Culture and Rest," where most city workers spend their evening leisure hours, and many their holidays also. Here there are dancing, community singing, open-air movies, educational displays, and gymnastics.

The last factor, probably the most important of all, is the mental health and satisfaction of the masses. In Australia and the other capitalist countries mental unrest and dissatisfaction are potent causes of mental and physical ill-health, leading often to suicide and crime, among both bourgeoisie and proletariat; among the bourgeoisie, because of the nerve-racking inter-sectional antagonisms, the antagonism of the proletariat, and the glorious uncertainties of business; among the proletariat, because of the intense hatred of class injustice, of working conditions, and therefore of work itself, bred in them by the knowledge that they slave night and day to fill the pockets of the bosses, who regard them in no higher light than as quantities of labour-power to be purchased at the lowest possible market value. Conspicuous among the Russians is the infrequency of mental ill-health; this must be due to the removal on the one hand of the misfolded inhibitions arising from the ridiculous bourgeois attitude to marriage, divorce, sexual problems, and the like; and on the other hand of the stresses and strains of the process of making a living in capitalist countries.

Social Conditions.

Great contrast is presented by the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries in their attitude to abortion. In Melbourne we speak of "criminal abortion," and because of the natural operative risk most abortionists become "murderers" at some time. A woman with money who desires to conceal illicit relations may easily procure the services of a professional abortionist. A poor woman desiring the same thing, or to prevent a large family, has but one course—to procure it herself or enlist the services of a friend. The result is enormous waste of life; it has been estimated that in Germany 3.5 per cent. of women having abortions die.

In Russia, on the other hand, the commonsense attitude to marriage, and in particular to the relations of young people, is hardly compatible with "illicit relations." Abortion is legalised, with adequate safeguards, for perusal of which the reader is referred to "Red Medicine."

Many surgeons have specialised in abortions, almost all of which take place in special divisions of hospitals. The charges are never more than £4, and are covered by insurance. The operation is now a five-minute procedure, with a mortality of 0.74 per cent. since 1920. It must be borne in mind that intensive education is being carried out in favour of contraception, into the possibilities of which much research is proceeding, in an effort to discover a simple but reliable non-mechanical method.

With regard to venereal disease, here again enlightened capitalism should be ashamed of its attitude. The official steps taken to eradicate the disease are wholly inadequate, being limited to the provision of clinics where an atmosphere of furtive secrecy combines with the doctors' roughness and lack of sympathy in a conspiracy to instil a feeling of guilt and shame into the unfortunate victim's mind, often with the effect of driving him away and preventing adequate treatment. Public education is limited to notices in public lavatories, the rest being left to racial hygiene associations. The quackery which is rife in capitalist countries rises to its greatest heights in dealing with venereal disease.

The Soviet attitude is that venereal disease is, like other diseases, a misfortune which must be eradicated as completely as possible.

Statistics show a rapid decrease in the prevalence of venereal disease in post-revolutionary Russia. This results from the working of several factors, in addition to treatment itself. In the first place, the workers themselves control the anti-venereal provisions. The second factor is the general liquidation of prostitution, which, as is well known, is a potent factor in the spread of venereal disease. Thirdly, the loosening of the divorce laws has resulted in diminished casual promiscuity and secret relationships.

Insurance.

The scheme of social insurance which has been brought into existence in the U.S.S.R. differs from that in vogue in a few capitalist countries, both quantitatively and qualitatively. It has been estimated that the equivalent of about 18 per cent.

of the total wages of workers is paid out in insurance. The actual amounts were about 1000 million rubles (about £100 million) in 1927, and about 3500 million in 1932. Such a scope would of course be impossible under capitalist conditions, where insurance, like everything else, is managed for private gain, and the funds are derived directly from premiums paid by the workers.

In the U.S.S.R. the workers do not contribute directly to insurance funds. Each factory and institution has attached a Social Insurance Bank, which receives contributions from the factory's funds, the amount being calculated by a committee of workers on a per capita basis according to wages.

The scheme provides for:—

1. **Sickness.**—Here full wages are paid while a person is sick, quarantined, or nursing a sick person. Medical services, and free medical treatment, including drugs, are provided for beneficiaries, their dependents, and the unemployed. The rest homes, sanatoria, and beds at health resorts are part of the insurance scheme.

2. **Permanent Incapacity.**—Payments vary with the degree of incapacitation, and are larger if the incapacity is due to industrial accident or disease. They vary from one-third to two-thirds of the regular wage of the recipient. A similar system provides for dependent widows.

3. **Maternity.**—Manual workers receive 8 weeks and non-manual workers 6 weeks' rest on full wages before and after confinement. In addition, special bonuses are given monthly for 9 months thereafter.

4. **Unemployment.**

5. **Old Age.**—The retiring ages are 60 for ordinary workers and 50 for miners and workers in dangerous industries. A pension is given equal to half the wages received in the last year of employment.

6. **Burial.**

7. **Accidents.**

Institutional Treatment.

If a worker is found by the factory doctor, or in the course of a home visit, to need treatment, he will be referred to a dispensary or ambulatorium, a poly-clinic, a special clinic, a general or special hospital, or a night sanatorium.

Dispensaries and ambulatoria are similar institutions, designed for the ordinary non-specialised treatment of ambulatory cases (the general practitioner). Poly-clinics and special clinics are also for out-patients—a poly-clinic appears to be a combination of dispensary and special clinics, and is more frequent than are special clinics alone. Special hospitals are not so frequent as are special divisions of general hospitals, under which system better co-ordination is afforded.

In the Rostov Unitary Dispensary, "every patient is exhaustively overhauled, passing visits each of its departments. Furthermore, a nurse visits each patient's home to ascertain domestic and working conditions of life and to arrange for any steps needed for their improvement." With regard to hospitals, the authors say, "In the cities visited by us, the general standard of hospital treatment appeared to be good. We found new hospitals, with the newest and best

appliance." The authors stress the "completeness of arrangement for co-operation between the special departments" and the "integration of preventive and curative medicine."

Another phenomenon noticed by the investigators is the absence of quackery in the U.S.S.R. In this respect criticism is directed at American medical care for "the extensive use of inferior types of treatment and widespread self-medication." This criticism is valid for Australia, and indeed for all countries where private gain must be the main motive of medical practitioners.

Medical Training.

In 1912 there were no research institutes, and only six institutes for medical training in all Russia; in 1930 the corresponding figures were 106 and 34. The applications of prospective medical students are sorted by a committee of fellow-workers, whose recommendations come before representatives of (a) the administrative medical faculty, (b) the professional staff, (c) the Trade Unions, and (d) the student workers. Any favoritism is widely exposed. Practical work commences in the first or second year of the course, and subsequent years are devoted to work at hospitals and poly-clinics. Every student receives an allowance from the government, and extra pay for definite hospital work done by him. In this aspect the training compares very favourably with that in Melbourne, where the student pays exorbitant fees. The Russian system compares even more favourably in the post-graduate courses of three or four months offered free to doctors every three years.

It will not be idle speculation if we hazard a guess as to what prompted the investigation made by the authors of "Red Medicine." Was it not, consciously or otherwise, the expression of the unrest and anxiety of the medical fraternity when faced with diminished returns and sinking status? For years now in England the general practitioner earning £5 a week has been fortunate, and the same conditions are rapidly approaching for Australian practitioners; in fact, already present in a number of areas. It must be remembered that the source of such conditions lies in the diminished incomes of the workers and poor farmers; and that, in consequence, the interests of medical men are intimately bound up with those of the masses.

It is impossible under capitalism to achieve the complete integration of all departments which

modern medicine demands. Our two investigators get a faint glimmering of this in their criticism of capitalist medicine, but they lose it again almost immediately in their proposals for reform, where, like all scientists visiting Russia who are ignorant of dialectical materialism, the desire to obtain similar excellent conditions in their own country leads to impossible suggestions. However, certain of their proposals, which are all definite, are partly practicable under capitalism, and if brought into being by concerted action by students and medical men, would mean definite improvements in the lot of both medical men and masses. We cannot do better than quote the authors: "The essential change needed is the cessation of remuneration for each medical act, and the substitution of medical work on a contract basis." "Group medical practice is only practicable for the majority of the community if fees on a low scale are accepted; and assistance is indispensable from insurance funds, and from taxation of the general community."

In Australia, the masses of the population are provided with totally inadequate medical services. Any medical practitioner or student will agree that most illness goes untreated or only partially treated, even for the rich, while prevention occupies an entirely secondary position. Eighty per cent. of medical treatment at the metropolitan area is done in public hospitals. Lodge practice has been ruined by the mass unemployment. Most practitioners are faced with a precarious existence; the same applies to students, but much more certainly, since all but the poorest practices are severely held, or have large waiting lists.

Some scheme of insurance, using funds raised by taxation of the wealthy and by diverting the increasing amounts set aside for war expenditure, should be provided, so that the masses of the people will get more adequate medical services, and, at the same time, medical men will at last be assured of a livelihood.

Such reform, however, can do but little to alleviate the situation, and still less to prevent disease—the main causes of which lie in the economic position of the masses, and are therefore greatly increased by wage cuts, speed-up, and the starvation rates of sustenance. Only under a socialised medical system which presupposes the replacement of capitalist government by that of the workers and small farmers, can these causes be systematically eliminated.

—MEDICAL STUDENT.

WILL YOU COME TO A SUMMER CONFERENCE?

The Labour Club will probably organise a conference to be held during the middle two weeks of January, 1935, or at the most suitable time for those who want to come to it. The conference will be held either at the beach or in the mountains. It will last a fortnight. Classes, lectures, and discussions will be arranged so as to leave plenty of time for recreation. Students interested should communicate as soon as possible with members of the Labour Club Committee. The cost of the whole conference should be approximately £2.

We will be very glad to hear that some Sydney and other University students want to come.

Playing with "Possibilities"

A critique of Mr. H. Burton's Social Democratic Apologia, "Reform or Revolution," published in the first number of "The Australian Rhodes Review."

WE are about to enter a tomb—do not ask what is it? Let us go and make our visit—to a tomb where REFORM or REVOLUTION looms in inkblack letters on a marble wall face where under the quaint epitaph Herbert Burton laid a social democratic credo to eternal rest (he buried him in the March month of 1934), where littered corpses stillborn lay about, where fond father-mother Mr. Burton gazed on a dead child and sighed, where a black-uniformed attendant with "OBLIVION" on his cap said everything was all right here, nothing moves, nothing ever happens here in this tomb of Australian bourgeois culture in the "AUSTRALIAN RHODES REVIEW," where Rhodes scholars buried their abortions, and Mr. Burton was a Rhodes Scholar.

We somewhat dislike cauterising a cadaver, but out of this anatomy of melancholy we may extract some good, rendering the occupation tolerable with a little judicious formalin of frivolity and afterwards cremating the thing in a healthy dialectic blaze.

Here is the body:

"Is our system of political organisation adequate to carry through a revolutionary change in a peaceful or constitutional manner?"

REFORM or

Here is the soul:
"Is it ever justifiable to advocate organisation to carry out such changes by direct action?"

REVOLUTION.

THE FIRST INCISION—THE KINDEST CUT OF ALL.

In debating the issue, Mr. Burton is so detached. He always splits the casuistical hairs according to the accepted traditions of academic fair play. It is very futile play—the futile game of a sincere intellectual incarcerated in a bourgeois culturephobia asylum. While some students of this university are the pop-eyed reflections of the private lives of Henry the Eighth and Mickey Mouse and Bradman and Mae West, and haven't got time to worry because some people haven't got enough to eat, Mr. Burton is interested in the vital social realities of his time. But he is so detached, so impartial, so constitutional. Millions unemployed, the rising tide of Fascism, rhythm of World War, and the ever-surgin gism from afar, penetrating, as it were, a substratum of his consciousness. Mr. Burton does not quite realise that the human struggle is a life and death struggle, or if he did he would probably characterise it as "unfortunate." He still plays on the liberal "democratic" harp-sonium which so sweetly serenaded the working class in the halcyon days of bourgeois expansion. He has not fully digested later historical developments, such trivialities as—

the culmination of capitalist contradic-

tions in the most destructive economic and social crisis in history.

by the most ruthless and barbaric attacks on the toiling masses ever conceived.

— and the most frenzied, degenerate reactionaries in a desperately disintegrating system.

— and that Capitalist "Democracy" has revealed itself as the most gigantic fraud that ever deceived Mankind.

Mr. Burton simply blinks at these developments rather vaguely, and, like all social reformists and petit bourgeois democrats, helps to hypnotise large numbers of people into a somnambulist march to Fascism. By blinding the masses to the essential realities of a struggle against a class whose power is founded on force, the social democrats everywhere serve as capitalism's most reliable funkeys. Where they have held power, they have disarmed the workers and deceived them unprepared into the fascist ambushes of their capitalist masters. The convulsions racking Germany, Spain, France, Austria, America, India, China, and threatening the rest of the capitalist world have taught Mr. Burton nothing, except perhaps that foreigners are very violent, hot-tempered and irrational. We do not accuse Mr. Burton of not reflecting any more urgency than a pickled Tutankhamen—but his scholarly eclecticism, his myopic eclecticism!

Probe No. 1.

"The identification of the term 'revolution' with the idea of 'forcible overthrow' in the mind of the general public has been a most unfortunate development."

Here is an element in a complex of social factors. Not "is it necessary?" but is it "good" or is it "bad"? Mr. Burton is very cautious and concludes that it is "unfortunate."

Probe No. 2.

Mr. Burton rather nebulously defines a revolution as "a fundamental change," dismissing the unfortunate idea of "violent overthrow." (Revolutionaries would agree that "violent overthrow" is not the essence of revolution.) But what is a "fundamental change"? In what does a "fundamental change" in human society consist? We suggest that it means this: A change in the social relations between classes, whereby the power of a hitherto dominant class over the rest of society is overthrown and transferred to another class. The essence of Revolution consists in a ruling class being definitely overthrown, and another class assuming dominance.

Probe No. 3.

Can the state be utilised by a suppressed class to overthrow its master? This question involves a consideration of the nature of the state, a proceeding which Mr. Burton apparently deemed unnecessary. The Marxist conceives the state as a product of the irreconcilable nature of class antagonisms, as an institution evolved by the

dominant class to insure that society shall not be consumed in a sterile struggle, by forcibly keeping the struggle within the bounds of "law and order," and thus perpetuating the power of the ruling class. The overthrow of the dominant class is logically inseparable from the overthrow of the armed forces of the State, the weapon of the ruling class.

The crux of Mr. Burton's argument is not a denial that class antagonisms are irreconcilable, but that the power of the modern state has so separated itself from the social system which evolved it, that it can be used as a revolutionary instrument. Have the armed forces of the modern state ceased to be controlled by Capitalism?

Is it in the interests of the workers that the "democratic" American Republic shoots down strikers in California?

Was it in the interests of the workers that the "democratic" state under the Social Democratic League allowed the New Guard to form?

Is it in the interests of the working class that English "democracy" passes a Sedition Bill and gaols Wal Hannington and other leaders of the English working class movement?

Is it in the interests of the working class that the Australian "democratic" state bans working class literature and passes amendments to the Crimes Act (1932) legislating working class movements into illegality?

Was it in the interests of the working class that the German state under social democracy allowed the growth of Fascism? Is it in their interests that this state imprisons Thaelmann and Torgler, and shoots down workers in their thousands, gaoling and terrorising hundreds of thousands more?

How can the workers of Germany, Austria, America, India, Nationalist China, etc., accomplish a revolution except by overthrowing the state?

The capitalist state administers Capitalism, despite any democratic elements existing in it. The disappearance of these elements in the universal upsurge of Fascism does not change the state in any radical sense; it simply reveals its true character as an instrument of the bourgeoisie.

Amputate a Leg.

Mr. Burton quotes the Cromwellian wars as an instance where a violent revolution was precipitated, not by the forcible resistance of the old ruling class, but by the perversity of the revolutionaries. The latter had achieved all the constitutional reforms they desired, and went on to discuss religious changes. "The opposing parties reached a constitutional deadlock. The obvious solution was to have dissolved Parliament and to have gone to the country. The blame, it would seem in this case, was with the revolutionary class."

So they should have dissolved Parliament and "gone to the country"! That they were not yet sure of the control of the army, that the king could not be trusted to preserve parliamentary privileges in the meanwhile, that his remarkable hostility to those privileges led him to attempt to arrest members of the House, and that they would have forfeited all their privileges had they disbanded, are, in Mr. Burton's opinion, unimportant considerations.

The religious question, moreover, was of tremendous significance. The reactionary trend to Catholicism was of more than ideological importance. The bulk of the land-owners traced their possessions back to the Reformation, and for the trading class Catholicism meant not only a revival of Marian fires, but also subservience to a rival commercial power in the Bourbon Imperial Hegemony.

So much for this academic distortion!

Another Leg.

"Italian fascism may be said to have succeeded because some Italian socialists under the influence of communist ideas abandoned constitutional methods, and the Liberal Democratic government was unwilling or unable to preserve constitutionalism."

The liberal democrats might have been "unwilling or unable to preserve constitutionalism," but the social democratic leaders seemed quite willing and quite able to preserve a state of capitalist constitutionalism. When the Italian workers, in a spontaneous rising, seized the key factories in 1920, the obvious step of seizing political power was neglected, because no independent revolutionary leadership existed, and because the social democrats had benefited the workers beforehand, leaving them unprepared and unable to deal with a revolutionary situation.

Into the Flames!

"Finally, the social democrat holds that force is not a solution of social ills, and that it cannot be successfully employed."

Herbert! In Soviet Russia, 170 million people are joyfully building a higher and happier civilisation. Can you point to a successful social democratic revolution?

"If the consent of the majority is gained, the whole force of the State can be constitutionally exerted to repress any class which endeavours to resist the will of the people."

The only states in history who have expressed the will of the majority in this manner are the Workers' and Peasants' State Republics established in October, 1917, by the violent overthrow of the Russian bourgeoisie. Social democrats, supported by majorities, have only administered the governments of capitalism.

Mr. Burton concludes with a rather ineffectual invocation to the Australian government, calling on it to suppress both the right as well as the left extremists. He begs for more revolutionary reforms through Parliament, and urges the government to grant more concessions to the working class, especially in the way of facilitating propaganda. He laments the fact that up to the present the tendency has been toward right reaction, and suppression only of the left. He thinks that this is "playing into the hands of the communists" by giving them grounds for saying "the state is an organ of the propertied classes!"

We are reminded of a king sitting in the rising tide, ordering the seas to recede. We are reminded of a prayer meeting that prayed for rain for forty days and nights, and no rain came. We leave Mr. Burton in the tomb sorrowing . . .

—DAVID ARONSON.

STUDENT NOTES

THE Melbourne University has not been unaffected by the world economic crisis. As in all the capitalist world the forces working for radical change are gathering strength while those striving to maintain the old order are marshalled or are marshalling, so in the University the preliminary battles are being fought.

In the University there are students armed with an understanding of events, social forces, and economic facts. There are many students eager to learn how to interpret the events around them. On the other hand, there are those who fear this development, and oppose it. These are reactionary students, many of them fascists in all but name.

Between these two groups there is the great mass of students as yet either barely conscious of a world apart from their own immediate interests or else bewildered by the complexity of life—seeking a way out of the chaos. Many of these are deluded by the myth of academic impartiality which prevents any clear understanding of events, inhibits all decisive action, and is impossible in the eventful world of which we are a living part.

Academic "impartiality," never attainable, is a liberal conception which aids, more than any other factor, the present growth of fascism in the University.

"Farrago"

IN the Freshers' Number of the "Farrago" there appeared an editorial which called on new students to think for themselves on the basis of their own experiences, and not along lines dictated by convention or teachers. It is true the editorial was somewhat crudely expressed. It created no stir in the University, but a fortnight later a storm of abuse broke loose in the "Argus" against the editorial, the editors, radical thought, the Labour Club (of which both editors were members), and "Proletariat," going so far as to deplore that the "Communist Manifesto" and Lenin's "State and Revolution" should be prescribed as text-books and on sale in the University book-room.

Behind this attack were, notably, Mr. Nicholas, of "Aspro—not aspirin" fame, the proprietors of the "Argus," and a small group of fascist-minded medical students. They were ably assisted by some members of the Students' Representative Council.

Mr. Nicholas and other big business men may possibly give money for a new club house and such things. This alluring possibility was the real reason for the abject submission of both the S.R.C. and the Professorial Board. The latter, interfering in student affairs, recommended by a narrow majority the dismissal of the editors.

The Labour Club failed to rally the opposition expressed by many students to this outrageous action. It circulated a belated leaflet on the subject, but, as will be seen, the initial mistake of

inactivity has cost the students, and particularly the Labour Club, dear.

"Farrago" appeared as the organ of the S.R.C.; six editors were appointed under the strict censorship of the S.R.C. executive. Their first editorial, on April 18, stated that though they "would very much like to say some extremely rude things to the daily press about minding its own business," they would hold their tongues. "Farrago" was not to "become a bald chronicle, afraid to voice even the semblance of an opinion," but was to be the "only publication which gives students a weekly account of activities in which they are interested, and also of those in which they are not interested." They said that the "attitude of a certain section that Freedom of Speech (in capitals) is being suppressed by dictatorial methods by those in authority" was sheer "rubbish . . . to be treated with the contempt it merits." Finally, "We have no intention of using our position to administer castor oil to those who disagree with us." And, as a foot-note—("Wot larks!").

This editorial showed clearly that the new editors (in actual practice, the S.R.C. executive) were not prepared to put the Press in its place; the policy of the S.R.C. executive, which has rigidly controlled "Farrago," is that of subservience to the wishes of outside interests. The promise regarding "Farrago's" contents was worth nothing.

In consequence, "Farrago" has become "a bald chronicle" which omits to report meetings, sometimes deliberately. It certainly publishes most letters and contributed articles, for without these it would lack its best news. It gives biased reports of the meetings of those societies the S.R.C. executive does not like. Finally, in order to fill up the space, its staff has to cull from the social world outside news of no interest to students.

It will become plainer from these notes that this dictatorship of the S.R.C. executive, under which the editorial position has been reduced to that of press clerk, is motivated by the desire to keep in with powerful outside interests which may give students a club house, etc., if they conform to the wishes of big business. This dictatorship, too, has fostered reaction in the University, has done its best to stifle any activities not to the liking of its masters. It is part of the general growth of reaction in the University—reaction based on fear.

Labour Club and Fascism

THERE is more support for the Labour Club among the students than ever before, but this support is largely unorganised. It should become plain to students that if they are to prevent the overwhelming growth of reaction in the University, if they are to fight successfully against war preparations and fascism, to work towards a better society, then they must do so as an organised body of students, not as helpless individuals.

AUGUST, 1934.

Our main activities have been directed against fascism. We had planned a series of lectures on various aspects of fascism, but these were abandoned as we had to tackle the matter directly. When Mr. Santamaria used the P.Q.S. platform to uphold the contention that fascism was revolutionary, the Labour Club, both at the meeting and later, vigorously combated this demagoguery, which is meant to deceive confused students. Egan White, the Club's secretary, later maintained in Open Forum that fascism was not revolutionary. Santamaria was absent. It is significant that our University fascist theoreticians cling to Mussolini, shunning the more openly discredited Hitler. The essential identity of these two "brands" of fascism is explained elsewhere in this issue. Significant also is Santamaria's conscious misquotation of Lenin in order to discredit Communism and the Soviet Union. Lenin wrote, in "The Threatening Catastrophe" (1917): "War is implacable; it puts the question with merciless sharpness: either overtake the advanced countries and surpass them also economically, or perish." (Lenin's black.) Santamaria omitted the key words, "also economically," and declared that this passage illustrated Russia's militarist aims!

Incidentally, one Radical Club study circle, under the guidance of Mr. Santamaria, studies the "radical principle" at work in Italy.

These open supporters of fascism play upon the general ignorance of Italian conditions. But they are not the main danger. This lies in the many theories and "solutions" being presented to the growing consciousness among the students that something is wrong with the world. The science and engineering students, for instance, too busy to take much part in affairs outside their work, are easily deceived by such plausible schemes as Douglas Credit, which claims to be a "solution" for employer, technician, and worker alike.

The failure of the N.R.A. has dealt a death-blow to the theories of "planned economy" under capitalism, although there are not lacking in the University those who are willing to persuade the students that this scheme, essentially fascist in tendency, was a radical one which has not failed. Fascism feeds on the confused discontent of the lower middle classes, to which most students belong. All who add to their confusion aid the growth of fascism.

The Melbourne University Rifles is the most blatantly reactionary group in the University. Its members are, in general, fascist-minded. When challenged to debate by the Council Against War, they made the verbal reply, "We are not a debating society." In other words, "We prefer bullets to arguments."

The Labour Club challenged the "Fascist without a shirt," Mr. W. S. Kent Hughes, M.L.A., to affirm the proposition "That Fascism Can Solve the Crisis," against a Club member (unspecified). His reply was a refusal "to be the Aunt Sally to any communist club." This is at once a confession of the weakness of his case, and, at the same time, typical fascist provocation.

The Labor Club has joined in the international protest against the Nazis' imprisonment of Thaelmann, by sending a protest resolution to the German Consul.

The other sections of these notes will also have much to say about fascism in the University.

The Radical Club.

TWO past members of the Labour Club, both social democrats, crept away from it and, practically in secret, called a meeting by private invitation. At this meeting the Radical Club was set up "to promote in the University the study and knowledge of Radical Principle in its social, political, and economic application."

We cannot say what the "Radical Principle" is, but we are assured that radicalism is any thought which aims at changing the present system, that the Radical Club is strictly impartial and "does not oppose any existing student club or society."

We warn students that this credo of academic impartiality, combined with a meaningless definition of "radicalism," hides beneath it—Fascism.

When Mr. Burton, in the best traditions of academic fair-play, organised the Radical Club, he did not invite a single Labour Club member to his private meeting. He, all unconsciously, organised for the first time all those tendencies which are more and more clearly drifting towards fascism.

We do not suggest for a moment that all those who are attached to the Radical Club are of these tendencies. Some have been attracted by its "impartiality," others by the subjects it has dealt with. But we maintain that the Radical Club must, if it continues to exist, become more and more clearly fascist. In explanation of this view it can be pointed out that the fascist theoreticians, who had been trying in vain for nearly a year to patch up their differences and organise themselves, are now organised in the Radical Club, and are conspicuously active in it. At the same time it was no accident that Mr. Santamaria publicly declared fascism to be revolutionary, just as the Radical Club (of which he is an active member) emerged from its secrecy. Since then Dr. Mauldon, of the Commerce School (academic branch of the Chamber of Commerce), has addressed a Radical Club meeting on "N.R.A., an Essay in Radicalism." Here he spread the illusion that "a socially responsible economic order is being developed. . . ." (We trust "Farrago" has made no mistake.) The workers of San Francisco have supplied eloquent testimony to this. The Radical Club has also introduced the students to another potent illusion—the nationalisation of banking—a cure-all with which the Labour Party is attempting to soothe the discontented workers.

What has been "Farrago's" attitude to the Radical Club? It welcomed the new club, featuring its policy statement to the disadvantage of a letter from the Labour Club resplending "Farrago's" description of the Radical Club as being a breakaway from it. "Farrago" also hailed Santamaria and Brodie as "radicals." The president of the S.R.C. is a staunch supporter of the Radical Club.

The club attracts and, if it continues to exist, will attract students who are as yet vaguely conscious of social realities. It is designed to do that. By its very nature it can do nothing but confuse the issues it professes to elucidate. This confusion must necessarily aid the growth of fascism, and thus add to the effect of the openly fascist propaganda in the Radical Club.

Wonthaggi

DURING the early weeks of the Wonthaggi strike, the young miners set up a Sports and Social Club to provide recreation. They approached the Labour Club, which collected about 30/- in cash, some footballs and a set of boxing gloves.

The Labour Club also sent a letter expressing sympathy with the miners, accompanying it with a parcel of 200 back numbers of "Proletariat" for distribution. We then arranged for Mr. W. Stirton, vice-president of the Miners' Union, to address a student meeting on "Why Wonthaggi is on Strike."

On June 18 he addressed a crowded meeting, and his sincere, intelligent presentation of the miners' case won him the best applause we have heard from a University audience. He briefly outlined the whitening away of conditions in the mine over the past years, the pin-pricking methods of the Mine Management, its fraudulent manipulations of awards, the bad conditions in the pits—bad ventilation, water, speeding-up—all leading up to the actual strike which started when seven men, not sure of their rights, requested to use the phone before starting work. Although this privilege had been granted for years, it was refused them. All the men came out against their subsequent suspension for refusing to start work before finding out their rate of pay. The miners then organised the conduct of the strike, set up a relief system which provided better food for the miners and their families than they get when working, and sent miners all over Australia to rally support.

At the end of the meeting over a pound was collected towards the relief funds.

The Public Questions Society then got the mine manager, Mr. McLeish, to address the students on the real reason for the strike. The manager badly contradicted Mr. Stirton's statements. To quote "Farrago": "The major part of his address dealt with the benevolence of the mine management and the stupidity of the miners." He said if the men had grievances they had only to signify in the Complaints Books provided in the pits. He did not explain that signing his name in the book spells victimisation to the miner.

Mr. McLeish ranted about the strike being the work of communists, etc., and demonstrated by his illogical incoherence the desperate plight of the management in the face of the miners' solidarity.

At this meeting, unlike Mr. Stirton's, no time was allowed for questions; Mr. Falloon, Industrial Officer to the State Coal Mine, followed Mr. McLeish, and confounded the audience with voluminous carefully selected statistics.

And what had "Farrago" to say about this? Its reporters omitted Mr. Stirton's meeting, one of the largest for the year. It was subsequently written up by a Labour Club member, whose report was mutilated. Mr. Stirton's statements becoming "allegations." When questioned about this, a "Farrago" representative said they wanted to avoid libel actions. "Farrago!" Libel actions!!

PROLETARIAT

On the other hand, Mr. McLeish "told us the REAL reason" why. His ravings about communists were set in bold, black type. So is "Farrago" at the feet of the bosses!

This attack was effectively replied to by the victory of the militants in the union elections held a few days later.

Alan Finger addressed a student meeting on "Who is Right about Wonthaggi?" He analysed the two speeches, which reflect the class struggle in Wonthaggi very clearly, and pointed out the significance of the Wonthaggi victory to Australian workers. Students should realise that there is nothing exceptional in the methods adopted by the management, the Government, and the Press during the Wonthaggi strike.

When workers strike they do so to win concessions or to protect their conditions. All manner of propaganda is used against them. In Wonthaggi armed force was not used—but it has been used against Australian strikers in the past, and will be in the future. When called upon to strike-break, students should remember they are becoming "scabs"—a nasty name given to a person engaged in the foul job of breaking down workers' conditions.

The Labour Club has challenged Mr. McLeish to uphold his case in public debate with W. Orr, the secretary of the Miners' Federation. When verbally asked to do this, Mr. McLeish reluctantly accepted. The "Herald," with protective precision, has announced his willingness to debate; but we have not yet received any reply to our written challenge.

*Since writing this we have had a reply from Mr. McLeish. He says the return to work at Wonthaggi has made the debate impracticable.

The Council Against War

LAST year the movement against war in the University made little progress, for the reason that it was based upon student societies whose members in many cases were opposed to war only in so far as war can be treated as an abstraction. War is a matter of hard fact. Endless discussions on the causes of war, the rights and wrongs of violent methods, etc., do not prevent a single bullet being made, transported, or fired, unless such discussion is a spur to action.

At Easter, the Council Against War held a conference at Frankston. Over thirty students, under the capable and popular leadership of Edmund Higgins, M.A., took part in the study circles and discussions. These were remarkably concrete. Facts were used as the basis for conclusions, not, as in most University discussions, for justifying pre-conceived ideas. As a result, many confused ideas of the nature of modern wars and methods of combating them were clarified. Enthusiastic arguments often lasted far into the night. The conference was a splendid success.

Its last sessions were devoted to, "What should be done now?" and a plan was worked out.

Immediately on return to the University, weekly study circles were organised. These have been attended by forty students, and are now continued as a weekly discussion group. Weekly lectures were arranged.

AUGUST, 1934.

For Anzac Day the Council had Major Brown, of the Imperial Army, to address a student meeting. This was held after the official liberal-patriotic official ceremony. The speaker quietly explained the realities behind the Gallipoli campaign and successfully overcame the initial hostility of most of the audience.

The C.A.W. is now at a critical stage in its existence. So far it has been largely an academic society. It has not yet developed the tasks decided as necessary at the conference. If it is to continue growing it must develop these now.

Most students have not yet been brought into contact with the movement against war. Many students, particularly in the S.C.M., vigorously protest their anti-war sentiments, but fail to see the meaning of such facts as the cutting down of education grants at the same time as millions are being spent for war. Most students have not yet expressed their anti-war feelings. These include most of the science and engineering students, to whom the C.A.W. must appeal.

The clearest way students have of immediately showing their opposition to war, so that something will result to stop the drive to war, is to demonstrate, along with the students in the Council Against War, on August 1, the International Day Against War and Fascism.

The Council Against War must become a Council Against War and Fascism, for these two dangers are inextricably linked.

The attitude of "Farrago" (again the S.R.C. executive) towards the C.A.W. is another example of its subservience to business interests, to those interests which are preparing for war.

When the C.A.W. protested against incorrect reports in "Farrago," the president of the S.R.C. forbade the editor to report any more of its meetings.

The warmongers have their ready helpers in the University.

Student Democracy?

THE activities of the S.R.C. executive, supported in varying degrees by the more reactionary students in the University, are reflected in "Farrago," whose recent history is closely bound up with still wider attacks on student liberties.

We wish to make it perfectly clear that we are making no personal attacks, although we realise that personal motives have played their part in what has been essentially a political attack.

We wish also to make it clear that the attack on student liberties is not one on the Labour Club and the Council Against War alone. As the organised expression of opposition to the aims and desires of Big Business these societies are standing the brunt of the attack. We assert that the measures being taken aim at stifling all real student criticism. This can be done most effectively by concentrating on the two societies.

Partly as a result of several simultaneous complaints from the Literature Club, the Student Christian Movement, the Council Against War, the Labour Club, and Professor Agar, about "Farrago" reports, the S.R.C. called a general meeting

of students. This meeting was not advertised in "Farrago," and little was known about it.

On the day it was to be held, rumours were had arranged a coup d'état by which it was going to oust the S.R.C. and elect a new one. Similar rumours substituted Jews and Communists for the Council Against War. The result of this carefully planned provocation was seen at the meeting. This was "packed" with fascist-minded students and their followers.

The president, McAuliffe, occupied considerable time at the outset of the meeting, in the less important technicalities concerning the date of S.R.C. elections. Then the Publications Advisory Board was abolished by vote of the meeting. (This puts the control of the University magazine, "M.U.M.," into the hands of the S.R.C., in practice, the executive. "Farrago" has already suffered that fate.) Then, when most of the students, apart from the packers, had left for lectures, the question of "Farrago" was raised. McAuliffe made an erroneous statement about the amount of "Farrago" space given to the Labour Club and the Council Against War. Protesting speakers were very badly received, and, to save discussion, a motion of confidence in the editor of "Farrago" was moved and carried.

At the subsequent meeting of the Council it was decided to allow societies to report their own meetings. There was no guarantee that these reports would be published. At this meeting McAuliffe stated that he and McGregor, the returning officer in the forthcoming S.R.C. elections, had devised a foolproof scheme to avoid "trouble"—possibly no one would be voting. (Was this a joke?)

It must be clear that the S.R.C. executive, backed by the most reactionary students at the University, are concentrating power in their hands. They hide their control of "Farrago" behind the editor, whose name has not even appeared on the past few issues. They have devised a scheme of voting for the S.R.C. which is foolproof! They oppose the Labour Club and the Council Against War; they oppose the S.C.M.; they support the fascists; they support the Radical Club; they have the support of the least intelligent students of the University, and they hope to consolidate their dictatorial position before students generally recognise what has happened.

STOP PRESS.

Students took part in the Anti-War Demonstration on August 1 behind the banner of the University Council Against War, and under the slogans, "Scholarships not Battleships" and "War Means Cultural Barbarism." This is the first time students have taken part in such demonstrations. In preparation for it 2000 leaflets were circulated in the University, and Professor Greenwood spoke at a meeting on August 1 on "Science and War."

On the other hand, the reactionary students have displayed more open hostility. The Registrar was wanted to do all in his power to ban the August 1 leaflet. Our reactionaries much prefer the cultured larrikinism of commencement parades to demonstrations against war.

What We Propose

THE Labour Club points out these facts to students so that something may be done quickly. We call on all students to take full advantage of their liberties in order to preserve them—now!

We point out that:—

(a) The S.R.C. is a student representative body only in so far as it is elected by a majority of students. Therefore, all students should take part in the S.R.C. elections.

(b) All meetings of the S.R.C. are open to all students. We urge students to attend them and see how the business is conducted. The S.R.C. can hold meetings in camera. We demand that no secret meetings be held.

(c) All student societies can now report their own meetings. We demand that if these reports are unsuitable they be discussed by the editor with the student submitting them; if unpublished or altered, an explanation must appear in "Farrago."

(d) All meetings of the S.R.C. should be well advertised in "Farrago," and on all notice boards, and be subsequently reported in "Farrago."

(e) The absurd regulations regarding canvassing for S.R.C. elections should be abolished. They are never honoured, and provide the pretext for excluding candidates undesired by the S.R.C. executive.

(f) The advice of the political police has been sought by the president of the S.R.C. We demand that such actions must cease. The democratic rights of students surely ensure us protection from such dastardly tactics!

The Labour Club also points out to students that they are fleeced in the Cafeteria, where exorbitant charges go hand in hand with very low wages for the staff. Large profits are made each year. We demand from the University Union that the Cafeteria be run for our service, not for profit, and that the staff shall be paid at award rates.

Students should bear in mind the fact that the remedy for the present situation in the University is in their own hands. If the pressure of outside interests, exerted mainly through the present S.R.C. executive and its supporters, is to be countered effectively, only the students can do it.

Sydney University

EARLY this year the Sydney University Labour Club cancelled its affiliation to the Australian Labour Party. In doing this it went a long way towards freeing itself from the influence of those Club members who were using it to further their own parliamentary aspirations. Along with this disaffiliation the Club's name was changed to "Socialist" Club.

Since then the Club has made very definite progress. The best evidence of this is the appearance, as its official organ, of "The Student," an

eightpage magazine, devoted largely to University affairs. In the first issue the Club's manifesto appears. It is a clear statement of the position of most students under capitalism, and of the Club's repudiation of all "tinkering with the outworn system." It contains the condemnation of the A.L.P. as a party "which seeks to maintain the present order." The Socialist Club has a definite programme for the Sydney University students—protection of freedom of thought, speech, and expression, a greater share of responsibility in University affairs, a consistent struggle against war and fascism.

We greet "The Student," and we hope our Sydney comrades will be able to make it into a regular student paper. Only then will it become very valuable in organising students around its policy.

"The Student" is on sale in our University. Copies may be obtained from Labour Club members at 3d. each.

What of the other Australian and New Zealand Universities? We have heard nothing from New Zealand. A deep silence surrounds Brisbane and Perth, but there are signs of development in Adelaide. Can any reader put us into touch with students in these universities?

The World's Students

WE can do no more than very briefly indicate the very great development of student activities throughout the world.

In Germany, thousands of students have been deprived of the right and opportunity to study. Thousands are living in illegality, taking their part in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. In Germany, it is commonly said, "The days of science and analytical thinking are dead." But this is not wholly true. The successful struggle of the workers, peasants, and students will release culture from its present bonds, and revive it a thousandfold.

In other European countries, students are in the front of the struggle against fascism. In Jugo-Slavia, students barricaded themselves in the colleges of the Belgrade University, and resisted police attacks for several hours.

In England, at the end of last year, the Oxford University authorities sent a circular to every fresher, urging him to join the Officers' Training Corps, and enclosing its application form. The Anti-War Movement countered this with another circular calling students to a meeting to hear the case against war. As a result, several students were fined, one was sent down, and the October Club, which had played a leading role in fighting the authorities' ban on the meeting, was suppressed. The pretexts used were that political pamphlets "were harmful to the educational purpose of University life," and were sponsored by persons of "irresponsible habits, and notoriety seeking." Military training has become a major educational necessity in the eyes of Oxford authorities. Opposition to it is "harmful to the

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educational purpose of University life." The letter published elsewhere in this issue shows clearly that British militarists are encountering great resistance in Cambridge.

In Cuba, the students are still in the front of the struggle against American imperialism. In U.S.A. itself there is a nation-wide movement under the leadership of the National Student League. Student strikes and demonstrations against suppression of freedom of speech, against compulsory military training, against reductions of scholarships, against negro discrimination; students' participation in picket lines, in organising relief for striking workers—these are of everyday occurrence. The temper of the American movement is best seen by quotation from the April "Student Review," the national student magazine.

"Students must continue doing what they can. There is the humble but not unimportant task of picketing, collecting relief, helping at strike meetings for strikes. These things we can do better and more frequently in the future than in the past.

"Our solidarity with the American working class must not be of the slumming variety. Not an exciting excursion among the 'depressed classes,' but the straight forward, unassuming unity on the picket line and in the strike hall.

Soviet Students

STUDENT life in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is never divorced from the industrial life of the community. This is the most vital factor in connection with it.

In the processions of May Day and of the Anniversary of the Revolution, parades of Kom-somols and sports clubs, the students join eagerly. Even when they are associated with the more purely academic courses of the universities, students identify themselves with the plans of collective enterprises. It really is a matter of pride, of honour and glory, to work for the fulfilment of these plans, one finds. No one, young or old, likes to confess that he or she takes no part in the general enthusiasm or is too busy with personal equipment to undertake "social duty" as well—although study is regarded as a social duty in itself.

As a matter of fact, almost every worker in the Soviet Union is also a student. I know no man or woman who was not attending classes of some sort. Every large factory and plant organises courses for the study of technical and political subjects; has literary, dramatic and musical circles; and this year sport has been added to the list of activities a young person is expected to take seriously. The Supreme Council for Physical Culture has opened training schools

"The student body on the prosecution of any of its own struggles, faces the same bitter police club as the striking workers. And the same forces of reaction, war, and fascism that challenge the worker confront the student, not only as a student, but as a future productive member of society."

The appearance of "Indlela Yenkuleleko, a monthly radical magazine for African students and teachers," is another proof that the student movement is growing in all countries. "The Road to Freedom" holds out a clear line of struggle for the native and white students and teachers of South Africa. It is the work of Johannesburg University students.

Nowhere has the student movement reached such a pitch of development as in Japan, where students in thousands are opposed to their warring rulers. These have gauged thousands of students, but their struggle goes on with all the more determination.

United in the struggle against war and fascism, students the world over have contributed to the establishment of a Student Committee Against War and Fascism. 600,000 students from 47 countries are represented. The awakening student world pledges itself to struggle in bond of international solidarity against war, and against fascism, the inciter of war.

in connection with many of the chief industries, and supplies instructors for boxing, wrestling, swimming, running, football, tennis, and all manner of strenuous amusements.

During last summer, groups of students spent their vacation on collective farms, helping with the harvest. Men and women from the Agricultural Academy of the Timiryazev Institute led the way, working on the farms, reaping and threshing, assisting transport and delivery of the great quotas. During the day they joined in every phase of laborious work in the fields, and at night made merry with an accordion, singing and dancing with the peasants. Sometimes dramatic performances were arranged, or discussions on agricultural subjects. It is never difficult to have a discussion, on any subject under the sun, in the Soviet Union.

This vacation "subotnik," a free offering of labour on the part of students—not only those attending the Agricultural Universities, but others from the Technical and Medical Schools, as well as from the Theatrical Academies, emphasises the spirit and the desire of students not to become in any way a superior caste, but always to maintain contact with productive forces of the country to which they owe their educational advantages.

Education Free.

Education is free from the kindergartens to the universities, throughout the Soviet Republics. There are 548 universities in which something over half a million students are enrolled, three-quarters of them provided for by scholarships, which include residential quarters and living expenses.

These scholarships are endowed by the Peoples' Commissariats, by the Government, the Communist Party, and the Trade Unions.

From the primary schools, where the children do a seven years' course, covering Russian, mathematics, geography, history, biology, music, drawing, literature, production gymnastics, and German, English, or French, boys and girls go to the technical schools attached to all the big plants and factories.

Most of the new schools, however, have been built in connection with the plants and factories. They are known as ten-year schools, and combine the functions of the primary and technical schools. All these schools have wood and metal workshops installed, as well as laboratories for the study of chemistry and electricity. They are under the patronage of the factory and trade union with which they are associated.

Before leaving the primary school grade, every boy and girl must undergo an oral and written intelligence test, a thorough medical examination, and a test for muscular co-ordination. These tests, together with the report of teachers as to natural aptitude, furnish the basis on which a child's future studies are directed.

At the technical schools, a four years' course includes general subjects, and the special processes of electrical engineering, aviation, machine construction—in whatever production the factory or plant to which the school is attached may be engaged.

Boys and girls at the Dynamo technicum, for example, in their first year work five days in the classroom and five days in the school workshop, modelled on the factory itself. They study, as well as their general subjects, mechanical drawing, electro-technics, industrial hygiene, and the socialised organisation of production.

During the second year, each student serves a three months' apprenticeship to every machine in the factory. At the end of the second year, he specialises for a year, after which he is eligible to enter the factory as a fully fledged worker. No child under 14 is permitted to work in any productive enterprise.

Students who have won scholarships, as a result of their school and factory work, continue to qualify for specialist positions at the technical institutes and universities, still keeping in touch with their factory and trade union organisation.

So you see workers of the Dynamo, Ivanovo, or Amo Plant going through physical jerks, worked out and supervised by medical students and sports directors. Students from the Lenin Institute and the Meyerhold Academy assist with the political classes and dramatic circles of their factory.

"Rabfaks," workers' faculties, instituted in 1914 to provide elementary instruction for workers who

had not been able to obtain any education prior to the revolution, still exist to provide workers over 18 with the means of preparing themselves for the technical universities; but the need for "rabfaks" has diminished with the growth of educational facilities in the primary schools. The trade unions, however, urge their most capable members to develop their abilities in whatever direction they may lie; arrange and finance, through the "rabfaks," the admission of their candidates to the technical, medical, art, and academic schools.

University students live for the most part in modern community dwellings, among trees and gardens, near the university. These community dwellings are, to all intents and purposes, the same as the residential colleges of our universities, except that the students are all scholarship-holders, their living expenses provided for by scholarship allowances.

Two or three students usually share a room, each with his own table, chair, and wardrobe. Students are responsible for making their own beds and keeping their belongings in order. A Housing Committee undertakes all the rest of the domestic arrangements, including catering for the community dining-room.

Every community has its library, recreation room, "Red Corner," sports clubs, gymnasium. Married students are assigned more spacious quarters, usually a three-roomed flat, consisting of a bedroom, study, and kitchen and bathroom; sometimes two families may share the kitchen and bathroom.

Scholarship allowances range from 75 roubles a month during the first year to 150 roubles a month during the fifth year. They provide for rent, food, and clothing, are increased as a student shows progress and ability; may be decreased, and withdrawn, if he fails to make the most of his privileges.

Sure of a Position.

I had the good fortune to be present in the assembly hall of the Technical University at Stalinsk, Western Siberia, when it was crowded for the graduation of thirteen students.

This university, a white pile of massive building, overlooks what is the second largest steel plant in the world. Behind it range the Altai mountains, their furthest peaks white with perpetual snow. In 1929, an open tranquil valley lay beneath them where now a city of 150,000 inhabitants swarms, the fume of its ceaseless activity dimming the stars.

Students from all over the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics attend the university, which is considered one of the best equipped of its kind in the Soviet Union. Seven hundred were enrolled there last year.

For their graduation ceremony, each student had to present a "graduation project," the result of his studies and practical work on the steel plant. For three evenings in succession these "graduation projects" were expounded before a board of professors from various departments of the university.

"Until a few years ago, studying at Tomsk," Charles Schwartz, a professor of English at the University, said to me after the first night, "our metallurgical students saw little of the practical work of their future profession. There have been cases when students graduated without ever having worked on a plant. The great demand imperated in Stalinsk has to a certain degree hampered the studies of these thirteen students, because when they went for practical experience to the plant, they proved of such value that it was difficult to obtain their release."

"Titov and Navolotski have already worked as shift engineers at the open hearth and Salamatov has been shift engineer on the blast furnaces. They have benefited also as a result of their practical experiences, of course. Titov has already compiled tables for calculating open-hearth burdens and deoxidisation. Salamatov has had a Markov did much to remedy one of the defects of the blast furnaces—excessive burning-out of the gas control valves. Three of these graduates have jobs waiting for them at Magnitogorsk; the rest will be absorbed here."

"Our students will not have to hunt for jobs?" Work is waiting for them. Production is going ahead at such an amazing rate that skilled technicians are being demanded everywhere. These skilled technicians do not form a separate class, as in other countries. They are drawn from the ranks of the workers and peasants who have shown special ability on the steel plant, or in other industries."

This was one of the most striking features of student life in the Soviet Union. That there was never any fear or doubt among students as to what they were going to do when they had qualified. Teachers, doctors, engineers, aviators, artists of the theatre, dentists, organisers of social services, they all knew that as soon as their courses of study had been completed, places would be ready for them. They were working and looking forward to perfecting the work of socialist construction which time would leave in their hands.

The Komsomol slogan for 1934 is an indication of that: "To make the present generation of young people in the Soviet Union better educated and more cultured than any the world has ever seen."

Members of the Young Communist League number nearly 5,000,000, and as the most brilliant students in all the professions and trades are among them, it looks as if the Komsomol slogan will be realised. A Komsomol would refer you to the records of the organisation to prove that its deeds are always better than its words.

Culture is Alive.

Already the student youth of the Soviet Union, physically and culturally, is above the average of students in any other part of the world. It ought to be. Nowhere else is the education and health of children so thoroughly cared for. Nowhere else have students of the working class such opportunities for education and culture. Through their trade union organisations, students

are able to hear the finest music and see the finest expressions of dramatic art, usually beyond the means of needy students in other countries.

Literary circles in all the factories and universities, organised by the leading writers, foster literary taste and talent. The most distinguished artists, regularly and in turn, escort groups of students and workers through the art galleries and modern exhibitions of painting, expounding their theories of art and the graphic interpretation of ideas. Boys and girls showing any gift for modelling, painting, or drawing, from their school days, are encouraged and admitted to the studios of sculptors and artists. The opera schools train young singers and dancers. Stanislavsky's Academy of Theatrical Art and the Meyerhold Academy prepare likely boys and girls for the theatre, by a four years' course of study in dramatic construction, dramatic history and literature, expression, and stage production.

"We have nothing like these institutions for the study of dramatic art, in all its phases, anywhere else in Europe," an English producer told me.

The only conclusion to arrive at is that not only is genius almost religiously appreciated in the Russian Socialist Federated Republic, but an atmosphere is being created in which it can thrive and flourish. This is being brought about by the campaign to insure mass culture—a deepening and broadening of the knowledge and artistic perceptions of the people, a generation ago illiterate, superstitious, and poverty-stricken. Miracles of socialist construction have been accomplished; but in nothing is the method of Soviet organisation so brilliantly vindicated as in the youth growing up under its aegis.

—KATHARINE SUSANNAH PRICHARD.

[Part of a series of articles, similar to this, by the same writer, appeared in the Melbourne "Herald" and the "West Australian." Publication suddenly ceased, before the completion of the series which had been contracted for. The Federal Government had brought pressure to bear on the press proprietors, declaring that the articles formed part of a book already banned in Australia.]

This stated reason is a lie. In the words of Katharine Prichard herself: "People generally, it seems, are interested to hear the truth about the Soviet Union—but the Press and the Federal Government are afraid for them to know it." This is the real reason.

The columns of the press are always open for attacks on the Soviet Union. The Government does not then interfere. For the press, the Government, and the class which controls both, fear the influence of unrestricted information as to what is happening in the Soviet Union.]

WHO WILL WRITE?

We have received a letter from Victor Polakov, Flat No. 1, Malaya Dmitrovka St., N.16, Moscow, U.S.S.R., asking for Australian students to correspond with Soviet students of the Moscow Aviation Institute. Undoubtedly other students could be reached through Comrade Polakov.

Fascism and Culture

WHAT is the position of the artist in the modern world? As the collapse of capitalism becomes evident, bourgeois artists grow acutely conscious of the decay and disintegration in the society they know. They witness the end of a form of civilisation, but are unaware of or unsympathetic towards the forces in society which are at work to produce a new order out of this chaos. Their merciless satire is directed against the contemporary world, and their minds turn back towards the past and its institutions.

While original work has great difficulty in getting published, literature becomes very profitable for hawkers of material sufficiently neutral or crudely sensational to be easily commercialised. Critics become the lackeys of publishing firms; and whatever reception a work of genius receives is eclipsed by the habitual superlatives accorded to the latest shoddy novel. In time, of course, this continued boasting defeats its own ends, and the public learn of the latest "masterpiece" with indifference. "They place all books on the same level, as if it were a matter of soap or pharmaceutical products," Henri Massis complains in his "Ten Years After." He is amazed that the war has created nothing, only a froth of sensational literature, foisted on to the public by the elaborate advertising machinery of publishing firms. Under capitalism in the stage of its decay, the sincere artist, refusing to pander to the publishers, "the public taste"—that is, refusing to blunt the edge of his penetration or coat his bitterness in a sentimentality that will make his work palatable reading for old ladies and university professors, survives in spite of society perhaps, if he is lucky enough to win support among a few.

The poet, Ezra Pound, realises that capitalism not only cannot make use of the economic resources and mechanical inventions at its disposal, but involves a wastage of artistic talent. He adds, however, in his article, "Murder by Capitalism": "Mussolini is the first head of a state in our time to proclaim quality as a dimension in national production."

Here is where the phrase-mongers of fascism play their part. Fascism seems to offer a chance, a return from the blatant commercialism of the age. The growing discontent among intellectuals with the present system provides a ground for the sowing of fascist ideology. The neo-humanists talk about a return to a "healthy" mankind, and leadership of a "strong" man.

It becomes obvious, however, in examining the work of bourgeois writers over the past several decades, that the ideology of Fascism did not spring from the brain of Mussolini, to be disseminated by him and his followers after attaining power, but grew up more or less contemporaneously in the majority of European countries, manifesting itself the more or less violently when the bourgeois class found its democracy too unwieldy to cope with intensifying class antagonisms, and had recourse to more open dictatorship.

Fascism sought to cover up class antagonisms behind its talk of "class harmony" and "class collaboration," and fostered hatred for foreign races, particularly the Jews, in an endeavour to create a war-like spirit, above all, it sought to compel the allegiance of the whole people to the government of the bourgeoisie by the spread of various forms of mystical doctrine concerning the state. According to the Italian philosopher, Gentile: "There can be no knowledge which is not national." All knowledge bears the imprint of one's personality, and "concrete personality is nationality." And what does nationality consist in? Not in anything so mundane as common language, history, or territorial boundaries. "It is what we put within this concept that gives consistency and reality to the concept itself; it is the act of spiritual energy whereby we cling to a certain element or elements in the consciousness that collective personality to which we feel we belong. Nationality consists not in content, which may vary, but in the form which a certain content of human consciousness assumes when it is felt to constitute a nation's character."

The development of a mystical conception of the state is not peculiar to the ideologists of Mussolini's Italy or Hitler's Germany. The French critic, Julien Benda, in his book "The Treason of the Intellectuals," exposes the role of the social theorist in contemporary society. "It was reserved for our time" (according to him) "to behold thinkers, or those who claim to be such, who did not submit their patriotism to any control of their judgment." As the most striking example of this, he points to Maurice Barrès, one of the leading writers of this century in France, and the one who has probably exercised the greatest influence there. Barrès began as an ultra-individualist, something of an anarchist, a complete sceptic expressing the melancholy aroused by the spectre of decay. Gradually we see him modify his individualism, or rather adapt it to the needs of his career. Like Eliot and others, he seeks an escape from intellectual nihilism by merging himself in the culture of the past, but his later work betrays still his basic disillusionment. In it we see all the characteristics of fascist literature, the elements of aggression and disintegration that reflect a dying culture forced to defend itself with violence. He makes himself the defender of French culture as opposed to "German barbarism," a rabid advocate of "revenge." But his fury against the corruption in the "democratic" parliamentary institutions of the Third Republic resembles remarkably the fulminations of Göring against the Weimar Government, and his work is pervaded with a typically fascist-ecstatic delight in blood for blood's sake. ("Blood, Pleasure and Death" is the title of one of his books.)

Contemporary English literature, too, gives examples of the individual in revolt who sooner or later adopts a more or less fascist outlook. To the hatred of the present and fear of the future, that is expressed in the works of the Lawrence's, the Huxleys, the Eliots, Fascism makes a definite

appeal. Their criticism of existing society is entirely destructive. Lawrence turns away from it to mysticism and yearns back to the civilisations of Mexico and Tuscany. Huxley warns us against progress in his novel, "Brave New World," depicting a future society that is apparently his conception of communism, but contains all the worst elements of bourgeois society in the stage of its decay. Eliot clings to a tradition that is more French than English, to "royalism, classicism, and Catholicism." The return to medieval-stage. The swing towards Catholicism accompanies the swing towards Fascism, the armed defender of the bourgeoisie. Prof. Irving Babbitt has stated the position:

"The choice with which modern man will finally be reduced, it has been said, is that of being a Bolshevik or a Jesuit. In that case (assuming that by Jesuit is meant the ultramundane Catholic) there does not seem to be much room for hesitation. Ultramundane Catholicism does not, like Bolshevism, strike at the root of civilisation. In fact, under certain conditions that are already partly sight, the Catholic Church may perhaps be the only institution left in the Occident that can be counted on to uphold civilised standards."

The Catholic Church, together with the other Churches, is undoubtedly a powerful force against Bolshevism; but we may wonder what opportunity or even what desire it would have to prevent the upsurge of barbarism from the entirely opposite direction. The cult of force, of war and violence, the contrasting of the "man of action" to the thinker (as if one necessarily excluded the other) is already prevalent in bourgeois literature. Artists and students are filled with an increasing sense of social uselessness—they are working in a social vacuum, their work produces nothing, has no effect on society. The German, Oswald Spengler, in his "Decline of the West," points out that the time for great intellectual achievements is past, that "unfruitfulness marks the brain man of the modern city-state," that our civilisation has reached the stage when it has no room except for men of action, for imperialists of the type of Cecil Rhodes. "Expansion" he regards not as the result of economic causes, but as a kind of mystic doom which Western civilisation of this epoch must fulfil or perish. A great deal of the work of Rudyard Kipling glorifies the soldier and the Empire-builder, expressing a typically chauvinist belief in the superiority of the white conqueror and the importance of his task in spreading his culture to the benighted "lesser breeds without the law"—a belief Fascism has universally adopted.

In the fascist and semi-fascist countries of Europe, taking part in open-air work or joining bands of storm-troops provides students with excitement, an escape from the intellectual futility of their ordinary life and a fictitious sense of social usefulness. Of course, from the point of view of the bourgeois-class, they are performing a definitely useful function, but fascism depends for its attraction on appealing not only to "mere class" loyalty, but on giving students the illusion they are serving "society as a whole," and ob-

scuring the nature of the state in language of mysticism. The student, conscious of the limitations of bourgeois knowledge, and seeking a basic unity behind its various branches, falls a prey to pseudo-scientific race-mysticism, and in his devotion to the state pursues the anti-cultural aims of the ruling class.

For as the position of this class becomes endangered, it necessarily suppresses those artists who expose to a too clear light the contradictions and absurdities of existing society. In the years following the war, disillusioned intellectuals found expression for their hysterical and incoherent revolt. The outcries of the Beverley Nicholases and even the Erich Maria Remarques had a fairly enthusiastic reception in the bourgeois world; they had nothing positive to express. But in Germany, where the process of disintegration was particularly swift, the ruling class soon had recourse to violent measures in the attempt to arrest it.

All intellectual activity is potentially dangerous to a regime whose aim is to keep the existing form of society by force and at no matter what cost. The scientist will naturally become disoriented with an economic system that cannot make use of his discoveries or allow him to carry out his experiments, because the economic resources of the country are lying idle instead of being available for the general good. The scientist of the society of the near future is doomed to destruction by war must interest any creative worker, artist, or scientist, since he works essentially for the future. Beside the workers, it was particularly at the intellectuals, known or suspected of having working class or pacifist connections, that the violence of the Nazi terror was directed.

More than 500 scientists were forced to leave their positions.

Professor Hans Bluntschli, who held the chair of anatomy at Frankfurt, who did not bear the stigma of being either a Marxist or a Jew, had to resign and leave Germany because he had "apparently belonged to a pacifist organisation." Dr. Felix Bonheim, a member of the Reichstag, was imprisoned and refused legal aid because he had led the German group of the League of Doctors Against Imperialist War. Because of his work for peace, Albert Einstein, the world-famous physicist, was forced to flee, a price was set on his head, and his works burnt in the bonfire at the University of Berlin. At the University of Göttingen, the most prominent professors were driven out. Denunciation and grabbing of academic posts became the order of the day. Fritz Haber, the greatest German chemist of to-day, whose discoveries, more than those of any other man, probably helped Germany to hold out so long during the war, was ironically compelled to resign his post. A number of scientific institutes, as, for example, the Research Institute for Social Questions at Frankfurt-am-Main and the Institute for Sexual Research, were closed and pillaged by Nazi vandals. Leading jurists, leading psychologists were dismissed.

The crowning act of barbarism was the burning of books on May 10, 1933, in the square between the Berlin Opera and the Berlin University. It is not surprising that the works of prominent

Marxists were burnt. If the Nazis are to use Marxism as a terrifying bogey, it is undesirable that the people should have a chance of studying it at first-hand. But the books which were burnt or suppressed in Germany included such classics as the entire works of the poet Heinrich Heine, and various writings by Lessing, Voltaire, Einstein, and Freud. Scarcely a modern German novelist of any standing whose works were not destroyed—those of the brothers Mann, of E. M. Remarque, of Jacob Wassermann, and, of course, those of Léon Feuchtwanger, who has drawn a merciless picture of Hitler in his novel, "Success." The works of liberal historians such as Mehring and Emil Ludwig were also suppressed.

And what can Fascism put in place of that which it destroys? In Germany its productions scarcely rise above the puerile effusions of Dr. Göbbels. In Italy, where it had more favourable conditions for establishing its rule, the dramatist Pirandello, whose work is not immediately dangerous, and the philosopher Croce, have been able to exist. But these are isolated geniuses, and do not form a part of any cultural renaissance that distinguishes Italy from any other of the bourgeois countries, despite the manifestoes of the futurist, Marinetti. The best work of D'Annunzio, the best-known Italian poet of recent decades, a more flamboyant Italian version of Kipling, belongs almost entirely to the pre-war era. Fascism cannot provide for the spread of culture any more than it can solve its difficulties in the economic sphere, since its *raison d'être* is the protection of a system based on private property.

On the other hand, it is clear, from the experiences of the Soviet Union, that only the abolition of this system by the revolutionary working class can produce a society in which the universal level of culture may be raised, and in which the creative forces lying idle under capitalism will have opportunity for expression. —A. Y. PALMER.

SEX AND CENSORSHIP

We have received from G. W. R. Southern, of Sydney, a copy of his book, "Making Morality Modern—A Plea for Sexual Reform on a Scientific Basis Addressed to Working People." The book deals with a number of problems relating to sex in a frank, open manner.

A full criticism of the book is impossible here. Marxists will find many points with which to disagree. Nevertheless, the author is a staunch supporter of the Soviet Union. Incidentally, he concludes by mentioning "Proletariat," and recommending it to a wider public.

The most important point we have to raise here is the relationship this book has to the rigid censorship imposed by Australian governments. When the author sent his page proofs to the Postal Department, he was curtly informed that the book was not fit for transmission by post. No reason was given. Hence he was compelled to print and publish the book himself, as no other printer would take it on. As he says himself: "I can now claim to have achieved that enviable

International Literature

Had it been possible to include her article on "International Literature," the final statement of the previous writer would have become plainer.

"International Literature" is the bi-monthly publication of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers. A very limited supply comes to Australia, and it is essential to order it from one of the workers' bookshops.

This magazine is filled with literature, short stories, extracts from novels, poems, sketches, evaluations of past masters like Balzac, analyses of contemporary literature; all of which expresses vigor and purpose. It deals with the literature of a class growing conscious of its mission, and its power to fulfil that mission. Stories of Soviet life, of the Chinese Red Army's struggles, of the speed up in an American factory, of illegal activities in Germany, reflect the growing strength of the workers' movement.

New perspectives have been opened up in literary art. The hopeless futility of the bourgeois artist is answered by living creative literary activity—full of the energy of present struggle, and of hope for the future.

Students wishing to read "International Literature" should apply to Aileen Palmer, at the University.

Writers interested in revolutionary literature are asked to communicate with her through the editors of "Proletariat."

Note to Contributors.

All unpublished articles will be returned, with explanations and criticisms, where necessary.

state which used so to baffle me as a child—Three in one, and one in three. In short, I am the author, the publisher, and the printer."

The Australian ruling class is so afraid of any enlightenment which might threaten its existence that its censorship has forced Southern to these extremes. The lesson is obvious for the whole working class. It has felt the hand of rigid police censorship already. To avoid the tightening of its grip it must increase its struggle against bourgeois reaction.

This book on sex is a serious attempt at solving a great problem. It may be that the author's method is not correct. But it should be permitted free expression. "Proletariat" joins in the chorus of protest against this action of the Government, and demands further, full freedom of the Press and transmission by post for all working class literature!

Mr. Southern will gladly post a copy of his book to any subscriber at ordinary letter rates.

Address: Moran Street, Mosman, New South Wales.

THE BLUE CULTURES OF NIRA

IN November, 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was swept into office. The election was accompanied by more than the usual eruption of optimism and that particular brand of patriotism called "nationalism," which serves to conceal the glaring contradictions in which each national state is inextricably involved. The New Deal was promised.

Assuredly the people wanted a new deal, but not with the cards stacked against them. After a short and eventful fifteen months, the President is holidaying upon a sea much more amenable than the raging waves of industrial and agrarian disputes which he has left, unappeased, behind him. General Johnson, chief administrator, has admitted the failure of the plan.

THE NEED FOR A PLAN.

The attempt to impose a plan upon the traditional "rugged individualism" of the U.S. is surely an important stage in the history of capitalism. In 1929 the crisis broke; the legend of permanent prosperity and expansion was rudely shattered.

The analysis of the resulting economic convulsions may be divided into three sections.

1. Industrial.

In spite of constant reductions in the prices of consumption goods, sales were diminishing and stocks accumulating. The fundamental cause of this lay in the basic forces of capitalism—in increasing productivity accompanied by a decreasing quantity of operative labour necessary for production. Between 1919 and 1929 the output per industrial worker rose by 51 per cent, while the number actually in employment fell by 6 per cent. Curtailment of sales necessitated a stoppage in the production of capital goods, resulting in a closing of the outlets for investment capital. Rationalisation at home could not aid the absorption of commodities either in the weakening home market or in foreign markets where American goods met the severe competition of Britain and Japan, driven by the same forces, but with prospects enhanced by the depreciation of their currencies. The Government was confronted by a staggering volume of unemployment—in March, 1933, 17 millions, for whom there was little or no provision for relief.

2. Agrarian.

"The income of the farmers alone had fallen from 11,000 million dollars in 1929 to 5,000 million dollars in 1932; their total debts to the banks in 1929 were estimated at 12,224 million dollars, on which an annual interest charge of over 600 million dollars had to be paid." (Roosevelt Illusion, P. 19.) The disastrous fall in prices, and the speculative rises in the cost of manufactured commodities, had so reduced the standard of living among farmers that they were in a state of actual or impending bankruptcy.

3. Financial.

The whole credit system on which much of the economic life of the country depended had become paralysed. Thousands of small banks, an anachronism in modern finance, were compelled

to close their doors; the repercussions were seriously felt even by the larger financial institutions.

THE N.I.R.A.

Through the plan the President was invested with emergency powers, "as if America were invaded by a foreign foe," enabling him to control finance, industry, and foreign affairs for the duration of two years. "History furnishes no similar nebulous indication of how the powers would be used." (Judge Beeby, "Argus," Feb. 17.)

1. Industrial Reform.

In general, the aim was to increase the purchasing power of the working masses in order that production might be stimulated and a new round of industrial activity commenced. Employers and leading organisations in each trade were to meet and decide "codes of fair competition," with minimum wages, maximum weekly working hours, and a rational utilisation of productive machinery. Contravention of codes was to be punished apparently by boycott and the scorn of a patriotic nation. Although, at one fell stroke, anti-trust laws were removed, the codes were not to encourage monopoly or the unfair domination of big business over small enterprise. The "class struggle" was to become an unreal Marxian fabrication. The administration promised that competition by labour organisations would be duly respected. Upon failure to set up such conditions, the code was to be supplied by the Government. Moreover, there were also provided "blanket codes" covering many industries in case the employers, abusing their new-found privileges, failed to realise that a return of profit depended upon a prosperous and contented working class. Workers also gained the right of organisation in unions of their own choosing, and the benefit of collective bargaining with employers through their own representatives. While these negotiations were being carried through, the unemployment situation was to be temporarily assuaged by the sharing of existing work between employed and unemployed. More men would thus be put on the national pay-roll.

Industrial disputes were to be settled by the erection of arbitration boards composed of delegates from labour and capital. To initiate general recovery, there was to be inaugurated an immense scheme of public works with a fund of 3300 million dollars.

2. Agrarian Reform.

The plan of restricting production and the purchase of surplus stocks from Government funds had been initiated during the Hoover regime. This principle was not fundamentally altered, but supposed modifications were introduced in order that, with the aid of suitable propaganda, the appearance of revolutionary change might be presented. Compensation for limited production was to be afforded by the imposition of a processing tax aimed at restoring purchasing power to the farmer. Two thousand million dollars' worth of Federal bonds were issued to farm mortgage holders in exchange for the mortgages, the far-

mers now becoming the debtors of the Government, who bore the responsibility for default.

3. Financial Reform.

Upon the first shattering wave of crisis, an enormous number of small banks passed out of existence; those whose stability had enabled them to survive the first impact were strengthened by state credit. The gold standard (a bulwark of prosperity) was abandoned. In order to prevent the flight of gold abroad, its export was forbidden, and the necessity of fulfilling contracts by payment in that metal was removed. This, combined with a proposed devaluation of the dollar by 50 per cent. by means of inflation, enabled the exports of the U.S. to compete on more equitable terms with those of foreign countries. As it is indeed with all nations in the advanced and now senescent stage of capitalist development, the foreign market is an essential condition for American prosperity on account of the grand scale of her manufactures and the huge surplus of primary products with which she is burdened.

Since the setting up of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation by Hoover in 1932, the Government had been granting enormous subsidies to the larger banks and had engaged in huge schemes of public works in order to stave off imminent disaster. Now, with the advent of "recovery" measures, the question of budget deficits became compelling in its urgency. Therefore, Roosevelt brilliantly fulfilled his promise of better times by producing the Economy Act, which was expected to reduce Federal expenditure by 600 million dollars a year. The repeal of prohibition also restored a lucrative source of revenue.

THE FAILURE OF THE N.I.R.A.

In this section an attempt is made to state briefly the results of the N.I.R.A., and to analyse the causes of its now obvious failure.

1. Industrial.

The existence of accumulated stocks and the efficiency of the existing machines were sufficient to satisfy temporary improvements which were brought about by the wave of optimism accompanying the promulgation of the plan. But the great majority of the unemployed depended for their livelihood upon industries producing capital goods—iron and steel, ships, railway equipment, bridges, etc. An expansion of heavy industry, however, could hardly be expected, since it was already heavily over-capitalised, and the productivity of the plant, both of that actively engaged and of that lying idle, was enormous and capable of meeting all possible demands for many years ahead. The plight of the manufacturing unemployed was as precarious as ever.

It is manifest that the difficulties were almost insuperable, even if those responsible for the codes had honestly endeavoured to justify the faith which the masses of workers of every class had placed in their supposedly superior wisdom. But, in fact, Big Business, now that it had succeeded in actually placing its designs upon the statute books, made full use of the glorious opportunity to ruthlessly destroy its smaller opponents by rigidly enforcing, through a subservient ad-

ministration, the conditions of employment which ministered exclusively to its own advantage.

Moreover, the American Federation of Labour, whose counterpart exists in every capitalist country, demonstrated its allegiance to the employing class, by cheerfully collaborating in the subjection and degradation of the general mass of workers.

Worst of all, the working class speedily discovered that the privilege of forming free trade unions was indeed an empty one, for the only way of organising them was by strikes and active resistance, which were condemned as crimes against the "state." However, the hunger-driven masses of American workers have seen through the reactionary and compromising policy of the Federation, and are now fighting desperately against rifles, machine guns, and tear gas in order to gain the elementary labour rights granted to them by the Act.

In view of the effusive declarations of the President on the introduction of the plan, it is strange that the "Herald," July 11, should publish that unionists are refusing the mediation of Federal administrators until they are granted "union recognition and collective bargaining as provided under the N.I.R.A."

In 1933 it is estimated that 2564 strikes occurred. A new purpose and strength, rising from below, has risen to give mortal content to the rationalisation and starvation tactics pressing down from above. This new determination shows itself in the resolute opposition to the Old Labour Leaders, Who Have Sacrificed Themselves For The Cause, but who have inadvertently got the interests of Labour and Capital rather mixed. It is feared that the steel for this new type of strike which links political demands with those immediately economic, spreads with lightning rapidity, and demonstrates unwavering solidarity, is being supplied by the Communist element "financed by Moscow."

In order to forestall the organisation of real unions, there were set up company unions dominated and controlled by the industrial barons. The net result of the industrial revival was a fall of 20 per cent. in real wages, for in reality it turned out that minimum wages became maximum wages, maximum hours became minimum hours, and the Administration was besieged by reports of the violation of codes. "Experienced" employers found it easy to evade the codes by covert means and intimidation of employees, or dared openly to refuse acceptance of them.

Even if the conditions of employment had been followed, there was no guarantee that sustenance for any length of time would be provided owing to insecurity of tenure and the vast army waiting for jobs. The statutory reduction of hours per week was, in actuality, still further reduced owing to the necessity of sharing jobs; thus millions of starved and half-starved workers, on account of this "stagger-system," have found, not relief and the promise of happiness, but poverty, degradation, and despair—the very position to be found in Germany. Such "re-employment," although effecting "cheerful improvements in statistics," is a smashing indictment of a system which can offer only a few hours' work per week at ruinous wages to a destitute population.

Moreover, child labour, pitiful product of competition, has hardly been affected by the codes. Miss Frances Perkins, U.S. Secretary of Labour, states frankly: "Don't let us fool ourselves that child labour has been abolished."

The Blue Eagle has become, not the badge of reconstruction, but the badge of shame!

2. Agrarian.

The restriction of produce scheme clearly demonstrated the inherent impossibility of attempting to plan under existing economic conditions. In spite of Government supervision there were many who received compensation for limiting output, and also reaped the additional benefit of producing above quota and selling at the temporarily improved prices. The ever-present fear that some were evading the restrictions induced others to violate the plan, and so accelerated the reiteration of failure.

The processing tax, even if it favoured the farmer, was duly transmitted by the manufacturer in the form of increased prices of consumption goods—thus the consequence was a deterioration in the already calamitous standard of living of both classes of workers, industrial and agricultural. The resulting decrease in the urban demand for farm products deprived the primary producers of their transient benefits. "The Economist," 28/10/33, sums up the position: "Bounties have been given for crop reduction, six million pigs have been destroyed, large sums lent. Yet in some cases prices are scarcely higher than a few years ago, while retail prices have rapidly advanced. . . . the farmer seems to be the forgotten man under N.R.A."

The lowering of mortgage rates is of no practical value to the farmers, for they must now pay to the Government what formerly they were entirely unable to pay at all; the Farm Relief Scheme does not aid those for whom it was ostensibly constructed, but serves to disguise the colossal subvention to banking capital.

Thus, in spite of this riot of nation wide destruction, production of wheat cut by 20 per cent., ten million bales of cotton destroyed, six million hogs slaughtered, and innumerable other products left to rot, the situation of the farmers is as hopeless as ever. And this in the face of a starving multitude of city workers!

3. Financial.

The distinguishing feature of the great majority of theories of the trade cycle is their external approach to the problem. Concerning the "solution" offered by the credit theory, the President sought to restore confidence and set flowing the stream of investment by devaluation of the dollar and embarkation upon a vast scheme of public constructions; but the plan, in spite of a temporary wave of desperate optimism, failed to stimulate the individual investors, especially when enormous sums were being spent on national armament—the war budget being the largest in the history of the country.

The closure of innumerable small banks has resulted in a greater accumulation and centralisation of capital in the hands of a few major banks and financial organisations in close co-operation with industrial capital. A financial hegemony,

logical in view of the forces working within the economic system, but frightening in view of the immediate condition of the American working class, has been created. Yet tyranny breeds revolt, especially when innumerable workers are armed with a potent weapon—a correct analysis of the economic situation.

The explanation of America's abandonment of the gold standard is to be found in the state of foreign markets.

The table of exports from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan shows the situation:—

Monthly Average.	U.S.A. Mil. dollars.	U.K. Mil. £ stg.	Japan. Mil. yen.
1929 . . .	430	61	175
1931 . . .	198	32	93
1932 . . .	131	30	114
1933 . . .	109	29	135
(1st half)			

—(Taken from Roosevelt Illusion, p. 40.)

Still harnessed to gold, and "burdened" with enormous stocks of that commodity, the adverse trade balance called for immediate attention. Such facts clearly reveal the nature of Roosevelt's currency depreciation programme—it is merely a manoeuvre, under cover of the N.I.R.A., to regain a profitable share in the world's markets, and leading to further intensification of imperialist rivalries.

The construction of public works has given an opportunity for the introduction of forced labour, with its now common accompaniment, starvation wages. Moreover, the millions of dollars of greenbacks issued in exchange for Government securities and the enormous loans to industry will influence prices only if such inflation money can actually be utilised in production—and success in this direction is negligible, almost impossible!

The continuation of the crisis offers a very threatening challenge to the solvency of the state, and the very structure of capitalism itself.

CONCLUSION.

One must view the N.I.R.A. in the perspective of history, in the light of the historic development of capitalism. The "planning" period of capitalism is a significant indication of its decline; upon the destruction of the world market, attention is focussed again upon the home market, and the chaotic nature of the system being revealed, the cry is for a plan—"planned capitalism"—a contradiction in terms, for the very essence of capital is to expand and win profit. Thus the growth of national chauvinism, inter-imperialist hatred, the logical purpose WAR—a desperate "resolution" of capitalist contradictions. One may gain quite a deal of cynical amusement from a dissection of these plans—they ingeniously propose to raise wages, and at the same time to increase profits, to reduce rents, to augment the growth of the big land-owners. . . . And yet, since such a utopian settlement is impossible, one class must stand to win—and it does: its gleaming blades pierce the gentle fog of propaganda—the armoury of the big industrialists and land-owners. National schemes of rehabilitation are a confession that the existing social and political arrangements are no longer an appropriate struc-

ture for the dynamic economic forces which determine them.

But the amazing thing about these reactionary schemes is the support given to them by the Old Labour Leaders Who Have Sacrificed Themselves for the cause—Citrine and officials of the English Trade Union Congress, Green of the American Federation of Labour, and our own Mr. Lang, who proudly declared that the props of Roosevelt's policy were planks of his own platform. How gratified they must feel at the success of their far-seeing policy!

The N.I.R.A. has solved no problem, for it cannot; the results are precisely those which have been sharply brought forward by Hitler's bloody

NOW THEY ARE MADMEN

IN the course of my life I have seen many extraordinary machines. I have seen Morgan cranes which make a game of snapping up enormous ingots and looms which stop instantly when the thinnest of threads is broken. I have seen a machine with an iron hand and an invisible eye which makes sure that cigarettes are placed with precision in their boxes, and automatically corrects the slightest inaccuracy. I have seen machines capable of determining the freshness of eggs, the exactness of intricate calculations and the tone of the human voice. Long ago machines ceased to astonish me. But I have lately seen one which confounded me. It was by no means at first sight that I was able to understand its secret.

We expect more from machines than from man. A machine cannot excuse itself on the score of poetic temperament or unstable character. It must be reasonable. When I finally grasped the mission of this machine I was not pacified and I resolved to consecrate to it these lines, which I hope will prove worthy of it. When commencing a tale, it is usual to go far back into the past, so I will begin, not with the machine, but with the sea.

It was a sea of the North, a hazy sea, dotted with the sails of fishing smacks. The women of the coast villages still wore old-fashioned Dutch head-dresses. There is nothing surprising in this—the sea was Dutch and fishermen caught the justly celebrated Dutch herrings. Besides, the fishermen smoked clay pipes and rode bicycles. They disapproved of innovations, but they did sometimes dream of automobiles. They were worthy sons of their country, as enterprising as Sir Henry Deterding and as wooden as the native windmills. In the ordinary course, windmills would have disappeared long ago, but there exists in Holland a "Society for the Protection of Windmills." Thus the fate of a windmill somewhere near Alkmaar is more secure than that of a native in a Dutch colony. Nothing menaces the windmills. Men occupy themselves with the sea.

Holland is the country of traditions and of progress. It has accustomed itself to make war on the sea, and it does not wish to rest on its past grandeur. So the project of drying up its Zuider Zee was born. It was carefully calculated how

ter, an intense concentration of capital in the hands of a few financial and industrial barons—a weapon which will bring extermination to the hand that wields it!

Construction is the title, the reality is destruction, both of men and machines—under capitalism the name of Plan is a euphemism for starvation and the wilful destruction of wealth.

—ECONOMICS STUDENT.

[Editorial Note: We regret having had to cut this article because space is limited. Statistics proving various statements have been omitted. Readers should consult "The Roosevelt Illusion," by Emile Burns, for further material.]

many acres of land would be reclaimed and how many herrings would perish. The enterprise promised well, and so men marched to the sea. The newspaper of the Government Party, which modestly called itself "The Party Against Revolution and Anarchy," declared: "We will show that if the Five Year Plan is possible, it will not be in a country where the mob is unchained, but only in a civilised State." In order to drain off the sea, extraordinary machines were created, but it is not of these machines that I write.

The fishermen were accorded indemnities. They pensively nicked their pipes. They traded their boots for tractors. They forgot the "royal herrings" and began to discourse on the great merits of Dutch wheat called "Wilhelmina" in honour of the queen. At the accelerated pace of history, the daughters of the fishermen exchanged their head-dresses for hats from Amsterdam. Irens, who produced the Russian film "Magnitogorsk," was invited to perpetuate the victory of man over the elements. From the sea had been gained many thousands of acres of excellent arable land.

Everything had been foreseen—the net cost, the romance of the screen, and even the preservation of the old national head-dress; there were case-histories and exhaustive calculations. But on a gray and foggy day, one new figure came to join the others: in the granaries of the world 630,000,000 bushels of wheat rotted for lack of a purchaser.

Wheat is not a head-dress, it has nothing to fear from the caprices of fashion, it is necessary for everyone, always. But men showed themselves to be more stupid than machines. They miscalculated. Year after year they planted more and more wheat in Canada, Australia, Argentine. Stocks rose, prices fell. The growers were ruined.

On the first bit of redeemed ground a Dutch pastor celebrated a Te Deum. . . . "cause the wheat field to flourish." Across the ocean other ministers blessed a fire; they blessed fire solely because there was too much wheat in the world; it had to be destroyed. However, in Holland, in the earth conquered from the sea, men sowed wheat. And what would you wish these industrious Hollanders to do? They couldn't reflood their land! They sowed, secretly hoping for a bountiful harvest. The crop was good. Then they sought means to destroy it.

When wise economists say there is too much wheat in the world this is not to be taken literally. For all these millions of bushels of "surplus" wheat there are still to be found enough sound teeth and empty stomachs. However fast the stocks of grain in the elevators increased, the crowds of idle and hungry grew still faster. Uncountable millions of Chinese writhed with hunger. But that has relation to ethnography or to sentiment. The Produce Exchanges (quoted the market price of wheat. Banks failed, farmers groaned. At the Rome International Conference delegates from forty-six states undertook the study of "the organised destruction of wheat."

Eosine is a red dye. Statesmen made up their minds to denature wheat by means of eosine. They wished to uphold the market price of wheat: the solution was to feed it to the cattle. . . . the denatured grain would provide fodder for cows. This was a magnificent cultural advance, but the story of eosine is only the prologue of my tale. The tale itself will come soon.

So cows throughout the world began to eat excellent wheat. They ate the wheat and produced milk. Men made butter with the milk. Besides, men ate steaks and roast beef. It seemed that a happy solution had been found, if not for the cows, at least for men. But once again figures interferred, and here I am constrained to stop to consider the mysterious nature of these figures.

There are statistical figures that specialists study. They help them to arrive at decisions. They are indispensable to orthodox economics. They provide explanations and perform other valuable services—these are tamed figures. But there are other figures which resemble wild beasts. For example, there is a journal sold in Monte Carlo which contains neither telegraphic news, articles, nor items. One simple thing fills this strange sheet: long columns of figures. Half-crazy gamblers read this journal from beginning to end—they find the numbers which "came up" at roulette the previous evening. These figures do not serve no purpose except to recall to memory past losses. But the players always try to discover the hidden meaning of the figures. Gamblers must be humoured, but what are we to say of this world of wheat and coal, of copper and butter, of cotton and leather, where people who seem to be sober and who are supposed to have good sense tremble superstitiously and become infatuated with a mass of figures no less incomprehensible and fatal?

And still another figure fell upon them: there were too many cattle—too many cows, too many steers, too many calves.

In former times the Danes raised wheat. They were wise enough to retreat. They realised they could not compete successfully with America. In America there was virgin land in profusion and the Danes inhabited little islands. They could become rich only by great effort and intensive cultivation. They decided to raise cattle and pigs.

They attained their end. In this cruel and turbulent world Denmark seemed to be a happy exception—a little white house among the shade maples. The peasants drank cocktails and rode in automobiles. It was fair to expect them soon

to be drinking champagne and owning little aeroplanes.

The figures took a hand: the depression began. As formerly, in the churns, the thick cream was refrigerated; as formerly, the swine, being family people, each accounted for a dozen tender little pigs; as formerly, at the slaughter, horses the dying bellow promised many juicy beef-steaks. The betrayal did not come from the beasts; it came from men: other countries stopped buying the "surplus" of the Danes.

Nowhere else had cows as sweet a life as in Denmark. Generally speaking, Denmark is a pleasant country. The people are good-natured, the houses clean and the verdure so rich and fresh that almost any farm could serve for the Biblical Eden. Men did not lead too bad a life there, but the cows were especially well off. Four years earlier I was in Denmark, and from the bottom of my heart I more than once envied these melancholy creatures. They lived in luxurious barns equipped with running water, both hot and cold.

In summer they wandered in pastures fresh as park lawns; they were surrounded with respect and love. There was a personal note book for each cow, wherein were recorded all the details of her life. If she lowed out of season or if she ate a very little less than the quantity specified, her masters, full of solicitude, hurried to the telephone—and from the neighbouring town came a veterinary, grave as a professor.

Now the veterinary is disturbed much less frequently. Is it worth while to pay for such care when butter and meat are so cheap? Is it even worth while to maintain these beautiful creatures whose value has so mysteriously diminished? England, Germany, France, the entire world has reduced the importance of butter. The market price of butter has gone down and down. Only recently it was liquid gold which flowed from the udders of cows; now it is more like plain water. True, if the cow is an extraordinary producer, it is worth while to occupy oneself with her, but unhappy the cow which slacks in its zeal—one leads it no longer to the pastures, but to the abattoir.

And it is even worse with regard to meat. Germany loved Danish meat. At first it was the unemployed which caused the importation to waver. Millions of Germans substituted potatoes for beef. Then, questions of state policy intervened. The National Socialists declared that in reality Schleswig was German. In Schleswig, cattle were raised for slaughter. The Germans stopped buying meat. They wished to strike Schleswig, if not in the heart, at least in the pocket. The frontiers were closed. Economists gravely declared that there was over-production of meat. The Danes grieved. What to do with these "surplus" cows?

They decided to prepare potted meat, but Argentina was found to be in the way. In this Argentina there was too much of everything: too much wheat, too much wool, too much meat. Argentina sold its potted meat at a price hardly more than the net cost of the container. The Danes found no market for their preserved meat. What to do with their cows?

In a town on the island of Laaland, I saw the culmination of capitalistic civilisation — farmers leading young and healthy cows to the slaughter-house. They were the brown cows of Denmark, universally esteemed. Many generations have been required to develop this remarkable breed. How many countrymen at the four ends of the earth would these "Brunendes" have delighted! They were led to the slaughter-house and the receiving clerk noted briefly: "to destroy."

The price of meat fell day after day, and to stop this the State undertook to destroy cattle. At first, the sick cows—this was explained on the ground of care for the public health. Then weak and aging cows—this was said to be to raise the quality of the meat. Now they were destroying young and perfectly healthy cows and there were no more explanations. Newspapers said nothing. Butchers and the veterinarians said nothing. Each week five thousand head of cattle were quietly destroyed.

Six per cent. of the four quarters passed to the manufacture of soap and for other industrial purposes. The remainder was burned up. They burned up the pot au feu of the poor, the family roast. They burned up these things because, if one is to believe the distinguished economists in this miserable, half-starved world, there is too much meat!

However, at Naksor a "rational utilisation" of meat has been thought up. It is not destroyed; it is "converted." It was at Naksor that I saw the machine which impressed me so profoundly. In the midst of a great din the machine transforms the flesh and bone into paste. The paste is then boiled and pressed. Finally, in place of sides of beef there are a number of flat, earthen coloured cakes—and in this new form the beef is devoted to the fattening of hogs! So then, a remedy for the crisis has been found; it is only necessary to kill cows to nourish swine!

The key to the riddle of so mysterious an industry is that English housewives still buy lard and bacon, and they like the Danish product. But the English are a whimsical race—they will eat only the flesh of white pigs. The bacon and lard of spotted pigs is in no way inferior, but because of this British fancy, spotted pigs are pariahs in Denmark—they are not worth half as much as their white cousins.

One must not get the idea, however, that the porcine race has escaped the world crisis. Its price has sunk and its export diminished. The Danish hog raisers receive special cards giving them the right to sell so many pigs a year. Without a card a pig is worth less than half as much as with one. Newspapers carried announcements, "For Sale: Export Cards for Hogs." Breeders speculate with these cards instead of with live pigs.

Week by week, England is reducing Danish hog imports. The English consider Danish bacon the best in the world, but there are the dominions to be thought of. It is necessary to take into account not only the quality of lard, but the claims of New Zealand. Perhaps the English frontier will soon be as tightly closed against Danish hogs as the German frontier is closed to Danish beef. And then? Then the procedure will be to destroy

the hogs which for the moment fatten on the flesh of cattle.

Observe, then, this tragic round of the capitalist world. They dry up the seas to sow wheat. Then some of the wheat is destroyed and some is used for cattle fodder. Then they destroy the cattle to make food for hogs. Surely some enterprising man is already developing a plan for the "rational utilisation" of hogs which the Danes will begin to destroy to-morrow.

The farmers seek something to replace the cattle and hogs. Their pertinacity and love of work are indestructible. They have turned now to the cultivation of apple and pear trees. They plan to sell their fruit abroad, but for the present the trees require all their time. There is a plague of insects. One can struggle against insects, but the time is near when the growers will be attacked by the senseless figures—like those on the roulette wheel. Then it will be in order to destroy the valuable orchards!

Nowhere is the blind, destructive force of capitalism so striking as in the small, well ordered country of Denmark. Each foot of ground is coddled like a flower bed. The inhabitants are accustomed to work early and late. The pigeries resemble clinics and the farmers are in close touch with the latest developments of science. In this country there is no longer any illusion of general prosperity. Certainly heretofore life there has been better organised and less difficult than in Germany or England. But the Danes now appreciate to what extent their welfare is linked to that of the whole world. The waves are submerging this happy isle. The Danes have not as yet known hunger and destitution, but they have already experienced something even more bitter: work in advance condemned to frustration.

For any man the spectacle of sound milch cows being destroyed is insupportable. I have seen the sad grimace which twists the faces of municipal veterinarians. I have seen the mournful visages of workmen near the enigmatic machine. It is not simply the destruction of wealth; it is vandalism. To all, the ignominy of it is evident—suggestive of the destruction of books by the demonic Nazis. Human accomplishment is thus annihilated, and no enlightened person can contemplate this without repulsion.

Something also enters into the destruction of food which is not less shameful. I will not speak of those famished wraiths I have passed in the streets of Berlin and Manchester. I will recall only what I have seen in the relatively prosperous countries bordering Denmark. In Sweden, in the region of the forest exploitation, I saw thousands of unemployed who eat meat only two or three times a year. I saw at Kramfors workers in the cellulose factories whose only food consists of oat-flour, potatoes and herring—meat is beyond their means. I saw at Trondhjem unemployed sailors and longshoremen. They had the bearing of seafaring men, proud and self-willed. They are forced to beg the few pennies necessary to keep themselves alive. Of course they eat no meat. I myself know very well what hunger is, and it was frightful to see with my

own eyes this prime beef being carefully and expeditiously destroyed.

The boat on which I left Denmark for France was loaded with old, broken-down horses. The poor of Paris eat this hard and dry horse meat. It is possible that a simple-minded man might ask, "Why then do they not send Danish beef to France?" There are the duties, there is the "politics of meat," there are the figures. One has the right to export to France an old nag, and so, in Denmark, these old nags are each worth more than three heifers. This approaches delirium. But it is by economics such as this that the attempt to save the world is being made.

Formerly, the proletariat formed one of the classes of society. It struggled for the right to live. It worked in the interests of the exploited. It demanded justice. It took sides against another class—rapacious but living. The bourgeoisie then built admirable factories, raised blooded cattle, and after its own fashion furthered human progress. That time is long past. We now have the right to appeal not to the feelings of men of one class,

but to conscience, to ordinary common sense. We have the right to raise the question of the salvation of civilisation. It is the bourgeoisie who have led the world to its decline. Formerly they exacted the work of slaves who constructed superb edifices for them. Now they exact a labour of Sisyphus, an absurd work, foredoomed to destruction. They have placed the world at the mercy of chaos. They have made a roulette wheel of it, and the life of every man has become that of the feverish gambler who does not know what the next moment has in store for him. They have recounted tales of workmen who saturated fine houses with gasoline, of anarchists who threw bombs. But they are the throwers of bombs, the incendiaries, the barbarians of our century. Tomorrow you will see them convert lard into manure for the wheat, to give the wheat to the cattle, give the cattle to the pigs, and with the pigs again fertilise the ground. In former times they were cruel and heartless money changers. Now they are madmen.

—ILYA EHRENBURG, in "American New Masses."

The Music of New Russia

The following extracts are quoted from a well-known Anglo-Russian conductor, Albert Coates, now General Music Director of the Moscow and Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestras, and conductor of the Bolshoi Opera in Moscow. The article appears in

account of Russian music given by the next General Music Director of the Bolshoi Orchestras, and conductor of the Bolshoi Opera in Moscow. The article appears in "The Etude Music Magazine," June, 1934.

"PEOPLE, intelligent people too, come to me with questions like this: 'How can art flourish in Russia? How can a government of working people cultivate music? Haven't all the intelligentsia been killed off? Does the Russian proletariat take any interest in cultural matters?' And I can only throw up my hands in amazement at the honest misconception under which these good people labour."

"Russia is the only country in the world today where music is forging ahead with giant strides, instead of languishing for want of funds. Other lands are closing their opera houses and disbanding their troupes; Russia is building new theatres and engaging new talent."

"We have a vast nation that is characterised by its youth, its ardour, its burning wish for progress—all sorts of progress."

"A vast amount of this magnificent energy is centred in music. Music is subsidised by the State and is under State control. The War Minister, the Foreign Minister, even Stalin himself, turn to music for uplift and relaxation; and they are eager to project this lovely force into the lives of their compatriots. The standard of musical success in Russia is art and not money. . . . We are given instructions to further great art; after that, we have carte blanche. You can see what a fine head-start music enjoys under such a system!"

"At the present moment, and to my great joy, I am forming and drilling an entirely new Philharmonic Orchestra in Moscow. It is a big undertaking, but oh! how eagerly it is awaited! Russia, you see, does not merely hear music, it lives it. It honours it. Nothing is too good for it."

"The field of music is in no wise restricted by political policies. Regardless of the government's official stand on religion, for example, operas which glorify the religious spirit are presented unchanged, exactly as the composers wished them to be."

"Solo recitals are constantly winning greater favour, and the great orchestral works are heard and understood with impressive respect. I love to think back to my own recent performance of Beethoven's 'Ninth Symphony,' the hushed solemnity with which the people entered into the spirit of the music. I believe that if the ancient Greek feeling for sheer abstract beauty can be said to exist anywhere to-day, Russia has conquered it back."

"Admission prices are low in Russia, so that everyone can come and enjoy the music which the government prepares for him. But the performers are paid excellent fees, which are fully commensurate with a great artist's skill."

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ORGAN OF MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB

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APRIL - JUNE 1935

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PROLETARIAT

ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB

A Minority Group Within the University

Editors—Jan C. Macdonald, A. Palmer.

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APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

CURRENT NOTES

During the last six months of 1934—a period of intense international strain — at least two situations arose clearly resembling that which served as an excuse for war in 1914. The murder of Dolfuss and the assassination of Alexander and Barthou, both found countries urgently needing war—yet no war came. What was the reason?

The Dolfuss Affair.

No informed person to-day doubts that German fascism was directly responsible for the death of Dolfuss. The old Italo-German antagonism over the control of Austria was made more acute by the state of German internal economy. In June, 1934, the production figures for the German steel trade—despite increased activity in armament building—fell from 43,000 to 38,600 tons. A similar state of affairs existed in all industries. Furthermore, as the June executions of fascist leaders clearly indicated, the irrevocable division of the various sections of German capitalism had reached a new stage of savagery. Hitler Germany was desperate. Threatened with imminent economic collapse, threatened by the continually increasing antagonisms in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, threatened too by the rising wave of proletarian revolution, Hitler, the paid agent of the dominant Thyssen finance-capital group, deliberately provoked war with Italy, in order to try to win from her dominance of Austria. Then, having lured thousands of Austrian Nazis into a hopeless putsch—he realised the mistake and entered into negotiations for a peaceful settlement. Why?

Germany had everything to gain from a successful war. Defeated in 1918, the German capitalists were by 1934 in even more desperate straits than the capitalists of France and Britain, who held in their hands the fruits of victory. Desperate restrictions of imports and increasing financial unreliability led to Germany's increasing isolation. In the words of the "Observer," "German isolation had assumed a form amounting to quarantine." French imperialism was well aware of Germany's desperation, and mortally afraid of hostilities being directed against her; for France, the only desirable outlet for Germany was war against the Soviet Union, the one common enemy of the capitalist powers. Britain was in agreement on this point. British capitalism is behind Germany; but for British ends. If British arms, intended for war on the U.S.S.R., were to be

used by Germany against Italy—i.e., if inter-imperialist war, from which Britain had nothing to gain and everything to fear, were to occur instead of anti-Soviet war—Britain was determined that Germany would man the guns alone.

In Italy the economic situation was little better than in Germany. Mussolini, acting in the interests of Italian capital, also needed war—not against Germany, however, for, despite the death of Dolfuss, the failure of the Nazi putsch left Italy still dominant in Austria. Italy, therefore, failed to respond to the provocation.

Two powerful forces played the decisive rôle in preventing Germany from carrying the provocation a stage further: British capitalism, without the aid of which Germany dared not bring matters to a head, and the international revolutionary movement, particularly its sections in Germany and Italy. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini dared risk a war. Thaelmann and Gramsci were in prison, but the spirit of Thaelmann and Gramsci was abroad.

No allies forthcoming, both countries desperate internally, rising tide of workers' revolution—war averted. This is our first picture.

Alexander and Barthou.

The situation that led to the assassination of Alexander and Barthou shows how tangled the web of capitalist contradictions can become. Three pieces of evidence indicate who was responsible:

(1) Alexander, king of Jugo-Slavia, and Barthou, foreign minister for France, had met in Marseilles in order to discuss the possibility of reforming the Franco-Jugo-Slavian alliance. Jugo-Slavia, a state formed in 1918 round the nucleus of Serbia, was until the deepening of the economic crisis a puppet of French imperialism. From the time of its formation, a major antagonism had existed between it and Italy, due mainly to rivalry for control of the Adriatic, necessary for trade routes.

Now the madly aggressive policy of Hitler, and his desperate efforts to get control of Austria, led, as we have seen, to an Italo-German antagonism that had already almost resulted in war. Germany and Jugo-Slavia were therefore both opposed to Italy, though for different ends, and Jugo-Slavia began to move away from France towards Germany.

Barthou, on behalf of French capital, was engaged in trying to recapture Jugo-Slavian sup-

port. He and Alexander met to discuss this in October—but were murdered before the conversations took place. Who was responsible?

The first piece of evidence points circumstantially to Italy, the country which had most to gain from preventing Jugo-Slavia strengthening its alliances.

(2) The murderer was a Croat—that is, a member of one of the subject nationalities of Jugo-Slavia, a subject nationality that was ruthlessly oppressed and exploited by the dominant Serbs. Alexander was the representative and figure-head of the Serbs. The murderer belonged to a terrorist organisation—which, Jugo-Slavia proved, was supported by fascist Italy. (The financing of terrorist organisations in Jugo-Slavia in order to weaken it internally has been one of the imperialist devices of Italy since the war.) Once again the evidence points to Italy.

(3) The photographs of the assassination implicate the French police. What is the significance of this?

Barthou was the representative of the capitalist group in France which followed the policy of temporising in order to stave off war as long as possible. This led him to make advances even to the Soviet. Another capitalist grouping in France, and one which tried to effect a fascist coup in the previous February, advocated the more reckless policy of immediate war against the Soviet Union. The attempted fascist coup in February revealed beyond question that this group controlled the police. The implication of the police in the murder of Barthou, therefore throws suspicion on them.

The full explanation appears to be that Italian fascism used the Croatian to precipitate a crisis in which the question of the Adriatic would be settled, but, owing to the activity of the French fascists, Barthou, as well as Alexander, fell, and instead of a Jugo-Slavia divided from France, Mussolini had he pursued his plans, would have had to face a Jugo-Slavia united with France by a common provention.

Germany would have welcomed a war in which France and Jugo-Slavia were united against Italy as an excellent chance of seizing Austria. But once more international antagonisms were too complex. Italy could not afford to provoke France, France and Italy recognised Germany's designs on Austria, and Jugo-Slavia was incapable of independent action. Thus Sir John Simon was able to intervene (in accordance with Britain's policy of avoiding inter-imperialist war), and secure for himself and his country praise for having handled a delicate situation tactfully, and for having averted war.

A New Stage of Crisis.

In both cases international antagonisms failed to come to fruition in war, despite deliberate war preparations, partly because of the very intensity of those antagonisms. In both cases the development of the war crisis coincided with a great intensification of the class-struggle in the countries concerned—anti-fascist demonstrations in Germany and Italy,

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the United Front in France—so that the danger of revolution acted as a brake on the war plans of the bourgeoisie. In both cases, the inter-monopoly antagonisms in the countries concerned, reflected in the one case in the June executions in Germany, in the other in the fascist implication in the murder of Barthou, further complicated the situation. The general crisis of capitalism has entered a new stage—a stage in which the bourgeoisie carries out war provocations and cannot follow them up; in which the revolutionary action of the workers plays an ever-increasing part.

Let us examine its effects in a few countries.

Britain.

The most important result of the murder of Dolfuss was the temporary breakdown of the anti-Soviet bloc. The lunatic action of the Reich, displaying the incalculability of German policy, increased France's mortal fear of German aggression, and led to increased petitioning for the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. Britain for the moment was compelled to comply. Overnight the question of the admission of the Soviet became a question "about which there would be no dispute in this country," and even Chamberlain and Churchill expressed admiration of the "pacifist" policy of the Soviet.

That this was a mere expedient to pacify France has been proved by recent developments. The British policy of the rearmament of Germany for war against the Soviet has reached the point when the Government has made known its intention to have Part 5 of the Treaty of Versailles (which limits Germany's armed strength) superseded by a system in which all have equal right to arm. By this simple device British imperialism answers those who say it is conniving at the breaking of the Treaty. "Now no purpose will be served by harping upon a breach of the Treaty."

British statesmen are becoming increasingly outspoken about the reason for German rearmament. Thus in November Lloyd George made a statement that has since been repeated: "I am not afraid of Nazism, but of Communism"—and if Germany is seized by the Communists, Europe will follow; because the Germans could make a better job of it than any other country. Do not let us be in a hurry to condemn Germany. We shall be welcoming Germany as our friend."

The murder of Dolfuss and the temporary collapse of the anti-Soviet bloc show that a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism has been reached—a stage in which long-range planning is constantly checked and side-tracked into a policy of momentary expediency. Britain's effort to prevent, at all costs, inter-imperialist war in Europe, has forced her temporarily to recognise the Soviet as a potent factor for peace.

In Britain, as in all other countries, insecurity and instability in international affairs reflects insecurity and instability at home. The increasing activity of Mosley (under police protection), the Sedition Bill, and the increasingly deceitful policy of the social-democratic Labour Party—

are the outward signs of the chaos of British financial-industrial interests. Just as fascism in Germany advanced on three fronts—with the social-democrats on the left lulling the workers into a feeling of false security against the possibility of fascism, with the constitutional government in the centre constantly increasing its dictatorial power, and with the band of police-protested fascist thugs and demagogues on the right—so fascism is advancing in England.

But Mosley has not been ignored. The fate of his monster meetings at Olympia and Hyde Park needs no recalling. And the opposition to him—the hundred thousand hostile workers that surged round him at Hyde Park, for instance—was led solely by the Communist Party. In England, as elsewhere, events are proving that the Communist Party alone is the party of struggle against Fascism for Revolutionary Socialism.

On the one hand—economic disintegration, the advance of fascism on all fronts, the repeated collapse of efforts to rebuild the anti-Soviet bloc (or, Hitler's recent diplomatic cold), desperate and momentary manoeuvres to keep inter-imperialist peace in Europe; on the other hand—increasing militancy of the working-class, leading to greater support for the genuine anti-fascist fight of the Communist Party—this is the position in England today.

Italy.

In Italy, at the time of the Dolfuss assassination, the united Communist and Socialist parties pointed out that it was "miserable hypocrisy on the part of the Italian Fascist Press to represent this mobilisation (of Italian troops on the Austrian border) as an act of defence of the independence of Austria." They called upon the soldiers sent into Austria "to fraternise with the Austrian workers, to aid them in their struggle against the Fascist bands, to fraternise with the soldiers of all nationalities, and be true to one flag only—the Red Flag of Socialist revolution."

At the same time the elements of crisis and disintegration in Italian Fascism were rapidly maturing. Just as disintegration in Germany led to the murder of Roehm and his colleagues, so in Italy—where equally effective if less flamboyant methods are employed—it led to the exile of Arpinati. Arpinati was one of the oldest leaders of Italian Fascism; a man who, in his capacity as Secretary of State for Home Affairs, had been personally responsible for much of the terror and oppression of the last decade. But quickly and without explanation he was banished. Black-shirted Fascism, like brown-shirted Fascism, decays, and in its decay reveals its brutality. It has become common among bourgeois leaders of thought to regard Italy as the place where Fascism flourishes without the excesses of its German counterpart. Yet daily the Special Court passes sentences of banishment, imprisonment, and death on political offenders. The position of

Gramsci(*) in Italy, slowly dying in prison, bears a resemblance to that of Thaelmann, in Germany. Mussolini's methods are quieter than Hitler's. But, apart from the noise, there is little difference between them. The increasing internal confusion in his country leads to actions in foreign affairs—the payment of Croatian national revolutionaries in Jugo-Slavia, deliberate war provocation in the murder of Alexander—exactly similar in frenzy and immediate war purpose to those of Germany.

In Italy, too, the position to-day is confusion in international affairs, disintegration at home, and solid advance of the workers' revolution on the basis of continuous unity between the Communist Party and the rank and file followers of the Socialist Party, unity in which Socialist leaders are sometimes forced to participate.

Germany.

Already we have seen one instance of the hopeless confusion of Germany's position on the international field, and we have noted that this confusion was coincident with internal strife, and countered by the growing force of working-class opposition. Even before the murder of Dolfuss, after the June murders of Fascist leaders, Ernst Thaelmann had pointed out that the key to the future of Germany lay in the absolute disillusionment of the middle class—whose representative, Roehm, was among the dead—and "the re-appearance of the revolutionary proletariat on the open political arena in Germany." He added that the result of the concurrent working of these two factors—since the German workers certainly knew how to build revolution on all fronts—would be that large sections of the middle classes would throw in their lot with the workers behind Ernst Thaelmann.

Subsequent events have fully confirmed his opinion. The death of Hindenburg, and the immediate appointment of Hitler, in defiance of Nazi-made laws, as Chancellor, revealed not only the panic of the bourgeoisie at being deprived of the broad shield of a well-nigh mythical personality—one of Goebbel's myths—but also in the vote taken after the event, the strength of the gathering opposition. Official Nazi sources admitted 7,000,000 votes against Hitler. Certainly there were more. Over 7,000,000 anti-Fascist fighters, despite conditions of the utmost terror, registered their opposition to Hitler. Indeed, the revolutionary workers had entered once more "the open political arena in Germany."

And the other part of Henri's prophecy was likewise fulfilled. Ever larger sections of the petty bourgeoisie followed the lead of the workers. The immediate expression of their dissatisfaction with National Socialism was not direct. The importance of the religious conflicts in Hitler Ger-

* Since this was written, the united action of the Italian workers, and those of all countries, has secured the commutation of Gramsci's sentence to one of banishment. But his health has already been thoroughly broken.

many at the end of last year lies precisely in the fact that they indicate this discontent. Karl Barth was banished—not because he was the leading theoretician of non-conformist Christianity, but because he represented and influenced large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, who were, like him, thoroughly disgusted with Nazism.

On the other side of the picture, the situation of German capitalism grows more and more desperate. We have seen the action taken by its representatives in the Duffuss affair. We have seen the way in which it watched—incidentally trying to shape events to its own satisfaction—the murder of Alexander and Barthou. Foiled in these instances, needing some outlet, German capitalism was faced once more with the alternatives, "expand or burst."

This Britain realised, and, being unable to face with equanimity the second alternative (since it would mean a Soviet Germany), set about assisting Germany in the first. Hence the rapprochement between England and Germany in December, 1934, and January, 1935. Hence the connivance of Britain in Nazi propaganda and terrorisation of voters in the Saar. Hence the success of Hitler in the Saar plebiscite. The full "value" of the success has yet to be learned, but the revolutionary history of the Saar workers makes it safe, even thus early, to characterise it as a Pyrrhic victory.

Here, too, we see the same features in operation—increasing frenzy in the ranks of Capitalism; this in conjunction with other features of crisis leading to attempts to provoke war, complexity of international antagonisms, and instability of alliances saving the situation (so far)—and, against it all, the re-entry of the revolutionary proletariat, leading onward all sections for whom Fascism does not cater, on the open political arena in Germany.

In Other Countries.

Everywhere it is the same picture. The San Francisco Strike and the Textile Strike in America, strikes and revolts in Manchukuo, strikes in Japan; the bankruptcy and increasing brutality of the New Deal, official murders of Nazi women in Germany, growth of Fascism in Britain, France, everywhere; rebellion in Greece, war in South America, threats of war all around—this is the world we live in to-day. The alignment of powers changes so rapidly that it is impossible to say to-day what will be the position to-morrow⁽¹⁾, the internal strife between various monopoly capitalist groups reaches an ever higher pitch of intensity, the unity and revolutionary action of the working class (and petty bourgeoisie) continually increases. Unrest, strife, misery, bitterness—these are the conditions, and out of these conditions two things alone can spring—revolution and war. Already we have seen the progress of the world towards

¹ The seriousness of the situation may be gauged from the frenzied way in which Britain is attempting to reconquer Britain's open atmosphere of her policy of disarmament. Though war has not come, it comes visibly nearer.

war; we have seen that it has only been averted on the basis of the complexity of international antagonisms, itself a feature in other circumstances productive of war; we are now to consider the progress of the world in revolution.

Progress in China.

Here we are immediately faced with a contrast. Despite the keenness of international enmity, war on a grand scale has not broken out. That does not mean that it will not; at any moment alliances of sufficient stability might be formed, and the excuse be found; but so far this has not occurred. On the other hand, revolution has broken out afresh in Spain, and is rapidly advancing in China. The Chinese Soviets have long passed the stage at which the bourgeois press could afford to ignore them. Now it spends its time in slandering them. Chinese Communists are always bandits, who divide their time between capturing missionaries, and retreating before "the forces of law and order." They have been retreating so long that even the "Sydney Morning Herald" has realised that they "are moving westward in accordance with a premeditated plan, and, if their fight" continues much longer, they will soon join forces with the Reds in Szechwan, constituting a far more formidable menace to the peace and order of China than they ever did in Kiangsi."

The truth is that the Chinese Soviet Republic is the one stable government in China. Its successful defence against six years of intervention gives a clear indication of its strength. The efficiency and organisation of its government^(†) bear eloquent testimony to the permanence of the gain that has been made. Despite the fact that revolutionary fighting is continuing, the constructive value of revolution is already being experienced. Increases of from 100 to 200 per cent. in rice production—all of it available for the use of the people; none of it burnt as in capitalist countries—the reclaiming of some 33,000 acres of swamp land, advances in all branches of industry . . . this is Soviet China.

The Spanish Revolution.

But the Chinese Revolution began some years ago. Its history during 1935 was one of consolidation and extension, a history full of moment. Even more important for 1935, however, was the outbreak of revolution on a new front. The revolutionary crisis in Spain had long been brewing. The semi-feudal conditions of agriculture (monopoly-capitalist ownership of land, superimposed on feudal serf labour best describes it), on the one hand, and misery and starvation, had roused the peasantry to action. The appalling conditions of the miners in the Asturias and elsewhere, the disorganisation of industry typical of the general crisis of capitalism, mass unemployment, rationalisation; all these, combined with the ripening of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities (Catalans, Basques, Galicians), for national autonomy welded the workers of Spain together.

[†] See "Fundamental Laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic."

Early in September a conference of Government officials and big land-owners in Madrid received its answer in an anti-Fascist general strike there and in the Asturias. On Sept. 13 the Communist and Socialist parties of Spain achieved unity. On the 23rd, the Government declared a state of alarm to exist. On October 4th, Lerroux (a Radical) announced that members of the Catholic (Fascist) party had been taken into his cabinet. Immediately a general strike began throughout Spain. In the Asturias, the workers took up arms, seized Oviedo, and hoisted the Red Flag over the Town Hall. Everywhere their example was followed. . . . but not everywhere with such success. The bourgeoisie was in confusion. Wherever strong measures were taken the workers were successful. Why then did the revolution fail? Or did it fail, in fact, at all?

These facts stand out clearly. In Catalonia, a proletarian area, the earliest and most crushing defeats were suffered. In Catalonia, Anarcho-syndicalists led the struggle. In Madrid, action was not taken quickly enough. At the crucial moment, at the beginning of the revolution, no attempt was made to seize the centre of government. In Madrid, the Socialists—now united with the Communists, but without a Communist understanding of the art of revolution, such as day to day struggles on right lines alone can teach—led the struggle. In the Asturias, the highest point of revolution was attained. Soviets were set up, and functioned. Even now the struggle is continuing. In the Asturias the Communist party led the revolution.

Although the United Front was achieved, the influence of Communism was not everywhere strong enough to consolidate advantages, or set the struggle on right lines. But the revolution in Spain has not been defeated. The Spanish workers are learning from their comrades in the Asturias that victories can be won by genuinely revolutionary action.

War preparations, war situations, no war. Mass discontent, a revolutionary crisis—revolution in China and Spain.

Wars and Revolutions.

In 1914, at the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, a position was reached when capitalists could see one way out—war—and workers one way out—revolution. In 1914, the first world war preceded the outbreak of revolution, revolution which freed the people of Russia, but elsewhere failed—for the time. 1914 saw the beginning of the first round of wars and revolutions.

Revolutions and Wars.

In 1935, the general crisis has matured. After passing through a period of temporary illusory stability, the capitalists once more see but one solution—war (for which the workers must now be cowed by Fascism). The workers, too, see but one solution—revolution. This time revolution has preceded war. In 1935, we have entered upon the second round of REVOLUTIONS AND WARS.

AUSTRALIA

"Weathering the Crisis"!

THE past year is notable as being the hundredth year since the first white settlement was established in this part of Australia. It marked the close of a century of development, progress, and it is unfortunate that it coincided with the fifth year of a world-wide economic depression unparalleled in its severity. There were various indications, during the earlier months of the year, that Victoria was emerging from the depression, but the movement has been checked and slowed down by various causes. . . .

Thus "The Monthly Summary of Australian Conditions" produced by the National Bank, begins an article in the issue of January 11, 1935, on the subject of the condition of trade in Victoria. The writer does not attempt to explain directly the "various causes," but instead analyses the economic effect of the Centenary celebrations. He explains that the accidental increase in employment caused by the necessity for decorating the city, and the consequent "increased aggregate demand of factory employees, builders, painters, decorators, shop hands, and others, which preceded and have continued through the celebrations, have assisted retail trade and the sale of all commodities, including foodstuffs, in almost all

centres. Failing this assistance there may have been an unwelcome decline."

Very considerably, he amplifies this last cryptic comment by tabulating "the various unfavorable factors, which but for the stimulating effect of the Centenary celebrations," may have had this undesirable result. They are as follow:—

"1. Low prices for wool, wheat, butter, apples, and base metals.

"2. Unfavorable winter season in the North and North-west of the State, and unseasonable spring and summer weather affecting trade conditions.

"3. Losses in various sections due to storms, floods, and grasshoppers.

"4. Disturbed international trade position with marked restriction on Australia's export trade to various countries.

"5. Heavy expenditure locally on transport and amusement during the past few months, with a consequent lessening of the amount many people could spend in other directions."

It is an interesting commentary on this last factor that the proprietors of Joyland—the new amusement park in Batman Avenue "£1,000,000 of fun for 3d."—are bankrupt.

Reasons 2 and 3 are of the familiar type—unfavorable seasonal and other natural conditions.

The fact that these conditions do, on some occasions, have some bad effect makes them the present state of crisis. More frequently, however, they have the opposite effect; restrictions, whether by natural or artificial means (burning of wheat, sinking of butter in the sea, ploughing in of cotton, etc., etc.), inflate the prices of the sold commodities and, though the small and middle producer is hard hit, the "big" man benefits. The National Bank expert does not take account of this.

Reasons 1 and 2 are on a different level, in that they are fundamental features of the present trade position as it affects Australia. But, like all bourgeois economists of the present day, the writer—whose estimate of the position is a very sober one—has taken for causes what are, in fact, simply effects.

It will be obvious that reasons 1 and 4 are largely interdependent. Wool and wheat are the main Australian exports, primary products comprising 95 per cent. of the total export trade. Now, the trade value of the wool exported from Australia for the months July-November, 1934, was £11,752,000, a decrease of £12,331,000 (Australian currency) on the trade value of the amount exported during the corresponding period of 1933. In the case of wheat, wool, and apples, there were slight increases, but not nearly sufficient to balance the huge increase on wool. The following figures (in million pounds sterling), for which the National Bank's "Monthly Summary" for January is also responsible, give a very fair picture of conditions:—

	July-Nov. 1933.	July-Nov. 1934.
Imports	25.0	32.3
Exports	52.9	41.9

The balance of trade in favor of Australia has shrunk by £11,500,000, and when we take into consideration the fact that the export figures quoted include, for 1933 £3,809,000, and for 1934 £4,214,000 of gold, the parlous condition of Australian capitalism becomes very apparent. The position has of course been induced to a great extent by "restriction on Australia's export trade to various countries," but to elevate this to the rank of a reason is ridiculous. It is simply begging the fundamental question—why these world-wide restrictions? Why has the race between nation and nation to build up national economy taken on this form? And there can be but one answer—the same for Australia as for Germany, England, France, America, Japan, and all the rest of them. Neither plagues of grasshoppers, nor floods, nor unfavorable weather conditions in Australia can explain Japanese, German, and Italian restrictions on Australian wool.

The reason can only lie in the world-wide development of a new stage of intensity in the general crisis of capitalism.

The Centenary Celebrations.

The reaction of Australian capitalism to these conditions is most vividly illustrated in the Centenary celebrations. In general these celebrations may be characterised as conscious speeding up

of the drive towards fascism and war; in particular they consisted of a frenzied attempt to give a semblance of solidity to Anglo-Australian relations, being marked by a festival of flag-waving and military propaganda, by military conferring and military propaganda, by the sharpness, and an air race which revealed the sharpness of the latest type of the speed and endurance provided a thorough test of British military plane of the latest type of British military plane—the de Havilland Comet.

None of our Centenary guests lacked their importance. Prince Henry supplied glamour; the poet laureate, mysticism. But the most important contribution to the proceedings was made by three men whom the public saw very little—Sir Maurice Hankey, Field Marshall Lord Milne, and Sir John Cadman. In Australia the Press unanimously proclaimed that the visit of Sir Maurice was simply designed to do honour to Victoria's "Hundred Years of Progress." He might, of course, discuss Defence, but that was not the object of his visit. The English Press told a different story. Sir Maurice, it was announced, would arrange his tour of the Dominions, designed to strengthen the defences of the Empire, so as to be in Melbourne during the Centenary celebrations. His colleagues, Milne and Cadman, are respectively the mechanisation expert of the British army, and the man who arranged petrol supplies for the Allies in the World War.

The effect of their visit was immediately apparent. First, there was a sudden rise in the number of political books and periodicals which were banned. "International Press Correspondence" was one of the first to suffer, and on several occasions supplies of "The Labour Monthly" were held up. Second, there were rumours of the re-introduction of compulsory military training. Generally, there was a tightening up of repressive measures and active war-preparation in all directions.

For Australian capitalism, the Centenary celebrations marked the most powerful advance to date, of the process of fascism and preparation for war.

The Workers' Reply.

As in other parts of the world, the present level of economic crisis in Australia leads to intensification of the trend to fascism. Also, as in other parts of the world, there develops simultaneously a revolutionary working-class movement gathering in strength and in unity as it resists the growth of restrictions, the attacks on living conditions, and the advance of fascism, and fights for immediate demands and the ultimate overthrow of capitalism. During the main period of the Centenary celebrations, the period when the Duke of Gloucester was in Melbourne, the most significant indications of the development of such a movement were the All-Australian Congress Against War and Fascism, held in the Port Melbourne Town Hall, and the Melbourne Tramway Strike.

The Melbourne Tramway Strike.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the fact that the Melbourne Trammies chose to conduct their strike for better conditions during the Centenary celebrations. It was a challenging, militant gesture, saying with the utmost clarity that the working-class was not deceived and swept off its feet by the outburst of patriotic propaganda. It was at once a demonstration of the revolutionary initiative of the tram-men, in that they seized on a time when the disorganisation of tramway services would have important practical consequences in order to obtain their demands, and would be a powerful counterblast to the advance of fascism.

No less significant was the manner in which it was betrayed by the social-fascist "Trades Hall Disputes Committee," into whose hands the struggle was allowed to be taken. It was a clear indication that in Australia, as in England, the Labour Party leaders are selling the workers' struggles to the bourgeoisie, that they are paving the way for the advance of fascism. They can be prevented from doing so, as the Wonthaggi Miners' struggle earlier in the year showed, by united militant rank-and-file action.

The Congress Against War.

The work that had to be done in arranging the Australian Congress Against War and Fascism was at once an indication of the growth of fascism and of the struggle against it. One hand after another was booked by the organisers—and then abruptly cancelled by the lessees. Until the very last moment it was not known whether the Port Melbourne Town Hall would also be withdrawn.

Despite the uncertainty which thus surrounded the place in which the Congress would be held, despite the usual campaign of slander by the Press, despite the counter-attraction of naval and military pageants and several other Centenary side-shows, the Congress was a splendid success.

Not less than 250 organisations (most of them working-class) were represented. Delegates representing key war industries, such as miners, waterside workers, and boot, and leather workers, were present. Communists, Christians, Labour Party workers, followers of the Douglas Credit Party, worked together in a concrete militant way, constructing a programme and method for the fight against Fascism and War. It was a magnificent reply to the flag-waving and "patriotic" military and fascist propaganda of the Centenary celebrations.

Kisch and Griffin.

Two delegates to that Congress were prevented from taking their places in it by the direct interference of the Australian Government. Egon Erwin Kisch, delegate from the World Committee Against War and Fascism, and Gerald Griffin, representing New Zealand, were excluded from the country. The details of the events connected with the struggle which developed around the exclusion of these two men are so well known that we shall not go into them here. We are more concerned with their significance.

The Government action itself was the most blatant single indication we have yet seen of the growth of fascism in this country. The

struggle against it, carried on both legally and illegally—the landing of Griffin in defiance of authority—has been the finest expression of the gathering unity of the Australian working class and petty-bourgeoisie in the struggle against fascism.

The struggle for the liberation of Kisch has been completely successful.

The struggle for the liberation of Griffin is continuing, so that he also will leave Australia a free man.

The Book Censorship Abolition League.

One of the most important features of the underground part of the Centenary celebrations was the increased stringency of the book censorship. The Book Censorship Abolition League was formed as a counterblast to it. We cannot as yet chronicle as full a measure of success in this branch of the struggle against fascism as in others. Valuable work has certainly been done. A Petition to the House of Representatives has been circulated, and meetings of various kinds, including a public debate, have been held to popularise the League and its work. The weakness has been that the appeal has been almost entirely to the petty-bourgeoisie. Certainly it is desirable that professors, lecturers, scientists, and others should support such a movement; but, as in all other branches of the struggle against fascism, success can be obtained only by united action under the militant lead of the working class.

Australia and the New Stage of Crisis.

This then is the picture we see in Australia to-day—on the one hand confusion in economy, growing rivalry between monopoly groups reflected in the splits in the political parties which became apparent during the Federal elections and have since become more serious, growing complexity in international antagonisms reflected in Australian participation in the disintegration of the Empire (Lancashire cotton boycott, meat restrictions), on the basis of all this a speeding-up of the tempo of fascism under the mask of the Centenary celebrations; on the other hand, growing working-class unity and effective organisation to meet these conditions, progress on all fronts, but a serious weakness (which can be overcome) in the reply to the book ban.

We are often told that Australia is out of the current of developments in other parts of the world. The condition of affairs in Australia makes it impossible to accept such a statement. The features of crisis which we noted in our survey of world affairs are exactly those which we have found in Australia.

This country, like all others, faces a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism—a stage of increased class and international tension and new outbreaks of strike—the Second Round of Revolutions and Wars.

—W.S.

*All members of the Labour Club Committee have copies of this petition, and all students are urged to make it their business to sign one.

I am sincerely hard up at the moment, but will remit later for your long life and an occasional "Proletariat."

Sincerely yours,—

AND A REPLY

Melbourne University, Carlton, N.S.

10/4/35.

Dear Comrade,—Your letter expresses so exactly the point of view of a great number of the more radical members of the petty bourgeoisie, that we have thought it desirable to reply to it in an open letter. It is particularly necessary that we should do so, because the majority of the students at our own University come from petty bourgeois families, and, when they become sympathetic towards the revolutionary movement, tend to fall into errors similar to those which we hope to persuade you that you have committed.

Thank you, first of all, for your congratulations; but we can hardly accept your sweeping condemnation of English publications. . . . "The sickly reform productions of this country," you say. Surely a country which produces the "Labour Monthly" and the "Daily Worker," to name only two, deserves no such condemnation; and if your reference is intended only for student papers, the "Student Vanguard" stands out as a refutation of it. As to your remark about the "Manchester Guardian," its history should not surprise you. It is the natural history of moneyed liberalism in a period of intensifying fascism.

The truth of the matter is, Comrade, that you have estimated most inaccurately the conditions of the class struggle, both in England and Australia, and elsewhere. Take, for example, your references to Mosley. You speak as though his movement were an isolated event, as though there were no Australian counterpart to it. But we, too, have our New Guard, our Empire Honour League, and similar open and concealed Fascist organisations. We, too, have Governments which pass legislation of a specifically anti-working-class character. Actually, during the last six months, we have witnessed tremendous attacks upon "democratic liberty" in the persecution of Kisch and Griffin, and in the increasing rigour of the censorship. Both these questions are more fully discussed elsewhere in "Proletariat." Here we would simply point out that the success of the organised working-class opposition in the Kisch case is in itself a practical refutation of your notion that the forces of reaction must prevail. Moreover, the whole struggle surely makes it quite clear that the colonials are by no means "class-free." A lack of titled aristocrats does not exempt a country from the class-struggle. Your description of the opposition to Mosley as "negligible" is very hard to understand. Even at this distance, the voices of Olympia and Hyde Park are heard shouting a denial. What is more, in England and in Australia, "military failures" are not the only representatives of national defence in the ranks of organised Fascism.

PROLETARIAT

In suggesting that the English Public School system is a cunningly devised method of maintaining an attitude of complacent acceptance of the "status quo," you are, of course, correct; but in implying that other countries are not similarly served, you are wrong. In all capitalist countries, the education necessarily serves the interests of the dominant class. It is a powerful tool used by this class to shape all members of society according to its pattern. Of course, in each country there are variations in social and economic conditions, which lead to slight differences in the pattern and in the machinery which reproduces it. Only in a truly "class-free" society, a society such as Soviet Russia and Soviet China are building, can education be used to develop to the full the ability of the individual.

To return once more to your pessimism—the fact that unity in the revolutionary movement has not yet been achieved in England or Australia does not mean that it cannot be achieved. Here in Australia to-day, the united front proposals of the Communist Party are being received enthusiastically by rank and file Labour Party workers, and experience in France, Spain, Austria, etc., has shown very clearly that even the most reactionary reformist bureaucrats must yield eventually to mass pressure from below. In pointing to the examples of these other countries we are not ignoring your statements as to the unique position of Great Britain. It is true that every year British Imperialism uses its schools, its radio, its arts, to pump capitalist culture into its people; and this does increase the difficulties of revolutionary work. But . . . mass starvation, increasing unemployment, rationalisation, decreasing standards of living, teach a sharper lesson than that which is taught by a decaying culture.

You predict Fascism in the British Empire for a generation at least, but claim the case to be entirely different for, say, China or Spain. But isn't the situation in India more like that in China than like that in England? What would be the condition in England if this main source of colonial super-profits were stopped by revolutionary action? But there are many circumstances which can produce a revolutionary situation—in England as in any other capitalist country. It is only if such a revolutionary situation is let slip, i.e., if there is no organised vanguard of the working-class to seize that moment and lead the workers to power, that Fascism will come.

It is the task of class-conscious intellectuals, such as yourself—and us—to join the workers who are building that vanguard. "The opposition is useless and playing into the murderers' hands by its very minority and localisation." On the contrary, Comrade, the opposition is not only driving back the Fascist forces, it is building in the struggle the leaders of the proletarian revolution. There is no country in which Bolshevik action cannot make conditions serve the workers' end.

Greetings—

THE EDITORS.

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

Cinema and Capitalism

Introduction.

INTO its short life, the cinema has compressed a development that the older arts have taken centuries to attain. Its scope is at least as wide as that of the printed word; for cinema includes not only the narrative film that constitutes the bulk of commercial production, but also the abstract film, the documentary film, the educational film, the news-reel, the animated cartoon, and their various permutations and combinations.

The cinema is not only an art, but a vast entertainment industry, an important field for capitalist exploitation.

Treatment of so manifold a subject within the space of a short article must be of a most general nature; statements made are necessarily compressed and dogmatic; in addition, my enthusiasm for film-art leads me to enter on controversial matters, to make statements with which many will not wish to agree.

For these things, make allowances.

Cinema

The Film is the Supreme Art.

The most obvious characteristic of the film is that it appeals directly to the eye and ear, the senses through which our knowledge of the universe is chiefly derived. The film, more than any other medium, is capable of giving an exact re-creation of the external world as it appears to our senses. In a few short years this will be even more true, for by then colour photography and stereoscopy will have reached a state of development as perfect as that reached by non-colour photography and sound recording to-day. There are many reasons why the film is capable of giving a more exact representation of the external world than any other form of art.

Cinema is essentially dynamic, a fact which is emphasised by its very name; it deals with images in a state of constant change, and continual flow. "Everything is and is not, for everything is fluid, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away."

The film for the first time gives adequate release to that fundamental love of physical movement that is expressed only in rudimentary form in the dance, pantomime, and drama.

It gives to images a fluidity only previously possessed by music. "Plainly we have something here that can be raised to parallelism with the greatest musical compositions; we have possibilities of a spectacle equal to any music that has been or can be written, comprehending indeed the complete music as one of its factors." (H. G. Wells.)

By the process of editing or montage, the dynamic images of the film are juxtaposed and made

to reinforce and to conflict with each other. In this way tremendous intensification and compression are achieved.

Not only does the film represent the things and processes of the external world exactly as they appear to the mind; it also has the power of presenting exactly the ideas, ever-changing, ever-conflating, which reflect these things and processes. The film at last emancipates us from symbolism, from the necessity of translating ideas into symbols and back again into ideas, for purposes of communication. It frees us from that petrification of ideas, which is a dangerously easy condition; sequence of casting them into the mould of words; that petrification which leads to metaphysical modes of reasoning. The film moreover is capable, whether by means of crosscutting, mixes, or composite shots, of developing several ideas simultaneously.

Cinema . . . "comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin, and ending."

In short, the dialectical materialist, who gives even a cursory consideration to the properties of cinema, is led inescapably to the conclusion that in it we have at last a completely dialectical form of expression, and hence the supreme form of expression.

This proposition seems to me at once so simple, so irrefutable, and so immense in its implications that I cannot excuse the ignorance that still surrounds the film, manifested at its mildest as a tendency to treat the film as an art form still on trial; at its worst as a vulgar hostility.

The Film Will Largely Supplant the Older Arts.

Since the film expresses itself with the very stuff of ideas, it is destined largely to supplant the older arts, at the same time absorbing the valuable features of each.

This statement should not be controversial, provided that my previous argument has been accepted; nevertheless, it deserves further discussion. Let us see how far it applies to the film's present state.

Consider first the drama. Only the sentimental reactionary who senses a mystical virtue in "flesh and blood drama" will deny or regret that the film has swept away all the limitations of time and space, and all the tiresome subtleties that mar stage-drama. For instance, it does away with the business of "getting people on, and getting them off." "It is a vast and laborious part of dramatic technique." At the same time there is no valuable form of expression so peculiar to the drama that it cannot be appropriated by the film.

Since the cinema's appeal is primarily pictorial, it has also much in common with the static

pictorial arts, that have annexed to themselves the name of AIT. The principles of design evolved in painting and sculpture, serve as valuable guides in the design of the filmic image. But the dynamic character of the cinema gives it a freedom and power that is not possessed by AIT. Principles of static design must be greatly modified in the film, and principles of dynamic design evolved in their place.

How far will the film in its present stage represent literary expression?

For purely descriptive purposes, for statement of specific objective fact, the film is unrivalled. A scene, an action, a process, may be presented on the screen accurately, concisely, and vividly, in a fraction of the time necessary for verbal description.

The film is, of course, not confined to statement of objective fact. There is no conception capable of visualisation by the novelist, which cannot be realised on the film, however fantastic, complex, or vast it may be. Witness the mechanical ingenuity of "The Invisible Man," "King Kong," "Alice in Wonderland," etc., recall any film which depicts huge crowd or battle scenes, or natural cataclysms.

The film's power of describing mental processes is still largely untapped. Pudovkin's "Mechanism of the Brain," made in 1925, in conjunction with workers in Pavlov's laboratory, remains still a comparatively isolated effort. To it, however, must be added Pabst's "Secrets of the Soul," a narrative film made with the help of Freud, and illustrating very powerfully the principles of Freudian psycho-analysis. Minor examples of the film's capacity to show the workings of the subconscious mind were seen last year in the delightful dream-fantasies that gave distinction to the Pommer-Martin-U.F.A. film "Happy Ever After" and Henry King's "Carolina." Filmic duplication of the functions of memory and imagination is, of course, a commonplace, i.e., it is seen in the flash-back and the "flash-forward."

The film can alter its point of view with even greater facility than the novel. It can see, now with the eyes of an observer, now with those of any one of the protagonists. It not only sees, but "feels" as the protagonist or the spectator, e.g., Pudovkin instances a case where "the camera sees with eyes of a beaten boxer rendered dizzy by a blow."

It must be admitted that the film, at present, usually expresses thoughts and emotions by means of externals; by behavioristic details, environment, camera treatment, and editing. By means of the close-up, for instance, the film may impart intensified expression to a lifted eyebrow, a palping artery, a clenched fist, or an inanimate object. The mood of a scene may also be powerfully influenced by the setting, by lighting, and, more important still, by movement of the camera. More important still, relational editing gives power to shots irrespective of themselves. The director who finds himself unable adequately to express a thought in visual (or sound) images, can still go one better than the writer, by means of the "Strange Interlude" device of spoken

The film is, as yet, clumsy in comparison with literature, when it seeks to make a summarised statement, or to deal with generalised conceptions. The film-director who wishes to extend the range of his art must continually seek to formalise the ideas implied by such words as "capitalism," "proletariat," "love," "hate," and so on, and thus to express generalised ideas in filmic terms.

But if it is true that many ideas are at present better expressed verbally than filmically, it is also true that the film has opened up avenues of expression previously inaccessible to literature, as well as the other arts; it is true that in regions of thought where the film and literature are comparable, the film is tremendously more powerful, and that it is continually extending its boundaries. And the only limits to those boundaries are the limitations of human thought.

Surely, one of the most fascinating aspects of the film is the almost daily advance in expressiveness, continuing the evolution that has been compressed into its brief history of a quarter-century or an art.

But, in contemplating the future of the film, we need not be apologetic for its present achievements. If we agree that the purpose of art is the communication of ideas as lucidly and powerfully as possible, we must admit that many of the films of the present day are, at least, on the same plane as the classics of the older arts. We must also admit that the film has all the properties which are necessary to enable it to absorb the other arts and transform them into a higher synthesis.

The Fundamental Properties of the Film.

In America, the film had its birth, and from America came the beginnings of almost all the expressive technique of the film. Notably is this fit, such as the "Birth of a Nation" and "Intolerance." Griffith it was who first realised the power of editing, and was responsible for many filmic devices, such as the close-up, iris-shot, fade, has made itself felt in the later work of American directors, and indeed throughout the world.

From Germany has come a realisation of the value of environmental setting and filmic design, and the expressive use of mixes and superimposed shots. In Germany, too, was developed much of the film's power of psychological expression. German directors realised also the expressive value of camera angles and camera movement, and the freedom they gave to the camera were eagerly seized upon by the Americans with their greater technical equipment.

From France has come much interesting independent work in the abstract film, the surrealist film, and the wedding of film and music.

But, chiefly because directors in capitalistic countries are under the control of a profit-making economy, they have made very little conscious evaluation of filmic properties. The work of such

directors seems to have been largely instinctive; at any rate they have not expressed the principles on which it is based. Pabst, Clair, D. W. Griffith, Chaplin, Lubitsch, von Stroheim, have given us almost no expositions of the principles of film-art, whether in filmic or literary form.

Only in Soviet Russia has there been consistent and conscious investigation of the fundamental properties of the film.

Kuleshov started from the simple proposition that "in every art there must be firstly a material, and secondly a method of composing this material specially adapted to this art." Kuleshov and Pudovkin, having considered the work of American directors, and in particular that of D. W. Griffith, and having made their own experiments, arrived at the conclusion that the material in film work is the strips of film on which the action before the camera is recorded, and the method of composing this material is their joining together in a particular, creatively discovered order.

The action of the film must be analysed into its separate components, and the task of the director is the building-up ("montage") of the film strips containing these elements, in the correct sequence, governed solely by the laws of thought, in the correct length, so as to establish that all-important filmic rhythm, and using appropriate transition devices. Thus the director creates a filmic space and filmic time differing from real space and real time.

These propositions, briefly, constitute the basis of the theory of montage of the Russian left wing filmic school, the theory which has had such tremendous results in the hands of those giants, Pudovkin and Eisenstein, as well as in the hands of lesser directors; results such as "Battleship Potemkin," "The End of St. Petersburg," "October," "Mother," "Storm Over Asia," "The General Line."

It has been left to Eisenstein in recent years to emphasise the correspondence of filmic expression with Marxian dialectic, which was already implicit in the theories of the left-wing group.

The Soviet film-artists have justified Lenin's initial confidence in the film as a medium for sociological propaganda. Consider the reasons why it has such power in this respect.

The film for the first time gives expression to the crowd, which in literature and the drama appears as an articulate, amorphous thing. Its capacity for wide panoramas, makes great crowd scenes a feature of the cinema. But the camera can also observe details, it can pick out typical components of the mass, and by the process of montage it enables the spectator to share in a flash the various thoughts and emotions of typical individuals of the crowd. Thus the crowd receives a manifold, heightened individuality, since it is compounded of the emotions of many.

The film's ability to reproduce with "remorseless realism" the smallest detail, and to exclude irrelevant details, coupled with its capacity for vivid and rapid statement, enables it if need be to speak with a force that is irresistible and hammer-like.

Together with the fact that the film gives expression to the masses, must be considered the fact that it also speaks to the masses. Here, at

last, is an art with a universal appeal. The film speaks, not to a coterie, but to all. Its vast audience is something unique in history. The writer communicates with thousands, the film director's audience is numbered in millions (e.g., Chaplin's potential audience is estimated at 300,000,000).

... and Capitalism

What has Capitalism made of this medium, whose possibilities as an art and as a medium for propaganda and education are so great?

In considering this, we must remember, firstly, that the cost of film production places the film-artist peculiarly under the control of the capitalist; secondly, the tremendous market for films makes their production, distribution, and exhibition a huge industry (fourth industry in U.S.A.). But surely a very strange industry—one full of the queerest illogicalities and exaggerations.

Opium for the People.

In speaking of the capitalist film, I refer chiefly to Hollywood, because here it is seen in its most typical form. Also, the Hollywood product comprises almost all the films seen in Australia, British films being but inferior imitations of Hollywood.

To supply its vast market, Hollywood has ransacked the world for its "wage laborers," in the shape of directors, camera-men, technicians, writers, scenarists, composers, and actors. And all these wage-laborers are regimented into the production of entertainment commodities for the world, Chaplin being almost alone in his ability to follow his own artistic inclinations.

Some of Hollywood's employees fight continuously, and with partial success, against its production methods; a few are able to break away into independent production now and then; many adjust themselves to the system with great strain, but most have few scruples about taking part in the lucrative game of "selling the public what it wants"; in other words, selling the wage-earners and the salaried workers of the world what finance-capital is trying to make them want—a narcotic, a weekly escape from the realities of bourgeois society.

And so these narcotics are supplied in quantities, in the shape of standardised adventure films, slick comedies, lavish song and dance shows, and sentimental melodramas.

But whatever the type of film, it must always be modified to reach as wide a market as possible. The melodrama must have comic relief, and the adventure-film a love interest, no matter how irrelevant. A "happy ending" is tacked on to the logical "unhappy ending." The film must also supply the erotic release rendered necessary by bourgeois social conventions.

But whatever happens in the course of the film, these bourgeois social conventions must always be placated in the last few feet; virtue must be rewarded and vice destroyed; the "abandoned woman" must reform or receive her deserts; the

production determine the development of science; and under the present economic system the purpose of the application of science to industry is not to increase the general well-being of humanity, but to increase the profits of the owners of industry.

For this reason the results of science are applied only when it is profitable to do so. When cheap labour and shrinking markets make it unprofitable, scientific discoveries are coolly shelved. Examples are numerous, but we may take rubber as typical. Rubber can be made synthetically, but it is much cheaper for Capitalism to use the natural product, because of the abundance of labour, semi-slave labour. The wages of this labour are adjusted so as to be just sufficient to keep a reasonable percentage of the natives from dying of starvation. The profits from this black labour are sufficiently great to enable one American rubber combine to spend over one million pounds per annum on propaganda against synthetic rubber. The result is that use of synthetic rubber is restricted to the Soviet Union, where production is for use and not for profit.

The tendency to obstruct technical progress becomes more pronounced as capital becomes concentrated and monopolies form. There are two reasons: Firstly, monopoly companies are more easily able to buy up technical discoveries in order to shelve them; and, secondly, the concentration of capital brings mass poverty and devastating crises, and consequently a shrinking market. This second reason has two effects: it cheapens labour-power, and consequently much work that it would formerly have paid the capitalist to have done by machines now pays him better if done by cheap man-labor. Again, in the face of the shrinking market, the owners of industry frequently find it inexpedient to make large outlays on improving the technique of production.

With the growth of monopolies, the buying up of technical discoveries and the shelving of them becomes the order of the day. It has been calculated by the economic magazine, "Iron Age," that by putting all the industrial plants in the United States upon the level of modern technique, it would be possible to shorten the working day to three hours, and at the same time double the output. But this is impossible under capitalism, which finds it profitable to support obsolete plants, to buy out patents, to shelve innovations that threaten depreciation of old capital stock.

The effect of the crisis on scientific achievement is two-fold. On the one hand, there is a movement in favor of throwing overboard the fruits of science in order to restore sections of the community to a primitive mode of existence. Examples are seen in the "back to the Handloom" movement of Ghandi, and the scheme of Professor Gihlin for self-supporting peasant communities in Australia.

On the other hand, we have the direct effect on the scientist himself. We see scientists becoming more detached from reality, taking up studies speculative, and as remote from practical application, as possible; such as, for example, the theories of the internal constitution of the stars and the habits of deep-sea fishes. With this is seen a return to mysticism and religion, such as

was expressed by Professor O. U. Vonwiller, at the Science Congress:—

"More important than the many recent remarkable advances in the knowledge of physics is the change in the philosophical outlook of the physicist brought about by difficulties in reconciling the new knowledge with established theories and modes of thought. These modern developments have a bearing on religion which cannot be ignored, and here too is to be found promise of the resolution of past difficulties, without a sacrifice of essential faith."

We wonder that the worthy Professor did not mention recent experiments described in the science magazine, "Nature," in which scientists claimed that by use of the "Wilson track" method the path of the spirit of a dying mouse could be seen, other observers remarking that the tracks were apparently visible only to the eye of faith.

Despite the two-fold effect of the crisis of capitalism, scientific research is still being carried on. It is, however, becoming chiefly concerned with war preparations. Much of it is secret, a fact noted by Julian Huxley, in a recent survey of British science:—

"In one government aided institution it was told that it would be against national industrial interests even to let it be known that a lot of research was being carried on, much less to describe any of it."

Huxley showed that research in the war industries was in a flourishing condition, the British government spending on war-research an amount equal to its entire expenditure in all other branches of scientific work. During February, a conference of leading scientists was convened in London to discuss how science could be brought even more into the service of war.

In addition to the government's expenditure on scientific research for war, an incalculable amount is being spent directly by the armament combines. Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., for instance, one of the biggest trusts in Britain, the company which is in the forefront of war preparations all over the Empire, carries on world-wide scientific research. Thus Sir John Cadman was sent to Australia in October to investigate the possibilities of the uneconomical production of oil from shale for war supplies. The University of Melbourne recognised his work by conferring on him an honorary degree. So science experts are used and rewarded.

The delegates at the Physics Section of the Science Congress were impressed by the equipment of the laboratories at the Maribyrnong munitions factory, and also by the quantity and the variety of work being undertaken. The number of scientific research workers employed at Maribyrnong has been increasing rapidly for some time, but now the tempo has risen sharply. During February, a new set of applications was invited from metallurgy and chemistry graduates from our University. The number of research workers for Maribyrnong munitions is being doubled. This expansion is going on simultaneously with the cutting down of research grants to students working in the University laboratories.

This is the present position of science. Most of the scientists at the Congress revealed an awareness of the futility of their work. Some of them had a sense of impending catastrophe. Thus in his lecture on unemployment, Sir George Julius said:—

"Unemployment is not merely a temporary phenomenon associated with a phase of the trade cycle, but is a permanent feature of such magnitude that if no remedy is found we must expect a world-wide conflagration of the first magnitude."

But not one of the scientists showed any perception of how to free science from its present fetters. One after another they expressed pessimism, mysticism, futility, warning, fear. Dr. Dühig offered a solution — a solution that is believed by a large number of scientists and which illustrates the confusion of thought existing in the minds of bourgeois scientists as a result of their isolation from the practical work of society. Dr. Dühig's speech raised the greatest amount of press comment. After discussing the crisis in the medical profession, he attacked the present parliamentary system. The State, he said, cannot be conducted "by unsuccessful grocers and punctilious legalists." If scientists were in control of affairs they would be enabled to make a systematic plan for an attack on human problems.

Dr. Dühig blames the stupidity of parliamentarians for the economic crisis. Such an outlook is dangerous in its confusion. Has the doctor not learned that the stupidity of parliamentarians is not the cause of the economic chaos, but its reflection; that the policy of parliament does not spring from the minds of parliamentarians, but is dictated by finance-capital? Has he not learned that the economic crisis ultimately forces finance-capital to attempt to dispense with the party framework in order to establish the open terrorist dictatorship of finance capital? Does he know that demagogic outbursts against "unscrupulous grocers" and "unscrupulous legalists" are part of the stock-in-trade of Fascist propagandists, and that to speak of systematic planning under Capitalism is also playing into the hands of the Fascist demagogues? Does he think that a Fascist dictatorship will solve the crisis of science? If so, he would be wise to study the onslaughts made on science in Germany under the Hitler régime. In his glib intellectual snobbery, Dr. Dühig reveals an intellectual snobbery that is only equalled by his ignorance of the causes of the failure of small shopkeepers. It is not any lack of ability, as the doctor would imply, but the growth of monopolies—chain-stores etc.—that is squeezing out the small man and driving him on the labour-market.

The attempted solution of the crisis of science as expressed by Dr. Dühig, shows the scientist in the fetters of Capitalism, struggling for freedom, doing everything, except the obvious thing—bursting the fetters, throwing in his weight with the working-class, the only force that can destroy Capitalism.

Some of the younger scientists have already taken this step; every day more are doing so.

The progress of science in the Soviet Union, standing in sharp contrast to the paralysis of science in the Capitalist world, draws their attention. No greater contrast to the Melbourne Science Congress could exist than the Soviet Union delegation to the London Science Congress in 1931. The papers read by members of this delegation reveal with vividness the well-grounded optimism and the scientific power that have developed in the Soviet Union. Thus Bukharin, prominent member of the Moscow Academy of Sciences, reported:—

"One can feel with one's own hands how the development of Socialist agriculture pushes forward the development of genetics, biology generally; how the exceptionally insistent need for the study of geological research pushes forward geology, geochemistry, etc. This shows the poverty of the idea that the 'utility' of science means its degradation. Great practice requires great theory. Gradually destroying the division between intellectual and physical labor, Socialism fuses theory and practice in the heads of millions. It is not only a new economic system which has been born. A new culture has been born. A new science has been born. A new style of life has been born."

Scientific planning, impossible under Capitalism, is an accomplished fact in the Soviet Union. This was shown in the report of A. Rubinstein, Professor at the Institute of Economics, Moscow:

"The whole network of research activity in industry is working in conformity with a single plan. The first Scientific Research Planning Conference, which was attended by over 1000 delegates from scientific organisations in all branches of science and technology, investigated the most essential problems confronting the research workers, outlined the methodology of planning in this domain, appealed to all scientific and scientific workers to join in the working out of this plan."

Scientists cannot remain indifferent to the progress of science in the Soviet Union, the mass enthusiasm behind science, the enormous increase in the amount of research done (in 1930 the Soviet Union spent as much on a single geophysical survey as was spent in the whole of Europe on scientific research during that year), and the immediate application of scientific discoveries for the purpose of raising the living standard of the workers.

The capitalist class endeavors to prevent these facts from reaching us. There is a keen demand here at the University for scientific papers published in the U.S.S.R., but they are inaccessible to research students. This forces on us the necessity of strengthening our demand until we get this material which is indispensable if we are to understand the latest developments in science, and if we are to understand also the cause of the crisis in science, and how to end it.

—W. CHRISTIANSEN.

STUDENT NOTES: THE FIGHT AGAINST REACTION

SINCE the last issue of "Proletariat," the reactionary forces at the University have revealed themselves. The "Melbourne University Magazine" has been censored, and the University Council against War disaffiliated. The University, also, by the part it played in the Centenary celebrations, has revealed itself as an integral, jingoistic, and pretentious part of the capitalist state machinery.

All individuals and institutions which support the policy of the ruling class to-day are condemned to play an increasingly reactionary rôle. This very fact marshals increasing numbers against them. With the growth of reaction in the University, the forces opposed to reaction have also grown. The future of our University will be determined by which forces grow the faster. The workers of Australia are mobilising against fascism; they are winning victories (the freeing of Kisch). Our future lies in recognising them as the dominant force in the fight against reaction and our place by their side. Our future lies in recognising that failure to fight against every evidence of reaction will mean the temporary victory of fascism in Australia—and in our University that viciousness and vulgarity which is the fascist substitute for culture.

"M.U.M." Censored.

In the last issue of "Proletariat" it was pointed out how the abolition of the Publications Advisory Board by the Students' Representative Council (S.R.C.) put the censorship of the "Melbourne University Magazine" into the hands of the S.R.C. itself. The course of events soon made clear the significance of this.

At the end of term, on the evening before the proofs of "M.U.M." were to be sent to the printer, the editor submitted them to the President of the S.R.C. for censorship. He evidently anticipated that the examination would be a summary business, a mere matter of formality. The President, however, took the material, and, after keeping it for the evening, gave his decision that "owing to the predominance of communistic matter the magazine was not generally acceptable." Having reached this personal conclusion, he made no attempt to place the subject before a meeting of the S.R.C. and take a vote. In the typical manner of a reactionary, he kept the matter within the small clique that formed the S.R.C. executive. This clique agreed not to refer to the students for decision, but to place the matter before the "ambiguous" judgment of the Chairman of the Professorial Board and the University Registrar (who had two years previously encouraged the throwing of a Labour Club member into the University lake, and whose activities against the University Council against War will be outlined later).

The editor made it known that the proofs were being held up, and the Labour Club immediately

called a protest meeting. Term was nearly at an end; nevertheless, a large number of students attended. The editor put his case (referred to in "Some Censored Australian Literature," elsewhere in this issue). The Secretary of the Labour Club also put the case, this time from the point of view of the Labour Club. By protesting against the censorship of "M.U.M.," he said, the Labour Club took no responsibility for its contents, most of which were unknown to it. The Labour Club led the protest of the students solely on the ground that the action of the S.R.C. executive was a gross infringement of student rights. The meeting was completely in agreement with him.

Nevertheless, over the head of this general student meeting, the Chairman of the Professorial Board and the University Registrar reached their decision. Two articles were to be banned from "M.U.M."—one dealing with the conditions in Melbourne public hospitals, the other a critical review of a prescribed University reference book. The latter article is also printed elsewhere in this issue.

Term had by this time come to an end. It was impossible (temporarily) to continue the protests. No doubt the President of the S.R.C. had taken this into consideration when he censored the magazine. The editor of "M.U.M." should have replied to this by holding over the proofs of the magazine during the long vacation so that the students' protests could have been continued at the beginning of this academic year. "M.U.M." should have been published intact. The editor, however, obeyed the censors—and thus yielded an inch to the advance of reaction.

The editorship of "M.U.M." has this year passed into the hands of last year's S.R.C. President. In 1932 this student was editor of "Farrago." The use he made of his position will be clear from the following extracts, typical of editorials when the paper was in his control:—

"Any group which advocates war, bloodshed, violence, and crime must be stamped out of existence. A doctrine of cold-blooded murder is being vomited through the University. Red revolution is being extolled."

"Why should we not meet projected violence with force and crush these propagandists out of a community of 2000 which is being disturbed by a collection of at most 50 communists. . . . This cannot continue. Even a New Guard would be acceptable."

"Force is suggested. Remember, tolerant reader, that you have to deal with the prototypes of those who will kick from the back ranks in the Utopian street fight of revolution. . . . Frankly, we are tired of them. We leave the remedy to you."

Yet the person responsible for these statements was hypocritical enough to give as his reason for censoring "M.U.M.": "To permit the publication of a magazine which could be criticised as being politically partisan would be a misappropriation of students' funds."

The first number of "M.U.M." under his editorship has yet to appear; we can already warn him, however, against doing with it what he did with "Farrago"—in his own words, against a misappropriation of students' funds.

"Student Affairs."

Faced with increasing difficulty in having its views expressed in the general University papers, the Labour Club is forced to develop its own organs of communication with the students. It intends, therefore, to produce "Proletariat" regularly every three months, and has at the same time started a regular fortnightly news-sheet, "Student Affairs." The purpose of this news-sheet is to deal with the cultural and economic problems of the students, and to give expression to the reflection in our University of the increasing international and class tension which is the most vital characteristic of the world of which we and our University are a part.

Council Against War Disaffiliated.

It was not the student-body, but the executive of the S.R.C. (with the assistance of the Registrar, and at the instigation of outside business men), that worked for the disaffiliation of the C.A.W. One instance of their method of activity will suffice to make this clear.

A few days after the August 1st procession, the University Registrar received an official letter from the committee of the C.A.W., in which it was pointed out to him that he was the most suitable person to deny the charge made by the editor of the "Argus" that the committee of the C.A.W. was guilty of falsehood, and in which it was also pointed out to him that the charge made by the "Argus" editor reflected discredit not only on the C.A.W. but on the whole University. He was therefore asked to write to the "Argus" upholding the statements which the editor had said were false. He did not do so. After a few days he notified the committee of the C.A.W.: "I don't propose to write to the 'Argus.' So far as I remember what I saw, I don't think they stated that I gave any directions to your Council against War." This, despite the fact that the official letter referred him to the "Argus" of August 2nd for the report.

At the subsequent meeting of the S.R.C., the matter of the editor's libellous charge was brought forward by members who proposed that the S.R.C. should send an official letter to the press supporting the truth of the statements made by the Committee of the C.A.W. A majority of members of the S.R.C. agreed to this proposal, and instructed the president, the secretary, and one other member of the Council to draft the letter and forward it to the various dailies. The president and the secretary wilfully disobeyed these instructions.

The various steps and stages by which they subsequently succeeded in getting a majority of the Council to agree that it would have been "in-discreet" to have sent the letter, and to agree also that the affiliation of the C.A.W. to the S.R.C. was "both undignified to the S.R.C. and generally ludicrous"—will not be gone into here. Suffice it to say that no more tangible reason for the disaffiliation of the C.A.W. was given than that stated here.

The C.A.W.'s protests against these attacks, and its exposure of them, drew support from increasing numbers of students. The C.A.W. has already published its proposal to become the Council against War and Fascism, and to affiliate with the World Movement against War and Fascism. The fight against Fascist repression is, as we pointed out in our last "Proletariat," forced upon any C.A.W. that functions effectively.

The C.A.W. has taken two other important steps—the publication of "Students Against War," a fortnightly news-sheet, and the drafting of a policy, acceptance of which gives full membership rights and responsibilities to students. The constitution of the C.A.W. was framed to provide also for associate members, those students who do not accept the policy in full, but who wish to co-operate on certain issues. The important organisational development will enable the C.A.W. to carry its work forward with even greater speed this year.

Centenary Celebrations.

We have been taught to believe that a University is a place where there is a keen examination of facts, a ruthless evaluation of these facts, and the creation of higher values on this basis.

Yet the part played by the University in the Centenary celebrations confirms the view that the decay of a ruling class is reflected not only in individuals, but in all institutions upheld by that class. Of all University organisations, only the Labour Club and the University C.A.W. made a keen examination of the facts of the Centenary, and ruthlessly evaluated these facts. To the falsehoods about "One hundred years of progress," the Labour Club contrasted the truth "Five years of crisis" and "Seventeen years of progress—but in the Soviet Union. To the glamour of the Duke and the gaudy streets it contrasted the grim fight of the tramwayman for the means of life. To the Centenary humbug about the glory of the Empire and the spirit of service and sacrifice, the C.A.W. replied by a lecture and a pamphlet, "The Centenary Prepares War." Both societies answered this organised drive to fascism and war by sending delegates to the Australian Congress against War and Fascism that was held to combat the Centenary propaganda.

But the University as an institution was—again without consulting the students—put at the service of the Centenary organisers. Thus Sir John Cadman, who organised the petroleum supplies

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SOME CENSORED AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE

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democracy is far in advance of capitalist democracy. But—and the professor elaborates his bits of cracy. And—and the professor suggests that in the treatment of great length, and in the refusal to count of political officers, and in the U.S.S.R. tenance opposition political parties, the U.S.S.R. and, and this is the professor's gravely considered opinion, be compared with Fascist Germany at its worst.

After the professor comes the deluge. One speaker after another gives instances of the class bias of capitalist democracy, of its hypocrisy and relentless cruelty, not only in Fascist countries, but in the United States, in India, in Britain itself. There is not a shred left of capitalist democracy at the end of an hour. The professor is asked to sum up. What will he say? Will he still suggest that, despite the many advantages of Soviet democracy, it must nevertheless be treated by every respectable Britisher as a deadly poison?

"I would like to point out that you have all been speaking on the wrong subject. Our subject is Soviet democracy. You have been talking of Capitalist democracy. I admit all that you say about it; in fact, I have written several books attacking Capitalist democracy much more severely than any of you have done. What I suggest we might do was to compare Soviet democracy with Socialist democracy, as it might be constitutionally achieved in such a country as Britain." And before we had recovered our breath he went on to answer awkward questions so cleverly that we hardly realised he was answering them by the time-honoured method of dodging them.

Nor did we quite realise at the time that his whole method had been that of avoiding the concrete comparison—of refusing to compare Soviet Russia either with Tsarist Russia or the present-day capitalist world, and comparing it instead with a Utopia that has no existence save in the imagination. If we are to compare the Utopia with Paradise, whether it be present-day Britain and Australia, minus the starving unemployed, minus the under-nourished school-children, minus hunger marches, strikes, slums, the rapid tendency to Fascism and war, and a score of other realities, or a future British Empire achieved by the peaceful and constitutional method of converting people to Socialism or Douglas Credit or Christianity, then admittedly we must find fault with the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the most interesting evening is when the dancer talks to us and dances for us. Years ago a little American boy had become possessed of the ambition to be a "premier danseur" of the American ballet. This ambition was fulfilled while he was quite a young man. But having achieved his wish, he found himself still dissatisfied. He realised that he was not expressing his own personality through the ballet, but only the traditions of another age. So, having reached the pinnacle, he stepped off it, to open a theatre of his own where he experimented with new forms of dancing. His productions did not have a mass appeal—he represented Heaven in one production, with two Christs on the Cross, one white and one black. "New York didn't like that." He had been through many phases, but recently, after a

period of religious dancing, had reacted violently, and felt the need to seek something new to express. He had come to Russia and found it. Now press. He had come back to express what he had seen he was going back to study the theory and through it the dance—and to study the theory and practice of Communism. As a scientist like Professor Levy has come to Marxism through his science, here was a dancer who had come to Marxism through his dancing. "I think I will be of value to the revolutionary movement," he said simply.

The bespectacled little American didn't say much. It wasn't till near the end of our voyage that I learnt that he had gone out into Ural Mountains, hewed a space in the virgin forest, erected one of the largest steel-rolling mills in the world, and set it working efficiently. He had trained raw peasants to be skilled technicians, had seen them set out for other parts in search of better pay or conditions, or the adventures of travel, and had gone on to train another lot of raw peasants. His wife is unfeignedly glad to be getting back to home. She misses the church and she has daughters growing up. The little man doesn't say what his emotions are, but it is not difficult to guess where his heart lies.

The green fields of Germany, and the calm passed through the Kiel Canal. Two little flax-haired run down to the bank, salute stiffly, shout, "Heil Hitler!" and hurl stones at the red banner, with the hammer, sickle, and Soviet star. The stones fall short, and the ship sails calmly on.

"I've always been religious because I was brought up that way," says the English girl who has been teaching in Moscow, "but over there it just slipped into the background—I forgot all about it. I didn't need it; there was so much else." She tells of "awful" adventures—not so very "awful" except to a girl coming, as she evidently does, from a sheltered middle class home—of difficulty in finding rooms, of a landlady who stole her money, of losing a bread-ticket, of moving to a new room by pushing her belongings through the streets on a wheelbarrow, and yet she is full of enthusiasm for the land of the Soviets, and keen to return. "The details were awful," she says, "but the spirit is great."

Slowly we steam up the Thames, into the dirty mist of London, past factories, church spires, and slums. Tower Bridge opens its arms for us, and a policeman stares stolidly as we pass through. It is still low tide, and only inch by inch can the "Jan Rudzutak" draw into Hay's Wharf.

"Glad to be back in London?" I ask the liberal. "By jove, yes," he replies, "Sober old London. It'll be good to be able to walk about without seeing those continual slogans everywhere."

But, as usual, our friend the liberal is wrong. Evening has drawn on, and to the left a flaming Neon sign has written against the dark background of the London sky the name of a popular brand of ale. To the right, past London Bridge, an opposition sign shrieks forth in flaming letters the name of an equally popular brand of beer. Sober old London has her slogans out to greet us.

—L. P. FOX.

EVERY day it becomes increasingly clear that bourgeois society is menaced by any too exact, too profound penetration of contemporary life. Apart from those writers who, though born into the bourgeoisie, have allied themselves with the proletariat and depict mainly working-class life, the greatest bourgeois writers of to-day—such as Marcel Proust in France, T. S. Eliot in England, William Faulkner in America—show, in so far as their work reproduces faithfully the section of reality that constitutes their experience, to those who have eyes to see, the imminence of the destruction of bourgeois society, since they present in their writings an unparalleled picture of social decay.

It becomes increasingly necessary for the bourgeoisie, therefore, to repress writing which faithfully reproduces any section of contemporary life. In Germany, where there was a great literary flourishing in the post-war years, and where the class-struggle is very advanced, the bourgeoisie has found it necessary to suppress not only writers with a proletarian viewpoint, but those among its own ranks who depict the present bourgeois world with power and sincerity. Feuchtwanger is perhaps the most notable of these.

Similar developments can be seen in other countries. In Australia recent events have shown that the measure of intellectual freedom previously allowed here is no longer compatible with the safety of the ruling class. Apart from the attempted exclusion from this country of the Czechoslovakian writer, Egon Erwin Kisch, and apart from the increased number of English publications which are prohibited entry by the censor, various attacks have been made on local literary productions, notably the banning of J. M. Harcourt's novel, "Upsurge," which deals with West Australian life, and the attempted suppression of last year's "Melbourne University Magazine." I intend, therefore, to examine briefly the content of these two works, and discover what trends they represent in the literature of to-day.

The reasons given for the banning of the "Melbourne University Magazine" were that it was "Marxist," and that its contents were "not interesting to the general body of the students." It is worthy of note in this connection that the editor's reply to the latter charge, at a students' protest meeting against the banning of the "Melbourne University Magazine" was that:

"No work of literary value could be interesting to the general body of the students."

This statement throws a light on the position of the editor and of the principal contributors of "M.U.M." It more or less summarises their ideas of the rôle—the fate—of literature at the present day.

The writer of the central article, "A Short Note on Poetry at Present," accepts implicitly the limi-

tations of present capitalist society, a society in which:

"The complete break-up of a cultural tradition, limited by class, but diffused, has made desperate the possibilities of general communication."

so that literature is necessarily created by the few for the few. The writer examines the lack of unity in contemporary society:

"The religious synthesis has gone, and no new synthesis has been raised up, so the fundamental fact for the individual has become his own consciousness."

Poetry, then, cannot be concerned with any generally accepted objective reality, but only with the transcription of successive, disjointed impressions, passively received on the poet's mind. According to the author of the article:

"To find expression adequate for the speed and disjointedness of thought is a painful business and one not easily achieved. It is probable that until society as a whole accepts some general belief which at present can follow only the few interested in the search. . . ."

It does not seem to occur to the writer that in an acceptance of social change as the central fact of contemporary life, in an acceptance of the philosophy of dialectical materialism which comprehends this change, the poet can find a new synthesis to replace the old—in fact, the only adequate synthesis of contemporary reality.

An attempt at Marxist criticism was probably intended in the review of Professor Chisholm's book, "Towards Hérodiade." The reviewer points out the professor's more obvious errors and concludes by explaining how an acceptance of dialectical materialism would provide a solution to the various intellectual knots in which Professor Chisholm ties himself. In many places, however, the reviewer misses the point. He gives no adequate explanation of the "tragic dilemma" which Professor Chisholm discovers in the works of the poets he is examining and to which the professor gives his own particular interpretation. He fails to point out that though the professor's interpretation is unacceptable, yet the tragic dilemma which he discovers did, and must, inevitably have presented itself to many of the poets mentioned in the society of nineteenth century France: the dilemma being that of the intense individualist who, while being the society in which he lives, is unable to see or to ally himself with the forces which would overthrow that society, and who, at the same time, cannot escape into the ideal world which he seeks to create, since the poet who feels intensely cannot withdraw from the external world or separate himself from humanity.

For this problem—the romantic problem—there can be no solution as long as bourgeois society exists. It is echoed to-day by the Eliot school, if such a term may be used, since T. S. Eliot finds his imitators in poets of widely divergent views. To this school belongs much of the poetry con-

tributed to "M.U.M.," as well as that of Bertram Higgins, Elgar Holt, and Clive Turnbull, whose works are selected for review in the section entitled "Recent Australian Literature." Holt and Turnbull represent the worst in romantic poetry. One doubts whether their work is a reaction to life or merely a reaction to the poetry of Eliot and others. They make no attempt to interpret their own environment, but borrow the "intricacies of suburban imagery" from Eliot, together with his intellectual futilism. Higgins' poem, "Mordecaius Overture," is of a different order, but represents the same retreat from external reality. The reviewer fails, however, to point out this similarity and its causes.

It is not impossible for works of genius to make their appearance even at this epoch of bourgeois culture. For instance, Marcel Proust's "Remembrance of Things Past" stands out as the epic of futility and decay. But when a writer has expressed these things with the greatest perfection,

"(I have measured out my life with coffee-spoons.)"

and with the greatest intensity his reaction against them, he has summed up the experience of life which he has lived, afforded, and there remains for him and his ilk nothing but to say it again or to be silent.

The author of the article before quoted, "A Short Note on Poetry at Present," says:—

"The most comprehensive medium available to art is the word—at its most intense poetry, whether arranged in lines or not—and in this, more and more, responsibility will devolve in the task of achieving order and discrimination in our relation to things within and without us. . . ."

But it is not surprising to find in "M.U.M." the poem, "Li Pu Turns to Silence," expressing disgust with the powerlessness of the word:

"Since the word unkedled fails,
Fleeced with a quick tedium . . .
(You've gotta use words to talk to them)
So go with the weighted masses
Of an imagined postman through an english snow
To a circumscribed and silent medium. . . ."

The word loses its force in a society where writers are split up into small groups, each with its own standards, its own intellectual background, and often its own language, incomprehensible to the uninitiated. In face of his narrowing audience, the poet mournfully demands, Is it worth while? like Eliot or the French poet, Paul Valéry, of whom one critic said that—

"He can hardly bring himself to write, he can hardly even bring himself to explain why he cannot bring himself to write."

Such a situation is the inevitable result of that separation of art from life at which the bourgeois aesthetes aim, and of which William Morris foretold:

"Its foredoomed end must be that art at last will seem too delicate a thing for even the hands of the initiated to touch and the initiated must at last sit still and do nothing—to the grief of no one."

It must be remembered, of course, that the literary tendency to which the principal contributors to the last "M.U.M." adhere is only one, though perhaps the most characteristic, among many that

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can be distinguished in the writings of to-day. Most leading Australian writers to-day have working-class sympathies, and reflect in their work phases of working-class life. J. M. Harcourt's recent novel, "Upsurge," to which I referred at the beginning of this article, is nevertheless the first attempt in this country to give a complete picture of social conditions from the standpoint of a class-conscious writer.

This novel deals with the breakdown of bourgeois morality, and the beginnings of a revolutionary movement in Western Australia. It is not surprising that the book is in many respects unsatisfactory. After all, it is written from the standpoint, not of a class-conscious worker, but of a class-conscious member of the petty-bourgeoisie who has not much first-hand knowledge of the revolutionary movement. The author is often forced, therefore, to rely for his matter not on his experience of life, but on his theoretical knowledge and his inventive powers. His invention and interweaving of incident is very ingenious, but often too ingenious to be convincing. His characterisation, too, is often weak. For example, the chief revolutionary in the book, Steve Riley, though he does not actually wear a beard or carry a bomb in his pocket, is nevertheless not very far removed from the vulgar conception of the "bearded Bolshevik." It is post-war bourgeois society, or a section of it, that the writer gets so well; so it is members of this society, idle, empty-headed, and, on the whole, spineless, that he takes as his norm. The Communist, as a variation from that norm, appears rather fantastic.

There are, however, some good scenes in the book, such as the strike at the relief-camp, near the end. The author of "Upsurge" has recognised the class-struggle as the central fact in present-day life. When he knows a good deal more about the struggle, and particularly about the working-class, he may produce some quite good revolutionary writing.

The novel "Upsurge" and the poetry in "M.U.M." represent two very different types of reaction to present social and literary conditions. The author of "Upsurge" was undoubtedly influenced to some extent by the desire to cater for the depraved tastes of his bourgeois audience, and the prevalent demand for "hot stuff." Most of the poems in "M.U.M.," on the other hand (with the notable exception of one entitled "Stormy Weather" in which the word is still used as a keen and effective weapon), represent that literature which resigns itself to addressing an ever-narrowing audience.

This tendency in present bourgeois writers is remarked upon by Soviet critics. Thus Selivanovsky, in an article on "The Poetry of Socialism" in "Literature of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R." says:

"To me it seems more than a matter of mere chance that many gifted poets of Western Europe are feeling very strongly the uselessness of writing poetry. . . . They are reading poetry less and less. . . . Why is this so? . . . The main reason is to be found in the absence of unity in modern bourgeois life."

"It is this unity of consciousness, this unity of the perception of reality, which is peculiar to modern Soviet poetry. Poetry here is not isolated from life; it is one of its component parts and is its organic continuation."

It is argued in "M.U.M." that such a unity of consciousness is only possible in a stable society, where there is some generally admitted reality. I have suggested, however, that the processes of social change in themselves offer a unifying,

central theme to the writer of to-day—a theme which enables literature to penetrate deeper into reality, instead of seeking to escape from it. To explore the possibilities of this theme, though, the writer must obtain that unimpeded view of reality which the working-class standpoint alone affords.

—A. Y. PALMER.

HOW TO FIGHT THE BOOK BAN

THE agitation which has been aroused over the ban of books in Australia is at present being directed in such a way that there is little likelihood of its being effective. This is so despite the fact that the Book Censorship Abolition League is doing some good work — which the Labour Club is enthusiastically assisting. But the general trend of the League's work can lead only to ineffective confusion if it continues as it has been done up to the present. The position can be remedied by the issues involved being clearly seen and the movement set on a realistic basis.

The unrealistic attitude that is being displayed by many of those opposed to the ban has been nowhere more apparent than in the debate which took place on February 26, the subject being, "That political censorship be abolished." The press report sums up the debate brilliantly: ". . . the audience showed keen appreciation of the new type of educational entertainment which the 'Star' introduced to Melbourne."

It would have seemed grossly out of place in such an atmosphere to have exposed the brutal facts that form the basis of the ban on books. To those who have not perfected the art of rationalising prejudices, the issue is a simple one. The present state of the world is such that capitalism can provide the majority of the population with only the lowest level of subsistence, threatened with continually increasing impoverishment with no security or hope of the future. Men usually begin to think when their stomachs are empty, and there are signs all over the world that the "middle class" and intellectuals are beginning to believe that they have nothing to lose but their chains. In such circumstances the rulers of the country must take extreme action to prevent the rise of the masses. One of the first steps is to stop the interchange of ideas amongst the workers, and it is this that we see in the present ban on radical literature. The desperate state of capitalism is seen in the fact that a book such as Hutt's "Conditions of the Working Class in Great Britain," which consists of statistics and medical reports, may not be read. The action against literature is accompanied by a general offensive against the working class, the prevention of demonstrations, the introduction of the

Sedition Bill, the amendment to the Crimes Acts, militarisation of the police force, etc.

In the face of these facts the case put forward by the affirmative in the debate appears utterly futile. The speakers considered that censorship should "depend on the judgment of a court of law" (Mr. Ball) since the English common law gives adequate protection against blasphemy, obscenity, and sedition (Mr. Stretton), and "we have the Police Offences Act and the Crimes Act, both of which are adequate to deal with any emergency that might present itself" (Mr. Gorman). The Prime Minister recently said that the present censorship is part of the policy of the government (i.e., of the powers controlling the government). This is a clear indication that the book ban is not due to the stupidity of Mr. White or of some illiterate office employee of the Customs Department, as was suggested by one or two speakers. If, then, the books are banned at the wish of the government, the placing of the censorship of books into the hands of a court of law would make no difference, since, if necessary, new Acts could be introduced to ban all radical literature.

The lack of realism present in the debate is exemplified by the statement of Mr. Stretton, that if a man were persecuted in his own country he had only to seek the shores of England where he would be patted on the back, smiled at, placed down in Hyde Park, and told, "Little man you're going to have a busy day." To anyone with the slightest knowledge of working class matters in present-day England this untruth is appalling.

We can see that the debate served no purpose other than obscuring the actual issues. Students must realise that the censorship of books is only one part of the general offensive conducted against the working class. It cannot be considered as an isolated event—and if agitation against it is to be effective it must not obscure the class issue involved; it must see that the fight against censorship is part of the general fight against fascism, and that, though the co-operation of those people who will join the fight against reaction on this issue and not on others must certainly be sought, yet it must not be won by excluding the decisive anti-fascist force — the working class.

—W.N.C.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Disarmament Conference has proved a dismal failure. Millions of trusting and war-weary people had watched with anxious eyes the setting up of a League of Nations, which was to make war a horrible spectre of the past, and open up a rosy future of peace.

At the outset, this League of Nations had as its ostensible aim and its main justification the convening of a conference to make the abolition of war a reality; and for twelve long years the people of the world waited the fulfillment of the promise the statesmen of Geneva had given them. Five years were spent in preparation for this conference, the doom of which was sealed before it began.

To-day, after fifteen years of "disarmament" and peace conferences, we are again face to face with world war. Every observer of note, every leading militarist, every diplomat, admits it is drawing closer. The signs are for all to read: An economic crisis of unprecedented duration and acuteness, and which shows no sign of alleviation; a bitter struggle for diminishing markets — a struggle which last year brought Europe to the brink of war in the case of Austria, and which has engendered an ill-concealed savage antagonism between every single capitalist country—antagonisms which threaten to take on the form of war any day.

We see and hear the sabre-rattling and extreme barbarism and degeneracy in all spheres in the openly Fascist countries. We see, in spite of occasional and extremely weak denials on the part of the press, a steady swelling of the ranks of the millions of unemployed. We hear daily the politician's cry of "defence," followed by budgetary allocations of still more millions of pounds for destruction, and naturally the concomitant—more ten per cent. wage-cuts.

World upheaval stares us in the face.

How are we to explain this?

The diplomats in the League of Nations inform us that there can be no peace, no disarmament, till the people change their attitude and become more genuine in their strivings for peace, more brotherly and trusting.

Is this really so?

The World War was brought to a hurried end because of the widespread mutinies in the armies and navies, and the growing wave of discontent everywhere, amounting to revolution in Russia, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Finland, etc. The people were tired of war.

To-day the people of every country in the world want peace and are protesting at the extravagant expenditure in armaments in the face of increasing poverty and starvation. It is obvious that the people want peace, you and I want peace, yet in mockery of the Paris Pact renouncing war and which almost all European and non-European countries signed, the armaments race goes on at an even more accelerated pace, and scientific laboratories give still more murderous instruments and gases to the gods of destruction.

It would need a lengthy article to explain with necessary clarity why it is that the capitalist

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economic system is driving, and from its very nature must drive, the world into war unless the necessary preventive measures are taken by the workers and those who ally themselves with them.

WHY THE LEAGUE WAS FORMED.

The history of the League of Nations has been short and eventful. The thermometer and mirror of the world situation, it has, from the day of its formation to the present day, afforded a glaring exposure of Capitalism to those who have cared to view events in perspective.

The League of Nations was set up at the end of the war primarily to preserve the interests of the victor powers, France and Britain. A careful examination of the composition and constitution of the League, which was based on acceptance of Versailles, shows it to have been dominated by France and Britain from the outset. To give legal justification to their rights to the spoils of war, these two powers framed a clause in the League Covenant which bound the signatories to respect each other's territorial integrity. The League was formed as an instrument for perpetuating the dominance of the victor powers.

To the war-weary people of the world, it was represented as an instrument of peace. The workers were rising in strikes, mutinies, and revolutions. They had had enough of war and expressed it in fight against the war-makers. This dangerous anti-war activity had to be stopped; it was therefore side-tracked into the League of Nations. The League became the prison-house of the anti-war sentiments of the world's workers.

Its first acts, however, revealed to the full its hypocritical nature. Despite the obvious necessity of securing the co-operation of all countries if it were to be successful in preventing war, Germany, till 1926, and the rest of the Central Powers and the Soviet Union were excluded. Moreover, during the very days of its formation, the powers which were the mainstay of the League were sending invading armies into the Soviet Union. At this period, fourteen armies invaded Soviet territory, most of them belonging to members of the League. These powers supported Kolchak and Denikin in their shocking massacre of men, women, and children. Certainly not an auspicious beginning for an international organ of peace!

In November, 1921, Dr. Nansen, the Norwegian representative, made an appeal to the League for concrete relief to be sent to famine-stricken, plague-ridden Russia. The Assembly of the League did not lift a finger. Whereupon Dr. Nansen showed plainly that he saw that the League was playing at internationalism, but was really under the leadership of powers striving for the overthrow of the Soviet Government.

MANDATES.

Supporters of the League are apt to admit its shortcomings, but point with pride to its achievements. What are they?

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

According to a publication of the League of Nations Union:—

"It controls the mandate system, which rules some of the backward parts of the world, 'in the interests of the native population,' through some of the greatest colonial experts in the world."
Very many examples could be given to show what mandatory control means. I will cite a typical instance:

In 1920, the League assigned the mandate of Mesopotamia to Great Britain, in accordance with a secret Franco-British treaty which agreed that Great Britain should have a monopoly of Mesopotamian oil, but allow France 25 per cent. of the product for the privilege of having pipe lines across her territory. This, despite the claims of U.S.A. for oil concessions negotiated with Turkey between 1898 and 1910.

As for the mandatory rule being "in the interests of the native population," the Arabs of Mesopotamia have continually fought against British rule, and Britain is compelled to retain in that district an army of many thousands, with a powerful air force, to maintain order.

Of course, in the interests of the Arabs!

It is also significant that, though it was announced at the outset that the mandates were put in the care of the Great Powers, in order that the inhabitants would be educated and cared for, in the case of Armenia where the population was living in famine conditions, and where the administration promised more responsibility than economic advantage, no mandatory power was forthcoming.

INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

What of the international disputes settled by the League? There have been some. As early as 1921, when Finland and Sweden were at loggerheads over the Åland Islands, the League awarded these to Finland, Sweden accepting the decision "under protest." Ostensibly, also, the peaceful transfer of the Saar to Germany, and the settlement of the Jugo-Slavian dispute last year were the work of the League. But war was narrowly averted several times, and minor disputes settled, before 1914, when there was no League in existence. And where it has not served the interests of the dominant groupings in the League to interfere in international disputes, it has not done so; e.g., its inaction at the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

The League laid it down that the chief weapon to be used against any Power violating the Covenant, i.e., going to war before submitting the dispute to arbitration, was to be economic boycott. From the beginning, however, the general opinion was that boycott was Utopian. What opinion was that boycott would be prepared to lose valuable trade with another country, or to antagonise a political ally in the interests of a strong State, and the other an almost insignificant one? Just how Utopian this idea was, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria clearly demonstrated.

What of the League of Nations now? Germany and Japan, the world's two most belligerent countries, have left it, the Soviet Union has joined it.

Has this made the League into an instrument of peace?

We can answer this question only by analysing the circumstances surrounding the withdrawal of Germany and Japan and the entry of the Soviet Union.

JAPAN WITHDRAWS.

In 1931, Japan, a prominent and peace-loving member of the League, invaded Manchuria and China, killing thousands, devastating villages, and ruthlessly slaughtering the Chinese civilian population at Chapei. Enquiries were hurled at the League—why did it not take action to stop the Japanese aggression? The League suavely replied that war had not been declared, and that, as it had not been officially apprised of the events taking place in Manchuria, it was powerless to act.

It was only when, after terrible bloodshed and devastation, Japan began to encroach on British and American possessions, that the League hastily reprimanded her; whereupon Japan withdrew her delegates from Geneva in order, that she might continue, unhampered, to carry out her mission of riding Manchuria of "bandits." Despite Japan's withdrawal, however, the dominant League States, Britain and France, have continued to aid her in her aggression in China wherever their own interests are not threatened. Japan's withdrawal from the League, therefore, does not indicate that the League is inherently an organisation for peace; it merely indicates the dominance of British-French interests.

GERMANY WITHDRAWS.

Germany, which entered the League in 1926 after capitalist rehabilitation, and which occupied a position well under the thumb of the dominant powers, left it in 1933. Hitler made the Versailles system, on which the League is based, one of the scapegoats for Germany's desperate economic plight. Within the League Germany demanded official recognition of her right to arm, but France, and at that time England, having no illusions about Germany's aim to reconquer lost territories which were in their hands, opposed Germany's claim. Whereupon Germany left the League, and is arming rapidly (now with open, if somewhat qualified, British support). Once again, it was not peace as such, but the Versailles "status quo" that Britain and France were protecting.

THE SOVIET JOINS THE LEAGUE.

At present, however, because inter-imperialist war does not serve the interests of the dominant League powers (which have in their hands the fruits of Versailles), the League has to some extent become a force retarding the outbreak of inter-imperialist war.

For that reason the Soviet Union, in September, 1934, accepted the League's invitation to become a member State.

This action brought torrents of abuse from Trotskyists and other enemies of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. had become Capitalist! Confused liberals shared this delusion and felt comforted.

What is the truth? There is nothing inconsistent in the Soviet's action. Long ago, Lenin pointed out it was infantile to criticise the Soviet Union for collaborating on certain points with capitalist powers, in the interests of the Proletarian Revolution. In June, 1934, Malsky, the Soviet ambassador in London, stated: "The Soviet will decide regarding her entry or non-entry into the League, solely and exclusively according to the measure in reinforcing peace. League can play a real part in reinforcing peace. . . . The Soviet wants peace—prolonged, permanent, and unlimited peace."

But why, if the League is the organ of selfish capitalist ends, did it admit the Soviet?

Last April, France sent to England a note of protest, stating that Germany was continuing every form of rearmament, "within limits of which it claims to be the sole judge, in contempt of the provisions of the Treaty." France also declared that Germany had "made negotiations impossible," and called for a return to the basis of the League. As Britain remained unmoved, France, alarmed at the prospect of German aggression, began to negotiate with the Soviet Union and press for its entry into the League. In order to maintain friendly relations with France, England was in the end forced to invite the Soviet to join the League.

The Soviet Union is now in a strategic position to expose the League (as it did during the Dis-

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armament Conference), and in some measure to curb it. If it is attacked by non-League members—Germany or Japan—it will be difficult for League members such as England to support these aggressive powers without completely exposing themselves and the League.

But Soviet diplomacy alone cannot prevent war.* It has staved it off and continues to stave it off. Its aim, however, is to expose the League to the people of the world, for it is with them—

with us—that the decision rests to end war. In the short space of time we have before war becomes a reality, it is the duty of all students, all intellectuals, in collaboration with all these forces desiring peace, the strongest of which is necessarily the working class, constantly and convincingly to tear aside the tissues of lies which capitalist politicians weave about war preparations, one of which is that we can safely leave the fight for peace to the League of Nations.

As capitalist diplomats will not (cannot) give the world peace, then the people who want peace, the people who have to fight the wars, are in organised manner, taking the organisation against war into their own hands. Our place is with them.

—H.T.

*Lack of space prevents an account of the Soviet's peace policy and its basis. An outline of this is given in "Proletariat," June, 1933, and reasons indicated why the Soviet Government is the only anti-war government in the world.

WRITERS' LEAGUE

Australian Section of Writers' International.

THE co-operation of writers in the campaign around the freeing of Kisch has been followed by the formation of an Australian section of the Writers' International (the Writers' League), with branches in Sydney and Melbourne.

The statement of principles which the Provisional Committee has suggested for adoption declares that membership of the League is open to writers—

(a) Who see in the development of Fascism the terrorist dictatorship of dying capitalism and a menace to all the best achievements in human culture, and consider that the best in the civilisation of the past can only be preserved and further developed by joining in the struggle of the working class for a new socialist society; and who are opposed to all attempts to hinder unity in the struggle or any retreat before Fascism or compromise with fascist tendencies.

(b) Who, if members of the working class, desire to express in their work, more effectively than before, the struggle of their class.

(c) Who will use their pens and their influence against imperialist war, and in defence of the Soviet Union, the State where the foundations of Socialism have already been laid, and will expose the hidden forms of war

being carried on against colonial and other oppressed peoples, particularly those whose exploitation is directed by the Australian Government.

The Writers' League intends to hold a national conference in two months' time. In the meantime, the Melbourne branch is arranging, as has already been done in Sydney, to hold lectures and study circles on literary matters; to gain contact with working class and other "left" writers; to encourage contributions to working class papers, and ultimately to collaborate with Sydney in publishing its own journal.

In order to encourage new writers, the League is holding a short story competition. The conditions are as follows:—

A prize of £2/2/- is being offered for a short story of less than 4000 words, by a writer who has not had more than three articles, sketches, or short stories published and paid for. Stories should be signed by a pen name; the author's real name and address to be sent with manuscript in a sealed envelope. Stories entered for this competition should reach

The Secretary, Writers' League,
169 Exhibition Street,
not later than Friday, April 26th.

"WHAT MARX REALLY MEANT"

BANNED FROM M.U.M.

LATE last year, the "Melbourne University Magazine" was severely censored because it contained Marxist articles. Two of these the editor was forbidden to print, one on the appalling condition of medical services in Melbourne, and another reviewing Mr. G. D. H. Cole's book, "What Marx Really Meant." The professional censor described the latter article as "in bad taste and wrong anyhow," while the former was simply "in bad taste as it criticised the hospitals which were connected with the University."

Now, Mr. Cole's book is recommended at our University as a reference book on Marxism. The teachings of Marx himself are not popular among our lecturers. Indeed, the lecturer on economics has been known to preface his lecture on Marxian economics by the remark, "I am now going to explain to you the fallacies of the economic theory of Karl Marx." On the other hand, books such as Cole's "What Marx Really Meant," which would have been better named "What Cole Would Like Marx to Have Really Meant," are very acceptable to them. This is to be expected from economists who receive doctorates of letters for writing theses such as "How Australia Weathered the Crisis," while the crisis referred to is still deepening.

The review of "What Marx Really Meant" was therefore banned. According to the professor responsible, it was "wrong anyhow" because Mr. G. D. H. Cole, far from being the distorter of Marxism he was painted by the reviewer, was "the most feared Communist in Great Britain." Now, Mr. Cole is not a Communist, or even a harmless approach to one. Mr. Cole's Marx is as harmless as the capitalist class as are our professors—in actual fact, quite as useful as they. The contents of the review should make this clear; they should also make it clear that the review was banned, not because it was "in bad taste," but because an effort was being made to stifle revolutionary student criticism.

The following is substantially the banned review.

When a writer sets out to write a book which he declares is not intended to be an addition to the huge pile of expositions and criticisms of the works of Marx, but simply a book which will reproduce the essence of these works "brought up to date," he is attempting no mean task. Especially is this so when the conclusions of Marx, in their virgin purity, are the theoretical foundation of a living advancing movement embracing hundreds of millions.

But Mr. G. D. H. Cole, author of "The Great Southern Mystery" and other thrillers, in his latest work, "What Marx Really Meant," declares this feat to be his intention. Instead, he has written a book no less imaginative than his detective stories and as devoid as they of the essence of Marxism.

But, because in it Mr. Cole is really serious, this book is more important than his thrillers have ever been.

The sheer weight of historical development has so clearly borne out Marx's theories and predictions that many "left" and liberal writers nowadays recognise that Marx really "had something to say." Unlike the conservative reactionaries who ignore Marx, these enlightened gentlemen patronise Marxism, take from it phrases and isolated ideas, and serve these up in a context which is dictated by the aspirations and limitations of their particular class. Thus Mr. Cole quotes great numbers of Marxian phrases and borrows the Marxian conceptions only to distort them beyond recognition, and to deprive them of all their revolutionary content.

To anyone who has read Marx and has tested Marxism against the irrefutable facts of history, it is very surprising to find Cole, who claims to be erudite, saying, in effect, "Had Marx lived in the third decade of the twentieth century instead of away back in the dim nineteenth, he would have written that Capitalism in its development has so changed social relationships that enlarged masses of the petty-bourgeoisie (the mechanics, technicians, business experts, etc.), aided by the diminished ranks of the proletariat, could convert it into Socialism by a combined process of enlightenment and legislation, without recourse to the detestable tactic of violent overthrow of the capitalist state. In fact, such violence is no longer feasible in this era of fading class antagonisms, but rather the possibilities of constitutional ushering in Socialism have greatly increased."

This, in brief, is Cole's main thesis. He proceeds to annihilate the "narrow-like, hero-worshipping, self-styled Marxists" of the Third International, who obstinately maintain that Marx's teachings, further developed by Lenin, are still correct. He annihilates them in every aspect of Marxian theory. They do not see that "What Marx REALLY Meant" was that they should abandon dialectical materialism for idealism, give up the labour theory of value for one which admits the need for capitalists, refute the general crisis of capitalism by ignoring it, and finally abandon all revolutionary ideology for the theory of the development of Capitalism through the ballot-box to Socialism. That one hundred and sixty million people led by these obstinate parasites are now successfully building Socialism in the U.S.S.R., that one hundred million Chinese now govern themselves under the banner of their Soviets, that Capitalism is in the throes of world crisis, and is everywhere scrapping the sham of "democracy" and moving to Fascism and war, that the world's workers are fighting heroically against barbaric attacks on their conditions—these are incidental details that do not upset Mr. Cole at all. For

him, Fascism is a far-off possibility which may, indeed, bring benefits to the working class! For him the threatening war is not necessarily the outcome of Imperialist rivalry.

If two countries go to war, it is not necessary to prove that their conflict is the outcome of a rivalry inherent in Capitalism. It may be; but it may be due to some entirely different cause." What cause, Mr. Cole?

For Mr. Cole the technical expert, the highly skilled worker, and the efficient accountant form the main social group. Not once does he mention the terrible degradation of the millions of colonial peoples from whose exploitation the bourgeoisie of England and other "home" countries obtained the super-profits with which to bribe these skilled workers, experts, and technicians with comparatively good conditions, so that they became a privileged section of the working class, content to press only for the concessions which were easily granted, subservient therefore to Capitalism, thinking in terms of improving their social standing, against revolutionary action from the less fortunate masses of the workers, whose conditions had improved very little, if at all, and acquiescing in the plunder of the colonies. With the growth of Britain as the world exchange, huge armies of business experts, clerks, etc., swelled the ranks of this privileged class whose political aspirations were expressed, first in the Liberal Party, and later, as the period of British supremacy came to an end and the workers became more militant, in the Labour Party, which was a more subtle means of getting the workers, in this period of rapidly developing open class antagonisms, to support capitalist "democracy." The history of the Labour Governments and of the leaders of the Labour Party is abundant proof of this characterisation.

Now the masses of British workers, labour aristocracy, and petty-bourgeoisie, are being subjected to grave worsening of conditions. British capitalism is rushing to war. The state is being fascised (Sedition Bill, etc.), and the much-boasted British complacency is vanished. Lenin, expanding Marx's teachings in the period of imperialism (Marx died in 1883), pointed to these developments very clearly. For Mr. Cole, however, they are a sealed book.

The writer of "What Marx Really Meant" does not understand the international character of Marxism. For him, the slogan "Labour in a white skin cannot be free while labour in a black skin is enslaved" does not exist. He is not concerned with "solutions" for the workers of Germany, Japan, America, China, or India. He probably thinks the heroic German workers are stupid to risk their lives painting over Nazi slogans in red with "Save Thälmann." He is concerned with finding a "solution" for British capitalists and petty-bourgeoisie and (incidentally) for the British working-class.

Britons, he says, can solve the difficulty "of over-production and under-consumption" by educating the masses into voting a truly socialist party into power. All that will then be necessary will be the abolition of that stumbling-block, the House of Lords. This can be done constitution-

ally. The army, navy, air force, police, and Fascists will be kept standing by, until finally they, together with their capitalist masters who are to be compensated, will learn the truth, and be converted to Socialism.

To this foolish dream we can only reply, it is already drowned in the clamour of war-mongering and the clash of fascist arms on the one hand, and the resounding protests of the working-class against these on the other.

The method by which Mr. Cole discovers "What Marx Really Meant" is instructive. We will consider one example among many. According to him, Marx, in 1848, regarded the petty-bourgeoisie as a dying class. But had Marx completed the Third Volume of "Capital" himself, instead of leaving it to Engels to edit, he would have written of the petty-bourgeoisie as a growing class destined to play the leading rôle in social development (Engels, apparently, was the villain who first distorted Marx!).

We would point out, on the contrary, that while Marx never spoke of the petty-bourgeoisie as a dying class, he was the first person to point out its real nature as a class destined to play no leading rôle in the development of socialism, a class always aspiring to elevate itself to the bourgeoisie, but always being pressed further and further down towards the proletariat. Cole does not understand that, though numerically strengthened during the development of capitalism (on the basis of colonial exploitation), in the era of monopoly capitalism, in general crisis, the impoverishment of the petty-bourgeoisie is proceeding apace. The political influence of the petty-bourgeoisie and its ideologists has declined, while the greater organisation of the workers is giving them greater political power. Cole does not agree that the petty-bourgeoisie is being impoverished. Thousands of unemployed university graduates, thousands of small shopkeepers, clerks, and technical experts could enlighten him. He does not even believe there has been a general worsening of conditions — but talks of "pockets of misery" groups of unemployed and poorly paid workers in scattered instances. He gives these theses a certain plausibility to the unobservant reader only because he uses no concrete instances to illustrate them. Statistical data are foreign and fatal to his method.

Mr. Cole's pretentious book is nothing more than the effort of a petty-bourgeoisie to "solve" social problems according to his own desires. It is a fitting production of a class which vacillates between the capitalists on the one hand and the workers on the other, having no real understanding of what it wants. The connection of his book with Marxism is limited to its misuse of Marxian phrases and its cheap distortion of Marxian concepts in order to give authority to a hopelessly confused analysis of present-day problems, and in order also to discredit Marxism, which provides a clear understanding of these problems, and is the revolutionary weapon in the struggle for their solution.

It is no wonder such a distortion of Marx finds favour in Capitalist Universities.

—A. FINGER.

BOOK REVIEWS

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, by R. Palme Dutt, 1934.

THE banning of this monumental work is a tribute paid by the representatives of our Australian democracy to the authoritative position which R. Palme Dutt has established in the sphere of revolutionary literature. The book constitutes a complete manual for those who seek to probe to its roots the past, presents and future of capitalist civilisation. References to Russia in which the writer's philosophy is being carried to boundless fruition in every field of human activity, no justifiably proud contrast between the Capitalist and Communist worlds, no blowing of trumpets in praise of the U.S.S.R.—only a clear, dispassionate, logical analysis of the objective and subjective forces which are driving capitalist society to destruction, the whole lit up and inspired by revolutionary enthusiasm born of that certainty and supreme confidence which only a knowledge of historical materialism can give.

The book is planned as a complete examination of world conditions, the method of historical materialism. That is, the basic dynamic forces produced by the development of economy and technique are analysed; then the reflection and consequences of those forces in the moral, social, and political superstructure.

A detailed statistical survey is made of the astounding progress achieved in the methods of production, the strangling of productive power owing to its having outrun the limits of profitable sale, the growth of permanent mass unemployment; in short, the whole fundamental contradiction between social production and private appropriation which has rendered class society obsolete and is to-day issuing in the general crisis and stagnation of decaying capitalism. In this survey the illusory basis of the partial, post-war stabilisation is discussed, and how, with the end of stabilisation, history has shown the bankruptcy of the "Ford versus Marx" arguments.

Having described the reverses in the technical and economic situation, a treatment of the changes in ideology and in commercial practice consequent upon this shifting economic basis becomes necessary. The progressive agencies which expanding capitalism had invoked must now be checked—hence the revolt against science and the machine; the discrediting of parliamentary democracy, the establishment of the principle of trade, and the establishment of the principle of autarchy; the "Feverish but futile attempts at the 'Planned Capitalism,'" the final attempted solution—war.

Faced with overwhelming contradictions, and the menace of proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie makes its last desperate throw in Fascism, which is not a new breakdown of economic system, but which grows organically out of capitalism and which pursues the same ends, but necessarily by violence, coercion and dictatorship. Gathering a mass basis in the disinherited middle class and intermediate strata, subsidised, supported, and armed by the ruling class and its reflections in the

police, military, and judicature, protected by Social Democratic governments, the movement, stripped of its demagogic embroidery, robbed of its all-embracing opportunist promises, is revealed as a method, a new tactic of terrorist dictatorship in a period of imperialist decay, aiming at open class rule, the imposition of "iron-fist harmony," the destruction of all workers' organisations, and the smashing of the revolutionary vanguard.

An historical survey of the now Fascist countries—Italy, Germany, and Austria—reveals with striking clarity the squandered possibilities of building socialism in the immediate post-war period. A strong revolutionary leadership to guide the working-class was lacking, and the completely futile and impotent bourgeoisie was saved by the treacherous Social Democratic leadership, which, by negotiation and persuasion, saved the ruling class when armed repression had failed it, and which repaid the mistaken obedience and loyalty of the workers with further fetters, binding them to class society.

The vain pretentiousness of Fascist theory, the illusion of the Corporate State, the whole effluvia of Fascist propaganda, is shattered by a mass of facts marshalled with logical ruthlessness. Fascism, in fact, means the barbarisation of men and women, and their ultimate destruction in war.

Considerable stress is laid upon the relation between Social Democracy and Fascism. Just as the bourgeoisie is willing to enter into collaboration with the corrupt and opportunist representatives of the working-class while these "leaders" are able to hold and restrain the masses, so the ruling class casts off the useless scyphants when their mass support is lost. The ease and speed with which this is done demonstrates clearly the reasons for the existence, function, and dissolution of Social Democracy in capitalist society. The completely unemotional and detached manner in which big business views the Official Labour Party is expressed with exemplary clarity in a number of remarkably revealing extracts from the Deutsche Puhrebriefe or private politico-economic correspondence issued for confidential circulation to the leaders of finance-capital.

In the immediate post-war period, extremely revolutionary conditions set Social Democratic governments in power, and under their protecting rule Fascist and pre-Fascist forms, both ideological and practical, were prepared. On the one side, Social Democracy cunningly distorts Marxism and robs it of its revolutionary essence, it abandons international socialism and practises class collaboration in place of the relentless prosecution of the class struggle, all "in the name of democracy"; on the other, it stultifies, divides, paralyzes, and actively suppresses the revolutionary energy of the workers; it declares war on the Communist vanguard, permits the existence of private armies and openly counter-revolutionary organisations, and shows its complete subservience to its capitalist paymasters by carrying

through repressive economic and political legislation. Although constantly exposed by presentation, the Social Democratic leadership persistently refuses the United Front except when forced by mass pressure from below (France), or by the unmistakable shows by its policy of the "lesser evil," and by its history (Germany, Austria, Italy), that it prefers political extinction to unity and active leadership of the working class. "Social Democracy and Fascism offer, in effect, rival services to the bourgeoisie for the slaying of Communism."

The three imperialist but still nominally democratic countries—England, France, and the United States—are subjected to examination and the bases of Fascist movements, both specific and within parliament, are exposed. There is also discussed the significance of the various National and New Deal governments.

But Fascism, far from exemplifying the strength of the ruling class, proves from its onset, objectively, the increasing restriction of productive power by capitalist social relations, and, subjectively, the necessity of destroying the rising

"SOVIET RUSSIA FIGHTS NEUROSES," by F. Williams, M.D., 1934.

THIS book represents the efforts of an American psychiatrist to think out on paper the problems impressed on him by two visits to the Soviet Union. Ignorant of Marxism, oblivious of the class-struggle, thinking of psychiatry in terms of clinics and institutions in which neurotics are patched up, Dr. Williams is at first profoundly shocked and stirred by the Soviet's treatment of psychiatry, and then made deeply thoughtful.

As "Soviet Russia Fights Neuroses" is, practically speaking, a diary in which Dr. Williams tries to work out the significance of what he has seen, his ideas become clarified and his understanding deeper as the book progresses. Before visiting the Soviet, he evidently made no effort to strike to the fundamental roots of neurosis; he saw the tormenting social relationships of the capitalist world, but not their economic basis. This accounts for the many and extreme weaknesses in the book, but it also accounts for it having a peculiar value—particularly for students and other members of the petty-bourgeoisie—in that Dr. Williams approaches the "social experiment" in the Soviet Union with all the manifold prejudices that are the common property of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, and in the course of the book steadily discards them. For the Marxist who is looking for a scientifically sound social analysis of the causes of neurosis, the book will not be satisfying; it nevertheless affords very interesting insight into the mind of a professional man who is developing the germs of class-consciousness. As the work of a psychiatry expert, the book serves as a valuable witness to the success of the Soviet's fight against neurosis.

The supreme lesson that the Soviet has to teach in psychiatry, Dr. Williams says, is that there mental hygiene is treated in a positive instead of a negative sense; it is treated in terms of one hundred per cent. of the population, instead of as in the capitalist world being concerned

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revolutionary tide by new forms of coercion.

Finally, under the battle-cry of "Fascism is not inevitable!" the writer calls the non-revolutionary working-class away from its trust in silence and quiet repose, away from its trust in nomenclature and deceptive bourgeois democracy, paper ballots and deceptive front, towards the recognition and acceptance of the triumphant leadership of the Communist International, towards the establishment of Soviet Power.

The style of the book is eminently suited to the material and purpose; indeed, revolutionary enthusiasm and conviction could produce no other. The language is incisive and vivid, yet restrained by regard for scientific accuracy, while the whole work abounds in passages of sustained brilliance and philosophical insight. A review of this book and an impossibility, each word is so necessary, each line so packed with essential meaning. The sternest and widest agitation must be conducted in order to restore this masterpiece to its rightful owners—the working-class of the world.

—PHILOSOPHIC.

with the rehabilitation of the ten to fifteen per cent. of the population that has got into difficulty.

But though the doctor recognises this, it is only at great pains and after many pages that he arrives at the wavering and scarcely formulated conclusion that the Soviet Union is able to fight neurosis "by keeping well people well," because it has different social relationships based on a different economic system. He goes off on many false tracks before he recognises this. Indeed, in one passage he refers to the economic system as the product of the philosophic system; what is needed, he says, is a new philosophy of life—change men's hearts, and the change in social relationships will follow. This idealistic approach is common among petty-bourgeois intellectuals, and Dr. Williams never quite rids himself of it. In one or two passages he recognises that civil war is the only force that can usher in the new society, but he shows no understanding of the rôle of the various class forces, of the two decisive classes—finance-capital and proletariat—and of the various indecisive interlying strata. The civil war that will usher in the new society is not for him essentially a class war. He seems to regard it as the result of the apparently self-originating enlightenment of the whole people, in particular youth, against exploitation in the abstract.

He advances, however, from his belief that the transition from Capitalism to Communism will come about by pure reason alone. "It is not the 'radical' who first applies force," he says. "The radical attempts to reason. Eventually his reason is met by force, then reasoning stops—consider present-day Germany, Austria, Fascist Italy, old Russia." Here Dr. Williams presents a simple statement of fact.

Dr. Williams' comparison of what the Capitalist crisis on the one hand and Socialism on the other mean "in terms of human beings" is drastic

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enough to make even the most thoughtless pay attention.

According to this psychiatry expert, the result of the economic crisis, in terms of human beings, ranges from despair that ends in chronic neurotic illness or suicide, to desperation and revolt that end in crime, to preoccupation with sex frequently of an abnormal character, to bitterness, cynicism, or just bewilderment.

And in the Soviet Union? . . . "Beneath the hectic, feverish exterior, a calmness, a depth, and richness of feeling that is something else," no fear of unemployment, work to do, important work—responsibility, comradeship between man and woman, comradeship between parent and child, lack of neurotic tension in the crowds of young people, a social consciousness that comprehends and synthesises all activity, no economic block to early marriage.

What is the result of these changed social relationships? . . . Medical professors searching the hospitals of Moscow in vain for a new case of manic-depressive depression, to demonstrate to students, the hospital beds provided for neurotics in large part unoccupied, neurosis on the decline. Dr. Williams' estimation of present-day Capitalism and Socialism, in terms of human beings, leads him to give a fitting reply to the common petty-bourgeois objection that Socialism is impos-

sible because "you can't change human nature."

"Human nature can't be changed—that is the challenge of many to all that is being tried in Russia. But returning from a second visit, I must brush this assertion aside as too naive. We have been suspicious of this 'human nature' business before, but only vaguely so. Now it bursts on us. What, after all, do we know about human nature? As a matter of fact, we know a great deal. But where did we get that information? What individuals have we studied? Individuals in what setting? Always in one setting. We have studied individuals in class-organised, competitive society. We have studied individuals in such a setting only. We have no data outside this setting. Does what we know explain 'human nature'? Is it anything more than human nature in a certain setting? We are forced to conclude that what we know about human nature is what we have learned by studying human nature in captivity."

People arrive at Communism by many routes. Dr. Williams' book shows that if he follows up the implications of the conclusions at which he has arrived, there will be no place for him but within the revolutionary working-class movement of America, the only working movement in his country which is working for the establishment of Socialism.

—K. G. OUTHRED, M.B., B.S.

"THE REAL RUSSIA," by Katharine Prichard, 1934.

There are obvious reasons why the casual visitor should not give us the truth about Soviet Russia. Naturally his class prejudices tend to colour his outlook on things and people, and the capitalist press provides a ready market for those who deliberately misrepresent the Soviet Union, "unbiased" observers tend to miss the significance of what they see, through lack of knowledge of the Russian social background.

Katharine Prichard, in her recently published book, "The Real Russia," has got very close to the real life of the people of the U.S.S.R. Here is for once a visitor to Russia who is well equipped to write about it. The writer has an understanding of Russian culture and history, and an understanding of Marxism, so that she knows what the people of modern Russia are driving at.

You will find plenty of facts and statistics in this book, if you want them. "There is a passion for factual statement throughout the Soviet Union," remarks the author. "Exact and detailed information about the progress of industry and all their affairs is what the people want and are given. . . . No writer, for example, dreams of presenting an article without a few figures thrown in. . . ." The author of "The Real Russia" follows their example; but you will not find in her book rows of statistics that convey nothing to the novice. The author's generalisations, her long-range views of the progress in various departments of Soviet life, are illustrated with examples from the lives of the people concerned—people that, in her comparatively short

journey through the Soviet Union, the author has come to know intimately.

It would be difficult to get a more comprehensive picture of Soviet life into three hundred pages. The author recounts the progress in various industries, giving scenes from each, such as the "Voroshilovka" colmine at midnight, or work at a coke-plant, or a kolkhoz (collective farm) described in her particularly vivid style. Developments in the theatre, in literature and art, are discussed, and the much debated question of religion. "The anti-religious societies have their clubs and processions," she concludes, "but the conditions of life are left for the most part to bear their reflex in the mentality of the people. This is the basis of anti-religious propaganda in the Soviet Union."

In the chapter dealing with "Literary Culture" the author describes a poet, Cherezhuyev, reading his poems aloud to an enthusiastic audience. She remarks, "It was the first time in my life I had heard a poet applauded like a prima-donna."

All the way through, the book brings out, in conversations and anecdotes, the changed relationships and attitudes of people one to another—men, women, and children, who are taken seriously and always addressed by grown-ups as "comrade." No one reading this book could help realising that the Bolsheviks, too, are human beings, and exceedingly likeable ones.

"The Real Russia" is the completed series of articles which appeared in the "Herald" last year until banned by order of the Federal Government.

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