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A Minority Group Within the University

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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 revolutionary 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 Woolf 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 flaring 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 weakened 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 toilers 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 those 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 gas 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! 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 there 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 neutralised by the fact that Germans are hot-tempered in debate and have shocking table 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 professorial 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 is the officers' training corps, the M.U.R.; 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 Incitement to Disaffection 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 Disaffection 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 fascisation 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 fascisation 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 organisation.

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, "or 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 "perversive" 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. Hannington 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 frame-work 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 fascisation 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 "Combatting 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:—

- (a) Amendment of the Crimes Act;
- (b) Amendment of the Immigration Act, giving greater power to deport undesirables;
- (c) Tightening up the proclamation prohibiting the importation of Communist literature into the Commonwealth;
- (d) Restrictions of newspapers in foreign languages;
- (e) Removal of certain newspapers from the Post Office Register;
- (f) Strict supervision over the grant of passports to Communists and persons desiring to visit Russia; and
- (g) 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.

Australia, too, has its bands of organised Fascists who are arming with the support of the military machine. It has its unshirted 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 it and tries to squeeze it out, not by altering the conditions which breed it, 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 of Fascism to make it clear that opposition 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.

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:—

	U.S.A.	France.	Eng-land.	Ger-many.	Soviet 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-

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 dingo-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 goals 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, "Black-fellows 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, Muldavians, as well as Jews, Poles, Letts, and Esthonians, 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 Family," 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 technique 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 handled 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 gaols, 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, crèche, 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 themselves. In spite of the intensiveness of work in general in the U.S.S.R., due to socialist competition and piecework, overstrain 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 brigaders," 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 manifold 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 through all 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

appliances." 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 professorial 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 in the metropolitan areas 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 securely 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, approach of World War, and the ever-surging rhythm of the Workers' Revolution come upon him 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" harmonium 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.

— the most ruthless and barbaric attacks on the toiling masses ever conceived.

— by 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 flunkeys. Where they have held power, they have disarmed the workers and decoyed 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 Lang 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 beheaded 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 which 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.; new 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.

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 combatted this demagoguery, which is meant to deceive confused students. Egil 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 fascist 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 repudiating "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.

This 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 whittling 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 rates of pay, 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 baldly 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!!

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 prudence, 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 Esmond 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 combatting 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.

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 carefully spread that the Council Against War 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 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

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.

"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 gaoled 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.

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 knew 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

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 buildings, 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 for engineers 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 small book on ferrous metallurgy published. Pavel 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."

"Your students will not have to hunt for jobs?"

"Our students never 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 paintings, expounding their theories of art and the graphic interpretation of ideas. Boys and girls showing any gift for modelling, painting, or drawing, from their schooldays, 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 boosting 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 that myth of 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 change, 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 for this to be brought about they look for the 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 with most violence 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 of 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 spectacle 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 brutal 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-decadent 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 Lawrences, 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 medievalism is characteristic of bourgeois culture at this 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 in 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 Nicholsons 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 preserve the existing form of society by force and at no matter what cost. The scientist will naturally become discontented 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. Whether or not 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 800 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 Bönheim, a member of no party, 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 famous 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 VULTURES 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—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 5000 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 transfer of powers by a democracy on such a 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 complaints 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 combat 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 "cheering 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 realisation 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. Concurring in 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 ingenuously propose to raise wages, and at the same time to increase profits, to reduce rents, to augment the returns 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

terror, 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.]

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 Zuyder Zee was born. It was carefully calculated how

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 bad 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 interfered, 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 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 houses 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 showed 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 slackens 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 veterinaries 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 piggeries 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 veterinaries. 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 herrings—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