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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor L. L. Sharkey

TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

L. L. SHARKEY

(Abridged from a report delivered to the Central Committee, 18th January, 1946.)

FIRST of all, about the developments in the international situation. You are aware that at the London Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three big powers, when all of the various points of difference — antagonisms, one might say — that revealed themselves after the defeat of the fascist powers seemed to come to a head, a drive was made against the Soviet Union by the British and Americans, who openly announced prior to the assembly of the Conference that they were going to get tough with Russia and take a firm attitude. They raised a whole number of questions about the democracy that they said did not exist in a number of European countries liberated from Hitler, their real purpose of course being their concern at the developments taking place in those countries, namely, nationalisation of a number of industries that were largely owned by international capitalist shareholders including the British and Americans, the taking over of big estates of the aristocrat landlord class and the wholesale punishment of collaborators and traitors proceeding in a number of those countries at the time.

They want to put an end to this, to end the progressive developments taking place throughout Europe. They saw in Soviet Russia the main centre, whose example in the way of struggle against capitalism, and for progress and democracy, was inspiring to the peoples of those other countries and they tried to force the Soviet Union to intervene to put an end to these progressive developments in the way they themselves intervened in Java, China, Indo-China, Greece and elsewhere to suppress the very democratic forces which are the best guarantee of peace and security in the future.

And they were emboldened in this reactionary policy by the fact of their possession of the atomic bomb. There can be no doubt at all that they, the representatives of America and Britain, went to the Conference under the influence of this bomb, they thought it was the golden key to open the door to the Soviet Union, that they would be able to dictate, under threat of atomic bomb attack, their terms to the Soviet Union and the democratic movements in Europe and throughout the world.

However, it is quite obvious that the policy being pursued by the Soviet Union, so far as international diplomacy is concerned, was the one which in the main triumphed at the Moscow Conference. The extreme reactionaries of the United States described in their press the agreements that were made in relation to the European countries and the Control Committee for Japan as a new Munich, they said that America and Britain had given way

to the Soviet Union. That is exaggeration on their part, but nevertheless there can be no doubt that the Soviet Union in the main achieved its objectives on a number of questions. And for the time being the international tension was quite visibly lessened. It seems to be on the verge of boiling up again. According to the capitalist press they are very disturbed about the Persian issue, they are going to raise before the United Nations the question regarding Azerbaijan. Well, we are not school children and I think it is clear enough that Persia would not be raising these questions if they had not already secured the backing of the British Government.

In Persia there is not a modern capitalist democratic State even, the economy is in the main feudal, and consequently the governmental apparatus has been of a reactionary and dictatorial character. The Shah has been a despotic monarch. Some changes were made during the war after the occupation by the British and Russians. Nevertheless, there can be no question of the semi-feudal character of Persian institutions, the backwardness of the country and extreme poverty and oppression of the Persian people. Also it is a multi-nations State. There is a multiplicity of races. And the tidal wave of liberation and progressive feeling, sweeping the world made its influence felt also in Persia. And in the area where the Red Army was in occupation in Northern Persia, naturally enough, this democratic movement showed its greatest strength. The Soviet authorities have pointed out that they pursue the same policy in Persia as in other territories occupied at present by Red Army forces, that is to say, one of neutrality.

The Persians say that when they sent Government troops to Azerbaijan the Soviet authorities blocked them. In other words they did not proceed like the British in Greece, Java and elsewhere to suppress by armed force the democratic people's movement. Consequently they are terrible people for not doing this, for not bayoneting and bombing people in the good old imperialist tradition as has been done in Java and elsewhere.

But when we analyse the reasons for the revolt we have by no means exhausted the issues in reference to Persia. I don't suppose there is anyone who has not heard of Anglo-Persian Oil, one of the largest oil trusts in the world, and that this is in the hands of British capitalists, that they have made enormous profits out of the exploitation of this natural resource of Persia. Persia got a measure of tribute, but the real wealth of the country has been of little worth to the workers and peasants of Persia in general, as this went into the

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pockets of the international capitalists and, in particular, British monopoly capitalists. So we have there the fear of the oil barons in Britain that a successful democratic revolution, not a socialist revolution, in Persia would put an end to the profits made by the Anglo-Persian oil barons over the past thirty or more years. They fear also that a successful democratic revolution in Persia would influence the revolt in the Arab States against British and French imperialism, against French in Syria and the Levant, against British in Iraq and other Arab countries, including Egypt. So they want to keep democracy and Soviet influence as far away from these peoples as they possibly can. That is the real issue in regard to Persia. And because it is the real issue, because it reaches so vitally the pockets of the English ruling class and their interests in the Middle East, the "Sydney Morning Herald" says Soviet Russia is "playing with fire." In addition, the British Labor Cabinet, these democrats, these "representatives of the working man," are coming forward as staunch defenders of the oil barons' interests in Persia, as opponents of democracy in Persia and the Arab countries. It is certain Churchill could not defend more vigorously the interests of the ruling class than Bevin and Morrison. Not only do they aim to restore monarchy in Greece, but they are particularly anxious about the rights of the oil barons in Persia. The issue of a democratic Iran may even upset the organisation of the United Nations Conference. . . .

Comrades, our Party has in the recent period won a great deal of prestige, particularly amongst the colonial peoples of Asia and elsewhere, because of the support we have been able to give the Indonesian movement. There are many stories brought back by soldiers of the great standing the Australian labor movement and our Party have won because of the activity carried out in support of the national movements. I regard the Indonesian battle as only the beginning; perhaps before very long we will be faced with an even greater and more difficult struggle for us in regard to the liberation movement in India. Our international tasks consist, not only of working for the defeat of the present anti-Soviet campaign, for the defence of the new democratic movements which are attacked by the servants of British and American imperialism, but also to continue our support for these national movements.

The task of bringing about world organisation to restrain capitalism from plunging the world into a third world war is not an easy one. It is one to which we must devote a great deal of thought and attention. We must build up a very big campaign indeed to slay the masses, to make them clear as to the aims of the anti-Soviet campaign, and press forward proposals for struggle for peace and security. . . .

I want to comment on Prof. Varga's analysis of the economic perspective of capitalism. The essence is that capitalism eventually is headed directly for economic crisis, which won't surprise any student of Marx, not only economic crisis, but probably a bigger one than that of 1929-32; and further than that, he declares there will not be any real boom period for capitalism. Certainly, he estimates that there will be relative prosperity for a few years in a number of capitalist countries — those that did not suffer devastation of their productive apparatus during the war, countries like America, Britain to some extent, South America, Australia and others. The general crisis of capitalism which Lenin revealed even before the last war has been deepened and widened by the Second World War. It will be our task to lead the masses in the struggle against mass unemployment, depression, and the evils that we witnessed in the period prior to the outbreak of the war. America today shows mass unemployment, which is regarded as only temporary, as a result of the faulty method capitalism utilised in order to demobilise those in the armed forces and displaced munition workers. There is not only mass unemployment, but mass strikes in the basic industries of the United States. Both of these symptoms are further proof of the instability and the underlying general crisis of capitalism. In the most highly developed and most powerful capitalist economy in the world they are not able to overcome the underlying crisis! On the contrary, there the economic situation remains critical.

That, of course, is a refutation of theories that have appeared from time to time in the American Communist Party, that American capitalism is so vast that the laws of capitalism revealed to us by Marx become abrogated in America. The very development of American capitalism to this vast magnitude makes the laws operative more sharply than in other countries. The crisis of 1932 was more sharp than in Great Britain which, after all, had its colonies to exploit. We saw the contradictions of capitalism in the last 25 years manifesting themselves precisely in the country most highly developed — so far as monopoly capital is concerned — in Germany. America in the period between the two wars, and as a result of this war, has developed still further from an isolationist republic of farmers and small traders, as it was, until she is now the leading imperialist power, and is seeking overseas markets, and treading the path of imperialism. The development of a mass strike movement shows also that there is no doubt that the more important role than in the past. I think we can see a coming change in America where the labor movement will develop rapidly, that it will be able to bring forward a real challenge to American capitalism as the crisis develops within the country.

Tremendous events can be expected there, particularly at the time of economic crisis — mass struggle, rapid growth of the labor movement, as well as the development of imperialism and growth of reaction on the part of the ruling class of the United States of America. . . .

To our old yardsticks and old methods of thinking of the Communist Party, one million members seem as unattainable as the moon. Well, here we have a whole number of Communist Parties that have reached one million. Even in the past few days, on the eve of Hitler's seizure of power, when the Party had more than six million voters in the elections, the German Party had only 350,000 members. Now it is three times as strong as when it had 100 members in the Reichstag. I think that shows, in combination with the economic future of capitalism itself, that these two things together are the sign posts pointing to the approach of the socialist world revolution. Today in a number of European countries we have a sort of petty bourgeois democracy. In Austria and Hungary we have small traders' parties and various middle class parties, together with Socialists, constituting the majority. So that this period in a way looks like a Kerensky period when these parties will be tested by the masses, when they are faced with enormous difficulties, when they will not merely have to utter pretty phrases but get down to the job of providing bread and work for the masses. As in 1917 it will show to the masses just which Party can bring home the goods. We have no doubt about which Party that is.

Some comrades might think that, if the perspective is economic crisis, the various documents we have been issuing are Browderite myths that should be scrapped, and I am afraid that in daily practice not a few have acted on this kind of idea. But I put it to you that we do not at all intend sitting down idly and saying "yes, in a year's time there will be half a million unemployed," or "in two years' time there will be one million unemployed," or so on. We point out the perspective, but indicate that protection of the people against the worst consequences lies in putting into operation the programme of the Communist Party, in campaigning to compel the Labor Government to get the proposals it has made, fairly good in themselves, out of the blueprint stage and transferred to the sphere of reality. We have heard much of their plans, of this and that, that they are going to build dams, unify railway gauges, build new ports and one million and one other things. But if you take their failures, such as in regard to housing, into account, if they are not soon able to show genuine results, you will say that their tenure of office is likely to terminate rather abruptly and we don't want to witness that. It is necessary that, despite the threat of ultimate economic crisis, we must agitate even more vigorously for our own plans

for jobs and homes, and demand of the Labor Government that it get on with the business along the lines they have so often enunciated.

Comrades, in the period since our last meeting our Party has led its greatest industrial struggle. It is the first time that our Party has appeared before the Australian people as the leader of a strike of the very first magnitude, one of the biggest strikes that the working class of Australia has yet engaged in. I think all will agree with me that this one, so far as its political significance as well as the numbers of workers directly or indirectly affected by the strike is concerned, by far exceeded anything we have been called upon to lead in the past.

I feel that the struggle has radically altered the position of our Party, that something has definitely changed, the Party has a different status as it were to that enjoyed prior to the strike. Before great masses of people has been presented the decisive role that our Party today plays in the life of the nation. Maybe there are backwashes, too, the time being, difficulties, but I do think that the strike has brought about a situation from which the workers and the Party will benefit. It was a clear indication to the workers as to who was prepared to lead in the struggles. On the other hand in the capitalist press the reformist leaders were displaying their treachery or cowardice. The capitalist press, the "Sydney Morning Herald" in particular, talked about the "shattering defeat" the militants were supposed to have received, and were rebuked by reactionaries, including Abbott, M.P., who said that the unions are still on their feet and Wells, Elliott and McPhillips are still in their positions. I have read various other commentators who also considered it was far from being a defeat. The strike was not of our making. Today, in perspective, it is clear that it is part of the world-wide sharpening of the struggle, of the offensive of reaction against the progressive forces. The strike developed because of the various attacks of the B.H.P. in regard to the Ironworkers' Union. It was B.H.P., aided by the Arbitration Court and the right wing of the Labor Party, that brought about the situation, not us. They proclaimed a thousand times that their aim was to deal a shattering blow to the Ironworkers' Union and discredit the Communist Party. . . . The B.H.P., it is clear, wanted to smash militant unionism and prevent the development of the struggle for a 40-hour week and increased wages.

I have already mentioned how, in the eyes of many workers, the class collaboration of the Labor Government and reformist union officials was exposed. They took the side of the B.H.P.; not only the rats on the Sydney Trades and Labor Council, but leaders of the Labor Government ranted about this issue of Arbitration, "the strike was a Communist plot to smash the Arbitration Court" . . .

If you look at the situation as a whole you will see that in the previous Bunnerong dispute there was a moment when it might have been used to further the 40-hour week. Messrs. Beasley and Hiffey came to Sydney to get the Bunnerong dispute ended before the issue became one for 40 hours and increased pay. Today, the consensus of opinion is that the Cabinet will refer the 40 hours to the Arbitration Court; they will say the Government has not the power and the Unions should apply to the Court. It should be an easy matter then for the lawyers to "prove" that industry "cannot stand" shortened hours.

It is likely that this is what will happen unless the struggle for 40 hours and increased wages is raised above the present level. The Labor Party leaders know enough about working class fundamentals to know that a victory over B.H.P. would have greatly enhanced the prospect of the trade union movement achieving the objective of the 40 hours and increased wages. The A.L.P. is evading these questions, and its leaders made common cause with the B.H.P. in order to weaken the struggle for 40 hours, a bigger pay envelope and nationalisation of the B.H.P. and mines, which Mr. Chifley recently repudiated. . . .

With regard to the reformists, one of their main catenches and scares was to shout "Another 1917. The Communists are preparing another 1917 for the workers." They were referring to the awful mess of the great struggle by the reformists in 1917, when they had no line and pulled unions out indiscriminately. Unions were smashed literally by dozens. No single worker has been victimised as a result of this struggle, and no union smashed. That is the difference between Communist and Reformist leadership.

(In the discussion following Comrade Sharkey's report, C.C. members were unanimous that the strike was a substantial victory for the workers.)

Our immediate problem, I think, can be summed up in the slogan of "to the masses," that is to say, in the position where a tremendous campaign has been waged against us, a campaign of lies, when we are still engaged in a very bitter struggle with

THE PROBLEMS OF BUILDING UP GERMANY

WILHELM PIECK, President, Communist Party of Germany.

(The Communist Party of Germany, which at the time of Hitler's coming to power had 35,000 members, is now over a million strong. This speech was made by its President, Wilhelm Pieck, at Berlin on 19th September, 1945. Translated from the German by Ruth Peck.)

In the last weeks, there has taken place in a large part of the German countryside, namely in the Soviet zone of occupation, a complete revolution in land ownership relations, which is of the greatest historical significance not only for country

the right wing, the slogan "to the masses" takes on new significance and becomes more important than ever before. We have to get out amongst the masses in the factories, the localities, wherever the masses are to be found, preparing them for the future developments and the future struggle. And I might say here that when I speak about future struggle, I think we should be clear that we have not in mind to develop a whole series of general strikes or anything of that character at the present time, that such struggles should be avoided as far as possible. We can conduct a very big campaign for the 40-hour week and workers' claims without general strikes, at present at any rate. . . .

We have to remember that this year we will be faced with a Referendum, and we will be faced with Federal Elections. We have decided that candidates in all constituencies should commence their work now, not leave it to the last few weeks. We have to popularise the policy of the Party, the programme of the Party which I have referred to, popularise it widely, become the recognised leaders of the masses and work on the basis of a United Front. We have to get after the Labor Party on the programme, on their repudiation of nationalisation. We must sharpen and deepen our campaign. Chifley said he would not nationalise the coal mines if he had the power. We must criticise them on that. We have seen them line up with the B.H.P. There again the danger of sectarianism indubitably will creep in. We have not repudiated the United Front. There has been no change whatsoever with regard to these basic points of our present tactical programme — support of United Front and the Labor Government. In the elections we will be raising the slogan "return the Labor Government," with the main emphasis on the return of Communist Party candidates.

If we proceed along the line "united front with the masses," the struggle for the economic demands, jobs and homes for the masses, if we carry on the struggle for the mobilising of the masses for the defence of international peace and security, we will win new supporters and make a still greater contribution to the solution of pressing post-war problems.

people but for the German people as a whole and Germany's further development.

What the German peasantry in hundreds of years of struggle did not succeed in achieving, and what the Weimar Republic did not bring, has now

been realised. The land will be taken away from the feudal-junker big landlords and given back to the peasants from whom they robbed it of old. A centuries-old injustice to the peasant population will be removed and the reactionary power of the junkers and the feudal lords in the villages will be broken. The peasant will be the free master of his land and the strongest support of democracy in the village.

But this revolution is also of the greatest importance for the whole future of our people. The power of the feudal-junker big landlords, which they exercised in the State and with which they prevented all progress and democratic development, will, with their expropriation, be taken away. It was precisely these circles who belonged to the permanent war-mongers, and it was they, together with the big industrialists and finance-capitalists, who helped bring Hitler to power; and they carry the main guilt of the war and the war crimes. These are the circles who used the war to enormously enrich themselves, and they are responsible for the immense misery of our people. They were not concerned about providing food for the people, but only in securing the greatest possible profits and the accumulation of great riches.

The demand for the speeding up of the democratic land reform is to be traced back to the initiative of the poor and landless peasantry and the agricultural laborers, who were brought into the greatest need through Hitler's war. The small peasant holdings were nearly ruined by the Government control of the Hitler regime and the effects of Hitler's war, and the misery of the agricultural laborers is immeasurably great. In countless meetings of peasants and agricultural laborers, the demand for the expropriation of the big estates and the allotment of this land to the small farmers and agricultural laborers has been raised.

On the ground of these demands of the peasants and agricultural laborers, the Provincial Governments in Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Thuringia decided to pass the necessary laws. All the feudal-junker big estates over 100 hectares, and all the land of war criminals and those responsible for the war, Nazi leaders and active defenders of the Nazi Party, will be expropriated and put into a land fund. From this land fund as many small holdings as possible of an economic size capable of providing an existence (from 5 to 10 hectares depending on the quality of the soil), will be created, and distributed to the poor and landless peasants, agricultural laborers, small tenants and settlers.

What is being put into effect is a just and democratic land reform, as the peasants and agricultural laborers are demanding, and which is the most important condition for the economic revival and the democratic transformation of our country. The carrying through of the land reforms will also be done in an absolutely democratic manner through the Land Commission elected by the peasants and

agricultural laborers at their meetings. The plan for dividing the land will also be decided at a meeting of peasants and agricultural laborers.

There is also another very important task connected with the democratic land reform: the peasants and those expelled from the Eastern territories who lost their land through Hitler's war, will be allotted land to provide a basis of livelihood for a considerable section of them. There are of course still various difficulties in the distribution of these people over the different parts of Germany. But the lot of these expelled peasant and worker families is a really desolate one and demands the greatest support from the self-governing administrations in the provinces, localities and districts, and also the support of the whole population. As difficult as the situation of our people is, everything must be done to help these unfortunate masses of people to settle down, and the land reform opens up a most favorable opportunity in this respect.

Still another problem is bound up with the land reform. Through the overcrowding of the towns, the lack of dwellings or through unemployment, a considerable part of the urban population will be searching for an existence on the land, and here the allotment of the land will play an important role.

The land reform is, then, one of the most important tasks confronting our people, if not the most important task. It embraces ensuring the feeding of the people, the democratic reorganisation of Germany, and the making safe of the peace.

It is therefore absolutely necessary for the laboring masses in the towns to exert all their strength for the carrying through of the land reform and to support the peasants to the utmost. The closer the connections between town and land are developed and the alliance between the workers and peasants strengthened, the better will the great tasks which confront our whole people be fulfilled, which are: uprooting Nazism, militarism and imperialism and developing a true democracy to serve the interests of our people and to further the construction of our country.

The democratic land reform is being resisted considerably by the feudal and junker and Nazi big landlords, especially as their expropriation will be without compensation. They spread therefore the story that the division of the large estates will endanger the food supplies of the people, because, they pretend, the peasant holdings are not profitable and give no guarantee for the feeding of the people.

But this objection does not at all hold water. The feeding of the people would not be safeguarded at all through the Nazi big landlords. We know from experience that these people oppose with all hostility a democratic Germany and that they therefore would sabotage the feeding of our people in every way. On the other hand, the peasants have the greatest interest in cultivating the ground in the best way, and in getting as much as possible

out of it, and so assuring the feeding of our people.

The more thoroughly the peasants themselves in the villages take up the carrying through of the land reform, the more completely will the reactionary influence of the junkers and feudal lords on the land be broken and their domination finished once and for all.

Hand in hand with carrying through the democratic land reform and making sure of our food situation, the no less important task stands before our people of putting industry in motion and increasing production for the requirements of our people, especially for the payment of the reparations which have been imposed on us, or rather, as amends for the damage which Hitler caused our countries through his criminal war. The fulfilment of this task, the getting under way of industry and the increasing of production, demands the greatest co-operation of the workers, salaried employees and working intelligentsia. Thereby every resistance of the employers, whether it be out of want of judgment or Fascist conviction, must be ruthlessly liquidated.

All possibilities for the speedy getting in motion of the factories and the increase of production of the most important commodities must be used in the widest possible way. This winter confronting us brings with it grave dangers for the urban population, not only in relation to the feeding of the people, but also for accommodation, for transport, and for the getting in motion of workshops generally. These dangers can only be combated if all available means for the increase of production are used, and a strong self-help movement is organised.

The duty of reparation and compensation for the damage done to other countries confronts our people as a very serious task. We get an idea of the extent of this damage, which was especially inflicted on the Soviet people by the Hitler army, out of the report recently published by the Extraordinary State Commission for the establishing and enquiry into the misdeeds of the fascist German gangsters, on material damage which the fascist German gangsters inflicted on citizens, State-owned factories, collective farms, public organisations and institutions of the Soviet Union. I will give only a few statistics out of this report.

The Hitler army destroyed or burned down 1,710 towns, 70,000 villages, and more than six million buildings, and made more than 25 million people homeless; 31,850 industrial undertakings, with about 4 million workers, were destroyed; 4,100 railway stations, were destroyed; railway track were destroyed; 40,000 kilometres of medical institutions, 84,000 hospitals and libraries were annihilated or demolished; 98,000 collective farms, 1,876 Soviet State farms, and 2,899 machine and tractor stations were ruined and pillaged. Seven million horses, 17 million cattle, 20,000 pigs, 27 million sheep and goats, 110

million head of poultry were slaughtered or dragged to Germany; 1,135 mines in which 337,000 workers were employed and where yearly more than 100 million tons of coal were hewn, were destroyed by the Hitler army; 3,000 boreholes in the oil districts, in which yearly more than 5 million tons of oil were won, were also destroyed. Burnt down or exploded were 61 great power stations with a production potential of altogether about 5 million kilowatts; 400 million museums were pillaged or destroyed.

In this account the damage which was caused to the civilian population through robbery of their belongings, valuables, clothing, household goods, and through penalties, taxes and contributions is not included. Altogether the damage which the Hitler army caused the economy of the Soviet Union and individual inhabitants in the towns and villages is estimated at about 679,000,000,000,000 roubles, reckoned at official prices of 1941.

I have quoted these figures to give an idea of the responsibility with which the Hitler gang has burdened the German people in the way of a debt to other peoples. Our people is certainly unable to repair even a very small part of this damage, and the duties of reparation imposed on us are in no proportion to it. All the more earnestly must our people make it their duty to make good as much as they can, and not to lament over the effects arising out of these obligations. These obligations are in contrast to the great help which our people is receiving from the Soviet occupation forces in regard to the setting in motion of its economy, the creation of its organs of self-administration, and the building up of its anti-fascist democratic parties and trade unions.

The Communist Party, in its call of June 11th, has put in the forefront, as one of the most direct and urgent tasks of its programme of action, the fight against hunger, unemployment and the housing shortage, and all-round active support for the organs of self-administration and quick securing of a normal life to bring production in motion again. It is just in this respect that there are especially important tasks for the trade unions and shop committees. It is urgently necessary that the workers in the workshops secure the influence due to them in the organising of production, so that they may use all possibilities for its increase, and determine the shaping of wages and conditions of labor. That is why the strength of the trade unions must be greatly increased by the inclusion of all workers and salaried employees and through strengthening of working class unity.

Everything depends here on the development of a spirit of struggle among the members of the trade unions, to prevent the recurrence of the old policy of "wait and see" and avoidance of struggle, which proved itself so disastrous to the workers in the time before Hitler. A true fighting democracy in the trade unions has to be developed and a leadership created which can stand up to the prob-

lems in regard to setting the economy in motion again, increasing production, the democratic reorganisation of Germany and the extirpation of Nazism and militarism. In this task lies also the great significance of the conference of trade union delegates planned by the preparatory trade union executive for early next Sunday.

The task of helping our people in its difficult position demands of everybody not only goodwill but also full exertion of strength. That counts naturally still more for the parties and trade unions which have already been formed in the Soviet occupation zone, and which demand in their programmes the extirpation of Nazism and militarism, the democratic reorganisation of Germany and the rebuilding of its economy on a democratic foundation.

The two working-class parties, the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, carry an especially great responsibility for the solution of the problems confronting our people. But the other two anti-fascist democratic parties, the Liberal Democrats and the Christian Democrats, which embrace the followers of the old bourgeois parties, have also great obligations in the rebuilding of the new Germany. After the collapse of the Hitler power, and after Marshal Zhukov's order permitting the formation of anti-fascist parties and trade unions, the Communist Party of Germany immediately appealed to the public, in its call of June 11th, with the proposal for the creation of a strong unity of democracy and a bloc of the anti-fascist democratic parties.

This unity is become a reality. A joint working committee has been formed together with the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, and an agreement has also been reached between the four parties about the creation of a united front and the formation of a joint committee. There are very serious questions which in the course of co-operation of the four parties, would need discussing and working out. It can be said with satisfaction that this co-operation has already borne fruit in the big questions which confront our people. Naturally there will have to be compromises which arise out of the different political and practical problems. But the most important thing in this respect is that the great joint tasks are put in the forefront, and the good intentions to reach an understanding on the basic questions concerning our people are there. And here the responsibility falls on the two working-class parties to do everything to strengthen the co-operation of the parties, and always to put the important questions concerning the life of our people in the forefront.

The Communist Party has always stressed its serious intentions to create the closest co-operation and to fulfil with complete uprightness and friendship the common tasks. We approach this co-operation with great optimism and call upon all healthy democratic forces of our people to carry the programme

of action of the Communists through and to fight for the demands put forward in the joint declarations of the four parties.

In particular our youth must be given extensive and emphatic help to free them of the evil effects of fascist education and to enrol them in the fighting united front of democracy and for progress in all spheres of the political, spiritual and cultural life of our people. The forces must be united in the Youth Committees formed by the organs of self-administration, youth and adults who devote themselves to this task out of love for the youth and who want to give them in hostels a place of real comradeship, cheerfulness and respect for the great tasks of our people. In regard to economy, our youth must be educated through the trade unions and shop committees to esteem productive labor, but must also be protected from exploitation which would injure the health of the youth.

Not less important is the enrolment of the women of our working people in the anti-fascist democratic united front. Our women feel still more than our men the effect of the criminal Hitler war. Not only have millions of their husbands and sons been lost in the Hitler war, and families been brutally parted and destroyed, but the direct effect of the war, the destruction of towns and villages, has robbed the majority of German women of nearly everything which made their lives worth living. And yet to protect these tormented women from despair they must be given hope and courage in the fight for a new, free Germany. The women's committees and women's homes to be created by the communal organs of self-administration will be the centres for the common interests of the women, for their training and participation in the fight for a better future.

Big, very big tasks confront our people. There is the liquidation of Nazism and militarism to destroy the power of the imperialist forces, of the feudal-junker big landlords and the big trusts and financial undertakings, the purging of the whole State apparatus, the communal organs of self-administration, the training and educational institutions, and the shop committees of fascist elements, the punishing of those responsible for the war, war criminals and Nazi leaders. Against that there is the task of starting our economy and building it up again to make sure of the feeding of our people through the land reform; the democratic reorganisation of Germany and complete change of our people towards democracy, through stepping along a new way of peaceful understanding and friendship with other nations; and so free the name of Germany from Hitler's shame.

All these tasks must be fulfilled by our people in these difficult times when Germany lies in ruins and has lost nearly everything through Hitler. But hard as our people must work to come out of this chaos, yet, in the well-known resolutions of the Berlin Conference, the victor Powers have given

Germany every possibility to work itself up again and to attain full freedom for the shaping of its life. The more energetically our people, in the greatest unity, tackles the tasks set out, and so itself creates a guarantee that it will not again be used by reactionary forces to attack other countries, the quicker will our people gain once again the regard and friendship of other nations and its full freedom.

But our people, especially the working class, must be very vigilant and suspicious of all attempts to divert it from its way and lead it on to speculations which, in any case, would make the position of our people much more difficult. The Allied Powers which passed the Berlin Resolution have expressly marked Germany as an economic whole, although it is divided into various zones of Allied occupation. Out of this division arise, of course, all sorts of difficulties, especially for the uniform action over all the occupation zones of the anti-fascist democratic parties and trade unions. But it would be disastrous if speculation should arise out of this, and the policies maybe of the individual parties be determined through this. The preliminary distinction of the different zones of occupation will in time disappear, and it is in the interest of the democratic development of our people and the strengthening and unity of co-operation of the parties and trade unions to hasten this equalisation through joint action.

The organs of self-administration in the Soviet occupation zone, in localities, districts and provinces, are schools of a fighting democracy in which all questions of the life and future of our people must be answered and determined. Through the co-operation of the four anti-fascist democratic parties forces will be developed in these organisations which will be of great importance for the future of our people.

The unfolding of these organs of self-administration and the development of the co-operation of the four parties for the benefit of our people is very desirable in the other occupation zones too. This co-operation is an important condition for the bringing about of free democratic elections.

Now that instructions have been given from General Eisenhower's headquarters in the American occupation zone for new election plans to be worked out by the 15th October, which shall be valid for the municipal elections in January, it is to be hoped that the four anti-fascist democratic parties will have the right to undertake a political preparation for such elections through a campaign of enlightenment among the voters corresponding to the needs. Without such a campaign of enlightenment, the character of the elections would be very doubtful. A democratic regime demands the fullest freedom of organisation and the holding of meetings by the anti-fascist democratic parties and trade unions. Without this freedom it is not possible to carry

through an earnest cleansing of fascist influence from political life.

For the carrying out of the great tasks confronting our people it is necessary first, seriously to set about creating the conditions which should be the result of the bitter experiences of our people during the time of Hitler.

What is first and foremost necessary is the overcoming of the disastrous split in the working class and disunity of our people. We must put in their place unity of the working class for struggle, the organisational form of which must be the coming together of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers on all questions of the daily struggle, with the aim of the amalgamation of the two working class parties as quickly as possible. The will for this has its roots deep in the working class, and it is a sacred obligation of every active fighter of the working class to change this will for unity into action.

The Communist Party has set itself the task of clearing out of the way all difficulties and obstacles, which in the past hindered this unity. It wants this unity, because such unity is necessary to lead the German people out of the difficult position to which it was brought by Hitler. It fights strongly against any attempt to play sections of the working class against one another, or to incite them against the beginnings of this unity. The Party wants this unity to be brought about as the result of an honest will to serve the common cause and that all forces work together on an equal basis for the solving of the big tasks ahead.

The Communist Party wants the greatest co-operation between the Social-Democratic and the Communist workers, and to create true relations of trust between them. We know that this is not yet so, that there are still all sorts of difficulties to be overcome, especially because co-operation is still hampered by the memory of the fatal mistrust which formerly hindered earnest co-operation and helped those who incited the workers one against the other. Even though this mistrust was, to a large extent, removed among the Communist and Social-Democratic workers through the common danger of death in the concentration camp and through the illegal struggle against Fascism, the common work performed after the collapse of Hitler is not yet sufficiently developed to have already completely overcome the old memories of our Communist and Social-Democratic workers, and to have brought about mutual confidence. But the close co-operation of the executives, and especially the responsible comrades in the lower organisations, will remove all the difficulties of working together and create the fullest mutual confidence.

I appeal to all comrades to be always conscious of the importance which this co-operation and mutual confidence has for the future of our people. In joint activity, wherever it may be, in the lower

or higher organs of self-administration, in workshops or trade unions, or in the district organisations, there must be no quarrel between Social-Democrats and Communists. They must consider themselves the joint representatives of the united strength of the working class and work together in unity and comradeship with the representatives of other parties. The question is the carrying through of a democratic policy on a sound foundation and the best possible fulfilment of the tasks confronting us. We say to our comrades: it does not depend on the numerical representation in these organisations, but on the solidity of our politics and getting the best possible results from our joint action. In this way the question of parity cannot develop into a dispute between the Social-Democrats and the Communists or the other parties.

I would like to enter into still another important question over which no clarity yet exists. To fulfil the great tasks confronting us, it is of the greatest importance to understand and learn the lessons our people has to draw from the bitter experiences of its history and particularly of the time of Hitler and the Hitler war. It is in this respect that the clearing up of the question of guilt plays an important role.

It does not help the cause of the working class if one puts the question so simply as to state that only the bourgeoisie was responsible for the war, and that the working class was completely free of guilt. It is true that it is not a question of preparing a case against the working class, and comparing it with those responsible for the war and the war criminals who brought such misery upon our people, but if the working class, the majority of our people as a whole, carried no guilt, how would it have been possible to set up such a regime of terror over the working class against its will as was Hitler's power, and how could Hitler have driven our people into this fateful war and forced it to support this war for six years, if there had not been certain reasons which favoured it? It is in discovering these reasons and drawing the lessons, that we will answer the question of the sharing of guilt by the working class.

There are heavy burdens which the German working class has to shoulder as the result of Hitler's war, amongst them the burdens of reparation and those which are linked up with the military occupation of the country. He who puts the question like this, that the innocent have to suffer these burdens for the guilty, does not help the working class to clear away these burdens but makes them only so much heavier. We want the working class to recognise clearly how it came about that Hitler could build up his barbaric power to wage war, and to wage the war nearly to the destruction of our people. This understanding is necessary, otherwise the requisite lessons will not be drawn. Certainly the strength of the working class was fettered under Hitler's power, and the

heroic struggle which its anti-fascist vanguard waged against the Hitler regime was paid for with immeasurable numbers of victims. But it does not serve the working class to put this vanguard on a par with the whole working class.

To make the question, the answer to which we are today concerned with, clear, I want to remind you of the happenings of July, 1932, when finance and trust capital undertook the first great offensive towards the destruction of the working class movement through the coup d'etat of von Papen in Prussia. The Communist Party at once approached the Social-Democratic Party, with the offer of putting the joint strength of the two working-class parties and the trade unions into motion and answering this plot with a general strike of the working class, thus taking away the appetite of the trust and finance capitalists to continue further along this path.

The strength of the working class was at that time not fettered as it was under Hitler. Nevertheless this Communist offer was rejected by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, with the excuse that an appeal should be made to the State Court against von Papen's coup d'etat. I still remember very well that at that time there prevailed among Social-Democratic workers and trade union members as great an indignation as among Communist Party members over this passive suffering of the coup d'etat. Had the united strength of the German people been set in motion at that time, it would have been saved from Hitler's power and the Hitler war. For this failing, the working class had to pay dearly.

The same thing happened also in January, 1933. At that time, too, joint action by the German working class could have put a quick end to the coming power of Hitler's dictatorship. Instead of this, the leaders of Social-Democracy in the trade unions refused this joint action, and tried to console their followers with the explanation that they should wait and see whether Hitler would respect the Weimar constitution, and for the results of the elections put on by him.

It is in these questions and facts that the decisive point lies from which the lessons of the future must be drawn, and only in this light can the question of the German working class sharing the guilt be decided. We Communists do not want these mistakes to be repeated, on the contrary we have to make sure that the working class will not again be led along this path of passivity and "wait and see," but that it understands that a new way must be taken with new leaders of the working class who will not repeat their old politics and old roles in the working class movement. We know that we must make various attempts in this direction. But it is conceivable that the Social-Democratic workers will put up with such figures as Noske, Severing, Stämpfer, or that similar men will again be leaders of the Social-Democratic Party to those

who before Hitler sabotaged the bringing about of unity and joint action of the Social-Democrats and Communists to ward off the blows of reaction, and instead fought the main fight against the Communists and agitated against the Soviet Union and, when Hitler came to power, capitulated, handed over the trade unions and voted for his foregone policy in the Reichstag? We have confidence in their place, as the Social-Democratic workers did in Greater Berlin.

We Communists have drawn very serious lessons from the past and spoken openly of the mistakes which we made before the time of Hitler. We have corrected these mistakes, which were not that we led the working class to passivity and a "wait and see" position and through that to weaknesses against reaction, but that we hurried on in advance of the development of the working-class movement and put tasks before it of which the workers could not see the necessity, or that we let ourselves be misled by the reactionary policy of the Social-Democratic leaders against the Communists to reproach the Social-Democratic workers and so make unity more difficult.

We have learnt from these experiences, and approach the Social-Democratic workers with all sincerity and friendship, not only in honest cooperation with them, but also by becoming completely one with them, to create the condition for the victory of our just cause. We can therefore not permit that the Communist Party is made responsible for the oppressing effects caused by the Hitler war, as various sources try to do to discredit the Party in the eyes of the people. The responsibility for the measures arising out of these effects must be carried by all the anti-fascist democratic parties, and they must all work together to enable our people to find its way out of this difficult position. There must be no juggling with the German people on this serious question, to capture them for one or other of the parties and lead them along a road which would make their position still more intoler-

able and would not open up the way to community with other nations.

The Communist Party, in its first call of June 11th and in its call about the democratic land reform on September 8th, has plainly and clearly put forward its views on these questions vital to our people, and declared the tasks and demands for the fulfilment of which it is willing to fight with all its strength. It wants to create complete unity with the Social-Democratic workers, and sees as its aim their amalgamation with the Communist workers in one working-class party, to lead the entire anti-fascist democratic movement and the building of a new democratic Germany.

In the working together with the other two anti-fascist democratic parties, in the united front concluded with them, all the progressive forces in Germany shall be incorporated, and enrolled in the fight for a new Germany. With the creation of trade union unity and the great alliance of the workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia, the condition for the victory of our just cause shall be created.

We call upon all progressive forces of the working class, the salaried employees and public servants, the peasants and agricultural laborers and working intelligentsia in the arts and sciences, to familiarise themselves with the programmatic explanations and programme for action of the Communist Party, with the literature brought out by us, and to read the "Deutsche Volkszeitung" ("German People's Paper") brought out by the Central Committee of our Party, and the newspapers of the Party published in the districts, and, if they agree with the aims and objects which the Communist Party sets itself, to become a member of the Communist Party and actively to support its work. We call upon all our comrades and friends to conduct a constant and intensive recruiting campaign for the Party. In continuous training courses the Party is striving to train its functionaries and members for the great tasks ahead and so to ensure the carrying through of a soundly based democratic policy.

For peace, freedom and democracy!

THE WORLD TRADE UNION FEDERATION

E. THORNTON

I HAVE been extremely fortunate to attend, as one of Australia's representatives, the two World Trade Union Conferences held in London in February, 1945, and Paris in September, 1945. It has been for me a wonderful experience and I believe that I have gained in knowledge as a result of my attendance at the conferences and my general experience in London and Paris. I have also become personally friendly with most of the leading trade union figures in the world.

The first conference in London, at which the prospect of unity of the trade unions of the world was investigated, was very much preliminary in character. It was found there, beyond a shadow of doubt, that it was possible to unite the trade union organisations of every country into one organisation, in spite of national, political, religious or language difficulties.

This conference also arrived at some very fine decisions about policy, which have already had a

great effect on trade union activity. But it was the Paris Conference that set the seal on the London work and formed the new World Trade Union Federation. I think it was appropriate that this conference should have been held in Paris, the centre of so many struggles for liberty and the greatest locality for French resistance against the German invaders.

I would like to quote the opening sentences of the speech made by Leon Jouhaux in his chairman's address at the beginning of the conference.

"I am happy and proud, in the name of the General Confederation of Labour over five million strong, fraternally to salute you in this revolutionary Paris, so undiverted, so fiercely attached to human liberty and to national independence; in this Paris, capital of France, which has just again gloriously illustrated its history in aiding so efficiently the French and Allied Armies to hound from the soil of the mother country those who during more than five years sullied it with their crimes and with their grotesque vanity.

"The proletariat of this country never accepted this humiliating occupation to which the people of France had to submit, imposed by reason of a government without honour, and illegally it prepared itself for the day when by its action of insurrectional general strike it could collaborate victoriously with the armies of the united nations.

"It is in this Paris that you are meeting today, this Paris of 1789, of the taking of the Bastille, of the revolutions of 1830 and of 1848, of the Commune of 1871, and which brought to the deliverance of the country its large share of heroism, of sacrifices, of courage.

"It is not then a vain symbol that the workers' delegates of 65 nations representing more than 60 millions of organised workers are assembled in Paris in order to found the World Trade Union Federation, which is so near..."

I was a member of the credentials committee and was attending a meeting of that committee when the decision was arrived at to adopt the draft constitution of the new World Federation, but I was not unaware of the decision because, after its unanimous approval, there was a great round of cheering that brought us all out of the committee room to see what was going on, and I will never forget the conclusion of the conference with the singing of the Marseillaise and the International in a dozen or more different languages.

Again this conference arrived at very fine policy decisions which will be of great assistance to the workers of the world; but the really important outcome of the conference is that a united World Trade Union Movement has been born and the old Amsterdam International (the International Federation of Trade Unions), to which Australia was never

affiliated, and which had a long and sorry record of reactionary and anti-Soviet activity, is dead.

From the time of the London conference, it was evident that the International Federation of Trade Unions was doomed and that a new and better trade union international would be built, but now, at a conference at which only a few affiliated organisations attended, the Amsterdam International has been officially dissolved. So we have buried a breeding ground of disunity and have created a great weapon for unity of the working class. Throughout the world there has been rejoicing at this event and old veterans who have been fighting all their lives for trade union unity have breathed sighs of relief as they have said "at last it has come."

Now the problem is to make this new organisation work, and Australian workers who, through their trade union organisations, have done so much and expended so much money in helping to build the new International must see to it that the new Federation is really active, and genuinely tackles the problems of the workers and particularly the workers in the colonial, semi-colonial and backward countries of the world.

One of the features of the two conferences has been the attendance of delegates from such countries as I have mentioned, many of whom made great sacrifices in order to attend conferences. I remember well an Arab delegate from Palestine telling me how his fare to Paris had been raised, how the Arab workers had contributed small sums of money, but in general had made donations in kind: fruit, vegetables and so on to be sold in order to raise his fare. Of the four delegates of the main trade union organisation in Iran (Persia), which is so much in the news at the present time and which our capitalist press tries to assure us is a democratic country menaced by the Soviet Union, two were clapped into jail in order to prevent them proceeding to Paris. Some of the colonial delegates who had left Paris in order to go home early in October were still in London when I arrived back from the Soviet Union at the end of December. An Egyptian delegate told me that he fully expected when he arrived back in Egypt to be put in jail.

These workers are not going to be satisfied with an organisation that just indulges in discussions and arrives at very good decisions on general policy. They had an effective answer to Sir Walter Citrine when he claimed at Paris that the new organisation should be non-political. I remember one of the African delegates saying: "We are not allowed to have free trade union activity, surely the World Trade Union Federation should fight against this sort of thing. To do it they must fight against the British Government. How then can such an organisation be completely non-political? It may be non-party; it is possible to prevent it being dominated by any single political party, but it

must insist on certain political steps being taken to ensure free trade unionism throughout the world."

Unless there is real activity by the Federation, trade union organisations of many countries will become disgusted and it must be admitted that up to the present time the Federation is not as active as could be expected, has not yet developed the functionaries and staff that are needed for such an organisation. The main reason for this is the sabotage by people like Sir Walter Citrine, this

HELL DESCENDS ON FREED MALAYA

A British Interpretation of the Atlantic Charter

G. K. PEEL, M.A.

WHEN British troops arrived back in Malaya, the first thing they did was to order the heroic Malayan Anti-Jap army, which had carried on the struggle in the dark years of Japanese occupation, to withdraw from all the principal towns, states a report recently received in Australia from the Malayan Communist Party.

The second British step was the unconditional and immediate cancellation of all Jap currency notes. During the occupation the penalty for having possession of British currency was death. The cancellation of Jap notes in spite of people's protest rendered almost the whole nation bankrupt. Seldom has there been a more cruel step than this in colonial history. It has meant poverty, starvation and unemployment for millions. It has made revival of local industry impossible. Workers are reduced to starvation, business men and farmers are bankrupt and desolate. These are the blessings of the return of British Imperialism to Malaya.

But while Malaysians may starve, as far as British Imperialism is concerned, British vested interests are being looked after. Under Government control of the import and export trade a monopoly, for instance, has been given to a few British concerns in the purchase and exportation of rubber. The price at which these concerns buy their rubber from the estates has been fixed for 1st grade rubber at 36 cents, as against a price of 60 cents or more in Ceylon. Furthermore, the native estate owners have no British currency to start clearing estates, rebuilding lines, purchasing machinery and necessary utensils. The result is a stalemate in the rubber industry.

It is estimated that nearly a million people are unemployed and starving. There is little relief; for instance, only 400 to 500 people in Singapore get relief daily, against more than 300,000 unemployed in that city alone. The old oppressive colonial laws of pre-1941 days have been declared in operation. There have been many arrests of leaders who led the anti-Jap guerrilla armies on trumped-up charges; 7,000 wharves of all nationalities who struck in sympathy with Indonesia were

Knight of the British Empire, who is also a trade union leader, and Walter Schevenels, the former secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, who is one of the Assistant Secretaries of the new organisation.

Australian trade unionism must see to it that its voice, which was so effectively lifted in a demand for the formation of the International, must also be heard in protest against any delay in building on the basis of the Paris Conference decisions a really effective international trade union body.

recently arrested en masse, their leaders were threatened with execution if they did not order their men back to work. On 21st November of last year the President of the Singapore Labor Union (membership 150,000) was illegally arrested by a British M.P. officer. No wonder Malaysians ask "Are not such acts akin to fascist terror? Is that the way to act according to the resolutions of the San Francisco meeting?"

The main brunt of this fascist-like attack on Malayan liberties is directed precisely at those forces which were the spearhead of the anti-Jap resistance movement. What is the background and history of this movement?

Before 1941 there was no shadow of democracy in Malaya. The Malayan Communist Party, formed in 1925, was strictly illegal from the beginning. A special secret police force designed to exterminate Communist activities was instrumental in the arrest, imprisonment and banishment of hundreds of Communists annually. Proof of Communist activity was not necessary; suspects were imprisoned and banished along with those actually discovered doing Communist work. Despite this terror the Party continued to grow and recruit new members from all three nationalities of Malaya, Chinese, Indians, Malaysians.

And it was not only Communists, but the whole labor movement which suffered this oppression. Strikes were suppressed by force by both police and military. Trade Union leaders were indiscriminately arrested, imprisoned, banished. In 1939, for instance, a great spontaneous strike involved nearly 200,000 workers of all vocations. Thousands were arrested, hundreds sentenced to long-term imprisonment, and dozens banished by the dictatorial so-called "banishment warrant." On May Day, 1940, 50,000 workers of the different nationalities in Singapore demonstrated, carrying anti-fascist and democratic slogans which demanded higher standards of living and the acknowledgment of freedom of speech, publication, assembly, organisation and belief. The Singapore garrison was ordered to fire on the demonstrators. Two of

the leaders were killed, hundreds severely wounded and many more arrested. Such was the position of the labor movement in pre-war Malaya.

Working under these great difficulties, the Malayan Communist Party carried on. It was the Communist Party which, as early as 1936, in view of the serious threat of the Japanese southward advance, and in sympathy with China's war of resistance, advocated the Malayan Anti-Jap United Front. But not so the Government, which severely restricted anti-Jap propaganda, banned anti-Jap meetings and so on. Large sums of money collected for China were not allowed to be sent there.

In 1940 when the Japs stepped into Hanoi, Indo-China, with the acquiescence of the Vichy French, the Communist Party of Malaya exposed the collaborationist policy of the French Imperialists, pointed out the danger to Malaya, and started a Malayan People's Anti-Fascist Front Campaign for the defence of democracy and Malaya. After June 22nd, 1941, when the Soviet Union became an ally of Britain and took the lead in the anti-Fascist war, the Party approached the British administration for the granting of democratic rights in Malaya in order to facilitate the organisation of the Anti-Fascist United Front. Improvement of civilian livelihood was stressed. But the British Governor would not budge an inch; he was obstinate to the last.

On December 8th, 1941, the Japanese attacked Malaya. The Party immediately advocated co-operation with the Government for the defence of Malaya. It demanded mobilisation of 50,000 Malaysians which the Party was in a position to guarantee. Nothing substantial was done. Meanwhile, the Party remained illegal, suspected Communists were continuously arrested. Demands for mobilisation were flatly rejected under the excuse of lack of arms and ammunition. Only when the Japanese were sweeping through Malaya towards Singapore did the British reluctantly release 1,000 rifles and double-barrel guns to the Singapore volunteers, most of whom gave up their lives near Johore Bahru, about 16 miles from Singapore. If Malayan civilians, 50,000 strong, under the leadership of the Communist Party, had been armed, the defence of Malaya would have been possible, and the calamitous fate of the Southern Regions might have been averted.

During the occupation the whole responsibility of organising the resistance movement rested on the shoulders of the Party. Many Party members were killed in battle. Those captured were tortured for many months by the Japanese before final execution. Red hot irons ran over the bare bodies of Malayan Bolsheviks. Burning cigarette ends were dotted all over their bodies, even the private parts. Long needles were mercilessly forced under their nails. Fingers were chopped off, tongues, ears and noses cut, eye-balls dug out. But the word "surrender" was not to be found in the dictionary of these martyrs.

In spite of the Fascist terror, the resistance

movement in Singapore grew rapidly. The people rallied behind the courageous Communists who showed how much they were willing to sacrifice for their country. Illegal newspapers were circulated at great risk. To stamp out resistance the Japs made mass arrests all over Malaya and raided and destroyed whole villages. More than 100,000 civilians were killed in this way by the Japs.

In such conditions the establishment of an All-Malayan Resistance Movement and Malayan People's Anti-Jap Army seemed impossible to the people, but not so to the Party. With a nucleus of Bolshevik members and what little ammunition left by the British they could get hold of, the first units of the Anti-Jap Army were formed. Gradually youngsters of all nationalities came to that Army. From a handful the Army became a force of the Malayan people operating in all provinces. Hundreds joined to fight back against the Jap terror. The Army took heavy toll of the enemy and made their life in Malaya uncomfortable. For instance in one engagement in Johore, not far from Singapore, Japs employed 15,000 so-called crack troops, 15 planes, and more than 10 tanks and dozens of cannon, to launch a fanatic offensive against the 4th independent regiment of Johore. But this regiment evaded frontal assault, launched surprise attacks and ambushes on the attackers, and was able to defeat them. Many of the anti-Jap soldiers were boys and girls of 16 to 17 years old.

The exemplary attitude and heroic acts of the Party members, and of the Anti-Jap Army members, during the occupation, and the anti-Jap organisation comprising 60% of the people which was organised, sowed the seeds of inter-racial unity and fraternity among the Chinese, Malaysians and Indians which should develop in the post-war period. Resistance papers were published in every State of the country, and in every language, and 75% of the nation read the papers ardently at great risk. It is estimated that the average sleep in 24 hours of a Malayan Party member during the whole of the Jap occupation was five hours. Often they worked a whole 48 hours through. Today the Malayan Communist Party is a mass Party of the people.

After the surrender of the Japs, Jap soldiers in Malaya continued to ravage and plunder villages and behave as before. The Malayan Anti-Jap People's Army came immediately to the protection of the people, forced Japs to surrender according to the Potsdam Agreement, liberated areas and maintained order. When the Army officially entered villages it received a most hearty welcome from all nationalities. Slogans such as "We want democracy," "Welcome our own Army," greeted it. It is this democracy, the spirit of this army, and the livelihood of the Malayan people, that the British Military Administration in Malaya is so savagely attacking today.

(Acknowledgments to the report mentioned in the first paragraph of this article, from which facts, etc., have been taken in toto.—G.P.)

AT FUTURE FOR THE JEWS OF EUROPE ?

PHIL PIRATIN
(Communist M.P. for Mile End, London)

One of the outstanding tragedies of the war, and for that matter of the years leading up to the war, has been the fate of the Jews in Europe. It is estimated that nearly six million Jews have been killed, and there are now about one-and-a-half million scattered over Europe. There are some 40,000 Jewish displaced persons in the various camps in Germany, Austria and Italy.

What is the future of European Jewry? Undoubtedly Nazism will have left its legacy, but in the countries of Europe, and particularly those of Central and Eastern Europe, where the greater number of Jews live, new democracies are growing up that aim at the elimination of all oppressions and persecution. Reports of the revival of democracy in these countries, together with the economic changes that make for greater freedom and contentment, lay a firm foundation for Jewish welfare in the future.

It is vital that Jewish people, who have been fighting reaction for centuries and Fascism since its inception, should now equally devote their energies to the building of democratic anti-Fascist countries in which they have an honored place.

Eighty thousand displaced Jews have so far not their way back to their respective countries. No figures have been published of the nationalities of these Jews, though it is reckoned that many are German and Austrian, some Polish and others from the Baltic and Balkan countries.

Instead of the utmost consideration being given to their special problem and measures being taken to secure their speedy recovery and rehabilitation, the military authorities responsible (British and American) have treated them with an utter lack of sympathy and vision.

I have received reliable reports that in Germany today it is a commonplace in conversation that Hitler did one good thing for Germany in getting rid of the Jews, and no positive propaganda whatever is being done to answer this.

There are instances of German Jews being dismissed and Nazis engaged by the British Military Government. There was even the case of a U.S. Government court intervening to revoke a decision of a local authority, which evicted an S.S. man's family from a flat to let it to a Jewish family released from a concentration camp. Anti-Jewish demonstrations were organised by Nazis in this region following this decision.

Such actions have only emboldened the Fascists still in Germany.

The Governments of the countries whence the displaced Jews come, occupied in rebuilding their new societies, have not found it possible to devote personnel and effort to winning their confidence to go back to their respective countries. On the other

hand, Zionist propaganda has been rife, and the Zionists now claim that about 60,000 desire to go to Palestine.

It is not difficult to believe that a number of Jewish displaced persons, after their terrible experiences and memories, would not wish to go back to their own countries; though with the process of rehabilitation and an understanding of the new possibilities in their native lands, many of them would review their attitude.

Our ultimate aim should be to ensure the utmost support for the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe so that the Jewish nationals of these countries can take their full share in a rapidly developing free society.

The Zionists, in discarding such possibilities for the future of Jewry and focussing attention only on Palestine as the solution to the problem, are strengthening the hands of those who would stem the democratic development of these countries.

Our immediate concern should be to ensure assistance and opportunities for rehabilitation for all displaced Jews who at this stage are not physically or mentally fit to determine their future.

While this stage of rehabilitation is proceeding, arrangements can be made for their subsequent immigration to such countries as are prepared to receive them, it being recognised that there will undoubtedly be a number of Jews who will in no circumstances return to the scenes of their former persecution.

In some cases they will prefer to go to Palestine rather than any other country, perhaps because they have relatives there, or perhaps because they have more confidence in their security among people of their own race.

Or they may be political Zionists who see an opportunity of realising their aspirations. It is this section around which the most vigorous propaganda is now proceeding, relating to the whole future of Palestine and the Jews.

The Zionists, who represent the viewpoint of only a section of the Jewish people, are making the utmost use of the general sympathy for these displaced Jews in aiming to achieve the objective of a Jewish State in Palestine. If seen, however, in the light of my earlier remarks, it is obvious that the two questions should be treated separately.

The Zionist insistence that the solution to the immediate problem of the displaced Jews can only be resolved in a solution of the whole Palestine problem may in the long run solve neither.

The question of immigration into Palestine should be settled democratically on the basis of agreement of the population.

The wider question of the future of Palestine, which is bound up with the whole problem of the

Middle East, will have to be settled by the United Nations. To force this issue now by the one-sided demand for 100,000 certificates for the entry of Jews into Palestine is to injure the cause of assisting the displaced Jews.

The solution to these problems would appear to be along these lines:—

1. Hand over the responsibility for the displaced Jews in Europe, now in the hands of the British and American military authorities, to special civilian authorities that will include representatives of Jewish organisations in Great Britain and other democratic countries.

These civilian authorities would be supplied with financial resources, possibly from UNRRA, so that they could ensure the comfort and welfare of these people, while at the same time providing education, training and general rehabilitation.

If it is felt that the places where these displaced persons are at present located would not suit these purposes, the authorities should allocate other suitable accommodation.

2. British citizens who have relatives among the displaced Jews and other refugees in Europe,

should be given permission to bring them into this country for a period of rehabilitation.

3. The process of rehabilitation should have as one of its objectives the education and encouragement of these Jews to return to their respective countries.

I am confident that once they realise the truth of events as they are now developing in their respective countries, many would return to their original homes.

4. After the period of rehabilitation for those still unwilling to return to their native countries, steps should be taken to ensure asylum and favorable conditions in the democratic countries.

For those who then desire to go to Palestine, every effort should be made to secure the agreement of the communities in Palestine on humanitarian grounds to accept their immigration to that country.

5. The Government should take urgent steps to bring Jews and Arabs together, if necessary consulting directly with the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and in co-operation with the other United Nations work out the future state in which both peoples could work and thrive.

SOVIET MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

XENIA BELOUSSOVA (from "New Masses")

ON July 8, 1944, the Soviet government published an order increasing state aid for pregnant mothers, mothers with large families, and for widowed and unmarried mothers. This law increases state solicitude for mother and child and establishes the honorable title of "Mother-Heroine," the "Glory of Motherhood" Order, and the "Maternity Medal."

Under the new law mothers with large families enjoy a significant increase in the state grant which now ranges from 400 to 5,000 roubles, depending on the number of children. In addition, mothers of large families receive allowances of from 80 to 300 roubles per month. The law also provides for state maintenance and education of children of state maintenance and education if the mothers are unmarried or widowed mothers if a limited or indefinite period.

Privileges afforded to pregnant women have been increased. Pre- and post-delivery vacations have been fixed at seventy-seven calendar days, and this period can be prolonged in case of abnormal birth or the woman and nursing mothers rations for pregnant women and nursing mothers have been doubled. The organisation of creches, kindergartens and rooms for nursing mothers is made compulsory. This law also provides for a wide extension of the network of welfare institutions; special rest homes for pregnant women, mother and child homes, milk kitchens, lying-in homes, children's medical consultations, etc.

The order has also instituted changes in laws concerning the family. In particular, it has been established that only registered marriages shall henceforth carry with them the conjugal rights defined in the Soviet code of laws on marriage, the family and guardianship.

It has been established that henceforth divorces are to be granted only as a result of a public trial at which the motives of the divorce are to be ascertained by summoning the interested parties and witnesses. Due notice of the opening of divorce proceedings is to be published in local newspapers. The decree of divorce can be issued only by the provincial, regional, city or supreme court of a constituent or autonomous republic.

Some people consider the new divorce limitations retrogressive as compared with former Soviet laws on marriage and the family. Is this really the case? A consideration of the actual facts will be the best answer to this question.

Soviet legislation aims to serve the needs and interests of the masses. Accordingly it is guided by the principle that laws are made for man, and not man for laws. Therefore they are not unshakable, dogmatic and fixed, but must change with changing circumstances.

For this reason, a consideration of Soviet laws concerning marriage and the family cannot be isolated from the general background and the concrete conditions under which these laws were passed, nor from the purposes which prompted

tion. Czarist laws on marriage and the affected woman's position of subjugation. Then woman was not a member of equal rights. Many roads to equality and independent work were closed to her. Therefore marriage remained the primary means by which women provided for themselves and found a place in society. The elevation of human love, which should be the basis of all marriage, was rarely the true motive for matrimony in czarist Russia. The tragedy of unequal marriages, marriages of convenience, placed woman in a humiliatingly dependent position in the family, and czarist legislation intensified these abnormal relations by declaring that the husband was the master whom the wife was to obey without question. In those cases when, no longer able to withstand the yoke of marital tyranny, a woman left her family, the laws of czarist Russia gave the husband the right to have the police return his wife to him. Divorce laws were particularly humiliating. Suffice it to mention that one of the conditions for divorce was proof (which had to be substantiated by witnesses) that adultery had been committed by one of the parties. Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* and *The Living Corpse* give us a vivid picture of the tragedy of woman in czarist Russia and of how human feelings and relations withered and died under the burden of the dead letter of the law.

The Soviet marriage laws passed in December, 1917, established a new principle of marriage — that of absolutely free choice — and in so doing they declared that the Soviet family henceforth was to be founded on love, mutual respect and the equality of both parties.

At the same time the first Soviet law had, once and for all, to destroy all limitations for divorce. According to the law, marriages were dissolved on the application of husband or wife or both. The decree further simplified the divorce ceremony by permitting the dissolution of marriages to take place not only in the local court, but also in the local registrar's office. And though this aspect of the law was unquestionably exploited by certain morally unstable elements of society for the continuation of temporary liaisons, and though the broad democratic principles of Soviet marriage laws were interpreted by certain exponents of so-called "free love" as a proof of the superfluousness of the family which, henceforth, was supposed to chain personal freedom, nevertheless the new law of 1918 was absolutely necessary, and its positive significance was enormous. It eliminated once and for all any possibility of making the marriage tie a means of enslaving women and establishing inequality within the family. Unstable elements (against which no society and the best laws in the world have no guarantee) were given a sufficient rebuff by public opinion in the young Soviet Republic whose ethics and morals decisively condemned all

elements of moral corruption, looseness and frivolity in the relations between man and woman.

Together with the change in the marriage laws, the Soviet government took decisive steps facilitating the actual emancipation of woman by extending to her not only the right to, but also the material conditions for acquiring an education and a profession (by granting stipends, organising public dining rooms, etc.). It drew her into productive labor, into public and state activities. The state assumed much of the burden of caring for children and vigorously defended the interests of woman.

But a huge gulf lay between the legal declaration of the right to equality and equality itself. Circumstances hampered the realisation of these rights. Every day the woman encountered those innumerable infringements which had been handed down through the ages, which had become ingrained in habits and customs, and had penetrated the psychology and social perceptions of men and women, the majority of whom considered the old relationship normal and natural. And no law, however democratic, could destroy at one blow this heavy burden of prejudice and tradition which regarded woman as having been created solely for child-bearing, family and household cares. Soviet woman had to traverse a long and difficult path if she wished to take advantage of the exceptional opportunities for social, spiritual and human development which the Soviet regime opened up to her. But in making this her choice, she was assured the fullest support from the Soviet state and from Soviet public opinion.

She had to overcome various difficulties. Many of them were caused by the hardships of the time and by having to master arduous trades hitherto regarded as suitable only for men. She had to surmount a distrust of and contempt for her capabilities on the part of zealous male partisans of the "good old times," who used to say: "A woman resembles a human being as a chicken resembles a bird." Often she had to overcome resistance to her development from members of her own family, especially from a backward husband who considered his wife's breaking away from the narrow circle of family interests a threat to the stability of the family and to his own prestige as head of the family. Finally, she had to overcome survivals of the old psychology in her own mind. She had to imbue herself with a resolution to conquer all difficulties and surmount all obstacles regardless of their nature. This was a complicated psychological process, made all the more so by the fact that the Soviet woman had no historical example to fall back upon. There was no prototype of the new woman who would combine in herself all those manifestations of personal and civil liberty placing her on a level with the male, and yet retaining those natural qualities of womanliness, grace, maternal tenderness, which formed an integral part of her nature. Humanity's past could give examples of the development of only one side of the female

character. It did not and could not provide the type of a universally and harmoniously developed woman. The very fact that its searchings were made not in abstract theory, but in the course of life experience itself, that sometimes mistakes were accompanied by the bitter personal sufferings of men and women, by family conflicts and rifts in family relationships, served to increase the difficulty of the problem.

By her persistence, Soviet woman proved her right to take equal part in the industrial and cultural life of her country. But it was only by a heroic exploit that she could achieve such results. Her heroism was accompanied by privation and sacrifice. And one of the greatest sacrifices of all was that she was now forced to devote less time to her family and to her children. These same circumstances likewise reduced to a minimum her care for her husband and for her home. It goes without saying that it was well-nigh impossible for her to find time to devote to her clothes, hair, her general appearance.

The vast majority of Soviet women recognised that the conflict between family and profession was only temporary and the result of bitter necessity; that without labor and sacrifice it would be impossible to make engineers, physicians, teachers, scientists, factory foremen, pilots, out of women who for centuries had been trained to the part of housewife and had been taught that wider circles of interest and activities were "not for them." But it was necessary to surmount all these difficulties in order to help their country during years of incredible struggle with inherited backwardness. It was necessary to overcome all these difficulties before woman could win actual equality in Soviet society, and, accordingly, actual equality in the new Soviet family. Renouncing many of the necessities of life, observing the strictest economy in the satisfaction of her natural feminine desire for beautiful clothes, and likewise observing the strictest economy in her time, Soviet woman, at the price of selfless labor, made up for thousands of lost years and climbed ever higher on the ladder to genuine equality. It should be emphasised that the temporary and expeditious nature of these privations was plain to every Soviet woman. She never relinquished her desire for a stable family, for the joy of motherhood, for the human sentiments of love and comradeship in her relations with her husband, for comfort and femininity.

True, a few women did succumb to the superficial attraction of the outward attributes of sex equality. A new fashion arose — that of wearing men's clothes, of using mannish gestures, intentionally rough manners. In the U.S.S.R. such women were called "military-communism types," even though this definition was not exact, as the fashion of imitating the male arose much later than the period of military communism and affected young women and girls who had not lived through it. Even though this fashion was short-lived, was adopted

by very few Soviet girls and was eventually finally denounced by Soviet public opinion, it was none the less a sign of a deeply and firmly rooted opinion in other countries that the ideal of the Soviet woman is represented by an exaggerated imitation of the male. This is not true. But even as the movement on the surface of a stream is a sign of the direction of the deep current, so, in the fashion, in spite of its superficiality, still stands the mighty movement of the millions of women toward genuine liberty, toward equality and absolute equality with man.

As a result of the Stalin Five Year Plans, Soviet society attained an immeasurably higher moral and cultural level, and woman was no longer limited by the necessity of making a choice between "family or work," of "private life or social activities." Woman, who had forced public opinion to accept her as engineer, pilot, physician, a scientist, collective farm chairman and Stakhanovite worker, now had far greater opportunities for providing for herself and children. In this respect her position in the family became equal to that of the man.

The Soviet family now entered the period of maturity.

In continuing to grant woman every opportunity for development by helping care for her children in creches and kindergartens, the Soviet government attaches particular importance to the family as the nucleus for training future generations. The care of the family and children, the duties of motherhood to which the Soviet woman was formerly unable to pay sufficient attention, once more regained their full significance. But this fact is not to be regarded as signifying that the Soviet woman has ceased striving for the complete development of her powers and abilities, for the complete realisation of actual equality with man. The Soviet mother is no longer that backward, ignorant housewife with a limited outlook who was the typical mother in czarist Russia. Today, the Soviet mother is an active member of the community. She has completely identified herself with the interests of her country. She shares the joys and sorrows of her husband and occupies a worthy place in industrial, cultural and social life. Such mothers bring up children to become genuine patriots, help them acquire knowledge, perceive their inclinations and abilities, and have an immense influence on the formation of character.

"Even chickens can love their chicks," wrote Maxim Gorky. "But the bringing up of children is a matter of state importance, demanding skill, experience, and a great knowledge of life." The Soviet woman of today possesses to a very great extent these qualities so necessary for bringing up children, for the very reason that she herself has surmounted incredible difficulties in achieving her equality.

... written by Captain ... Army, who fought ... Moscow to Lublin and ... with Soviet military ... famous change which has ... in the psychology of Soviet women ... of the first marriage law of ... deep-rooted in all the people of the Soviet Union.

The former laws making divorce easy cannot now serve the purpose of strengthening the family. On the contrary, they give rise to a feeling of instability and do not stimulate that serious attitude to the home which naturally leads to the happiness of parents and children and to a normal training of future generations of Soviet citizens.

The new law provides for divorce through court trial. Divorce proceedings are to be conducted publicly following the publication of a notice of the institution of such proceedings. At the court the motives for the proceedings must be explained and steps taken to reconcile husband and wife. Witnesses are to be summoned if necessary. (At the request of the claimants and if the court deems the reasons valid, the case may be heard in closed session.) After the people's court has heard the case, if no reconciliation has been agreed upon, and if the claimant sends on his application for divorce to a higher court, the decree of divorce may be granted by provincial, district, regional, city or supreme court of constituent or autonomous republics. If divorce is granted, the court decides which of the parties of the marriage keeps which of the children, which of the parents is to maintain the children and what alimony he or she is to pay for this purpose. The court decides the division of property between the parties to the divorce, and, in the divorcees so desire, it restores pre-marital surnames. It likewise issues the certificate of divorce.

This divorce system, as we see, differs greatly from the system of divorce provided for in the Decree Concerning the Annulment of Marriages passed on December 18, 1917, by the All Union Executive Committee. According to Par. 1 of this early decree, "A marriage may be annulled at the request of one or both parties to the marriage." The note to Par. 2 of this decree rules that it is not necessary for a divorce to be obtained by court proceedings, that it is sufficient for an application for divorce to be sent merely to the local registrar's office.

The new law aims to strengthen the Soviet family by making the institution of legal divorce proceedings obligatory. The attention of the Soviet people is hereby focussed on the family as the centre of child training. As such, it must be protected from arbitrariness on the part of either husband or wife, inasmuch as the care of children in the Soviet Union cannot be regarded as merely the private matter of the father or mother. This, of course, does not signify that the new Soviet law

will force family relations onto people no longer tied by sentiments of love and mutual respect and who no longer have ideas and interests in common. In such cases, divorces will be granted by the corresponding legal organs. But at least attempts will be made to reconcile married couples in the people's court. During the actual trial, the insufficiency of motives may be made clear to the claimants, the reasons for their dissensions dispelled, and the family saved, thanks to this new law. Furthermore, the publicity of divorce proceedings will prompt married people to treat their relationships more seriously, more fully to realise the responsibility they bear to each other and to their children. Finally, couples contemplating marriage will be more inclined to regard this as a decisive,

all-important step in their lives, a step requiring that they know each other thoroughly before marrying, that they verify the seriousness and depth of their feelings. It should thereby curtail the number of accidental marriages and temporary liaisons, resulting so often in painful conflicts and the breaking of lives.

The new law strengthens the family as the nucleus of Soviet society, advances new standards of social relations, and provides a substantial material basis for the safeguarding of maternity and childhood, for providing children with every opportunity for development and education. In strengthening the Soviet family, this new law at the same time strengthens the Soviet system.

NOTES ON CANADIAN MONOPOLY AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

(From "National Affairs," Canada, October, 1945)

The following material has been prepared by the National Educational Department of the Labor Progressive Party for use in Party schools and study-groups in a programme of study of Imperialism and the Post-war World. The basic text being used is Lenin's IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM, and the NEW DATA ON LENIN'S IMPERIALISM compiled by Varga and Mendelsohn (these are published together in one volume, available from Progress Books, Toronto). The data presented here are drawn for the most part from such sources as the CANADA YEAR BOOK (1944-45), MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF CANADA (1943), etc. They should be studied in conjunction with Chapter 1 of IMPERIALISM "Concentration of Production and Monopolies."

TABLE I

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF CANADA

Year	Establishments	Capital (Millions)	Net Value (Millions)	Employees	Capital Per Employee
1870	41,259	77.9	96.7	187,942	415
1890	75,964	353.2	219.0	369,595	956
1920	22,532	2,923.6	1,621.3	598,893	4,882
1930	22,618	4,041.0	1,522.7	614,696	6,574
1940	25,513	4,095.7	1,942.4	762,244	5,373
1942	27,862	5,488.7	3,309.9	1,152,091	4,765

NOTE.—Net value is computed by subtracting cost of fuel and electricity as well as the cost of materials from the gross value of the products.

The foregoing table shows that while the total number of manufacturing establishments declined, between 1870 and 1942, by almost a third, capital invested increased roughly by 70 times, production 34 times, the number of employees six times, and capital per employee eleven times.

While capital investment increased nearly fivefold in the period 1870-1890, and then eightfold between 1890 and 1920, in the following 20-year period it increased by only a third. Canada having entered the imperialist stage of its development roughly in the period 1910-1920, the slowing down in the rate of expansion is significant.

Out of a total of 374 consolidations which took place between 1900 and 1933, 58 occurred during 1902-12 and 231 during 1925-30. (Price Spreads Report, p.28.) The mergers in the first period took place particularly in heavy industry (e.g. Canadian Car & Foundry, Dominion Steel Corp., Stelco, Canada Cement, Amalgamated Asbestos).

Tables II and III indicate the role of monopoly in Canadian industry: the former, in showing the degree of concentration of production in big plants in the main industries; and Table III, in revealing the margin of super-profit which monopoly provides to its owners.

TABLE II

DEGREE OF CONCENTRATION IN 25 LEADING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN 1942

	No. of plant employing over 500 workers	% of total No. of plants in industry	Their output as % of total output in industry
Non-ferrous metal smelting and refining	8	50%	83%
Slaughtering and meat packing	12	8%	57%
Pulp and paper	34	32%	71%
Automobiles	3	50%	Not given
Miscellaneous chemical products	11	6%	83%
Shipbuilding	19	24%	92%
Primary iron and steel	18	30%	81%
Butter and cheese*	11*	0.5%*	12%*
Electrical apparatus	14	6%	61%
Sawmills	3	0.05%	7%
Automobile supplies	10	10%	66%
Miscellaneous iron and steel products	16	10%	82%
Brass and copper products	12	8%	74%
Petroleum products*	7*	14%*	57%*
Flour and feed mills*	6*	0.5%*	35%*
Machinery	9	4%	40%
Railway rolling stock	15	43%	90%
Aircraft	14	33%	91%
Men's factory clothing	9	2%	20%
Cotton yarn and cloth	16	40%	83%
Rubber	11	22%	81%
Women's factory clothing	14	2%	14%
Sheet metal products	10	5%	36%
Bread and other bakery products	3	0.1%	7%
Hardware and tools	4	2%	20%

*Those so marked are for plants employing 200 or over, usually because there is only one plant employing over 500, so separate figures are not given.

TABLE III

EARNINGS OF SELECTED CANADIAN AND U.S. COMPANIES, 1927-1937.

(Net Earnings after Charges as a Percentage of Common and Preferred Stock, Surplus and Reserves.)

Year	Monopolies Canada*	All Manufacturing Canada**	All Manufacturing United States***
1927	—	6.2%	8.4%
1928	13.0%	6.3	9.8
1929	19.7%	6.7	13.4
1930	16.6	4.7	7.1
1931	9.7	3.3	3.3
1932	6.0	1.9	0.3
1933	3.4	1.5	3.1
1934	9.6	2.5	4.3
1935	10.8	2.7	6.7
1936	14.3	—	—
1937	19.1	—	—
Average	12.2%	4.0%	6.3%

(From L. G. Reynolds, Control of Competition in Canada, p. 80.)

*Canada Cement, Canadian Westinghouse, (Canadian General Electric, Canadian Celanese, Canadian Industries Ltd., International Nickel Consolidated Mining and Smelting, Imperial Tobacco, Canadian Brewing Corporation, and National Breweries.

**Data obtained from Houston's Annual Financial Review

***National City Bank series, which includes 615 manufacturing companies in the United States.

Tables IV and V reveal the growth of concentration of capital in the last twenty years. Thus by combining figures in sections A and B of each of these two tables it can be seen that — for instance — in 1942, 3.6% of the total number of plants (990 of them) employed 62.7% of all workers employed in manufactures (Tables IV-A and B, adding the last two figures in each of the

columns for 1942.) Similarly, in the same year, 1% of the plants (those producing over \$5 million annually) accounted for nearly half (48%) of the total output in manufacturing (Tables V-A and B).

Note the sharp increase in the number of large-scale plants in the first three years of war.

NOTE—Figures are given for each "plant" or "establishment." As a number of plants are in many cases under the same ownership, these figures do not fully present the degree of concentration of ownership.

TABLE IV-A

SIZE OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS BY NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN PLANTS.

Percentage of total working force employed in plants employing	1923	1929	1939	1942
under 5 employees	4.3	4.3	4.3	2.5
5 to 20	10.3	9.0	10.4	4.8
21 to 50	12.8	11.8	11.4	10.1
51 to 100	14.0	13.0	12.4	9.2
101 to 200	15.2 56.6	14.9 53.1	14.7 53.2	10.7 37.3
201 to 500	22.0	19.6	21.2	16.8
501 or over	21.4 43.4	27.3 46.9	25.6 46.8	45.9 62.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE IV-B

	1923		1929		1939		1942	
Plants employing	No. of Plants	% of Total	No. of Plants	% of Total	No. of Plants	% of Total	No. of Plants	% of Total
Under 5 employees	13,156	58.1	12,273	52.0	13,002	52.4	13,622	48.9
5 to 20	5,310	23.4	6,160	26.1	6,985	28.2	6,580	23.6
21 to 50	2,093	9.2	2,531	10.7	2,330	9.4	4,265	15.3
51 to 100	1,031	4.6	1,262	5.3	1,158	4.7	1,520	5.4
101 to 200	566	2.5	745	3.2	695	2.8	885	3.2
201 to 500	374	1.7	444	1.9	458	1.8	631	2.3
Over 500	112	0.5	182	0.8	172	0.7	359	1.3
TOTALS	22,642	100.0	23,597	100.0	24,800	100.0	27,862	100.0

TABLE V-A

SIZE OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS BY GROSS VALUE OF PRODUCTION.

Per cent of total value of manufacturing production produced in plants with annual output of	1922	1925	1939	1942
under \$25,000	4.6	2.6	3.5	1.6
25,000 to 50,000	3.5	2.5	2.9	1.8
50,000 to 100,000	5.2	3.8	4.5	2.8
100,000 to 200,000	7.7	5.8	6.5	4.2
200,000 to 500,000	13.3	12.4	11.2	8.3
500,000 to 1,000,000	14.6 48.9	10.9 38.0	13.4 42.0	8.4 27.1
1,000,000 to 5,000,000	27.9	30.1	31.4	25.0
over \$5,000,000	23.2 51.1	31.9 62.0	26.6 58.0	47.9 72.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE V-B

	1922		1929		1939		1942	
	No. of Plants	%	No. of Plants	%	No. of Plants	%	No. of Plants	%
Under \$25,000	14,978	66.4	14,024	59.4	15,623	63.0	14,795	53.0
25,000 to 50,000	2,401	10.7	2,802	11.9	2,803	11.3	3,747	13.4
50,000 to 100,000	1,793	8.0	2,209	9.4	2,215	8.9	2,972	10.7
100,000 to 200,000	1,355	6.0	1,688	7.2	1,584	6.4	2,256	8.1
200,000 to 500,000	1,078	4.8	1,519	6.4	1,285	5.2	1,993	7.2
500,000 to 1,000,000	516	2.3	636	2.7	689	2.8	898	3.2
1,000,000 to 5,000,000	364	1.6	601	2.5	520	2.1	923	3.3
Over \$5,000,000	56	0.2	118	0.5	81	0.3	278	1.0
Totals	22,642	100.0	23,597	100.0	24,800	100.0	27,862	100.0

"IN THE GARDEN OF EPICURUS"

(An excursion into ancient Greek philosophy, and some lessons for today)

L. HARRY GOULD

SHORTLY after the October Revolution the

Director of the Rumyantsev library in Moscow was reading a letter signed by one, V. I. Lenin. The writer wished to borrow a few books, including Gompertz's *Greek Thinkers*, and stated that if it was against the rules of the library to lend out these books he would thank the Director for "the favor of being allowed to have them only over night when the library is closed." This account of Lenin's request raises two points. The man who organized the power that was overturning the world was first among men to respect those rules adopted by civilized (really civilized!) humans for sensible regulation of social relations and practices. Second, that even in the storm of battle to remake the world and burdened with gigantic labors, Lenin found it useful to restudy the methods by which the great thinkers of antiquity had grappled with problems parallel to his own.

The inclusion of Gompertz's classic suggests that Lenin was again examining the experiences of the class struggle in humanity's past, and almost certainly the one problem in particular that inevitably challenges every leader of social revolution. This was the task of fashioning, through education and organized mass activity, the instrument of successful revolution, namely, the exploited masses, because they alone are interested in and capable of struggle for the new social order. From the very first days after October, the Russian and international capitalists gathered their tremendous powers to strangle the newly-formed Soviet Republic. The overwhelming majority of Russians were ignorant and illiterate, only now awakened from the sleep of centuries. The backwardness was elemental; and as Lenin said, the power of habit of these

backward tens of millions was a terrible power. A primary job was the speediest possible injection into the Russian body politic of education, scientific enlightenment and of consciousness of present demands and future aims.

Now, ancient Greek society produced a remarkably noble and courageous movement for such mass enlightenment. Its founder was the philosopher Epicurus (371-270 B.C.). The aim was social emancipation; its method, education to combat the ignorance and superstition which the ruling class had deliberately and "scientifically" inculcated into the lower orders of society. After centuries of effort Epicureanism finally failed, first in Greece, the land of its birth, and later in Rome to where it was transplanted. The night of the Dark Ages which then settled on Europe was to last a thousand years.

Our short excursion into Greek history and philosophy will provide us with many useful lessons, of which we may note immediately the following two. First, the class struggle rent society 2500 years ago as fiercely as in recent times; then as now the defence of private property engendered "the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast" (Marx). Second, every exploiting class from that day to this has made a point of obscuring the events of the class struggle in Graeco-Roman civilisation and, in particular, of blackguarding the great Epicurus. The word "epicurean" has become synonymous with licentiousness, with gluttony and the abandonment of moral standards for pleasure. But the only pleasure which Epicurus sought was the emancipation of mankind from oppression, and to secure tranquility of the spirit by the triumph of knowledge over

superstition. "Vain is the word of a philosopher," he said, "which does not heal any suffering of man." The movement he founded was the first of its kind in history. The "Garden" of Epicurus was merely the name of his school and not, as his was the "Academy" of Plato, the "Lyceum" of Aristotle or the "Porch" of the Stoic philosophers. The Epicureans welcomed women and slaves as students. The community life of the Garden was one of the greatest simplicity and virtue, but the slanders multiplied with each passing century.

In 173 B.C., that is, about 100 years after the death of Epicurus, two Epicureans were expelled from Rome. What was their offence? In the eyes of Rome's rich and aristocratic rulers, these two were guilty of the heinous crime of "subversive" and unremitting effort to equip the "common herd" with knowledge. Educating and organising the masses has always been a sin for which there is no absolution.

The Epicureans were particularly interested in restoring the science and philosophy produced several centuries before in Ionia, in western Asia Minor. They sought to arm the oppressed populace with "Ionian enlightenment" for the fight against tyranny. The story, all too briefly here, begins about 600 B.C., when the Greek colonists of Ionia produced a remarkably rich store of technical inventions and scientific knowledge. In Ionia, and later on the Greek mainland under Ionian inspiration, was first enunciated, in primitive yet authentic form, the atomic theory, materialist dialectics and the philosophy of change in nature and society, and other trends of thought remarkable alike for brilliant originality and their enduring significance for succeeding ages.

The genius of Ionian philosophical speculation lay especially in the fact that it derived from the closest possible observation of nature and from labor—its forms, techniques and results. Philosophic theorising was integrated into the day-to-day work and the stimulating contacts of Ionia's citizens who were, in the main, a class of merchants favorably situated in the trade and cultural highways of the ancient world. Unhindered by tradition or taboo, the Ionians struck out boldly in their investigation of man and nature, and gave a consistent materialistic interpretation of the universe.

The great names include Thales, the "Father of Philosophy," and the first to speculate systematically on nature; Anaximander, an early gifted evolutionist; Heraclitus, the philosopher of change, on whom Lenin commented: "More Heraclitus, less Plato;" Hippocrates, who founded a school of medicine and some of whose principles of healing are used to this day; Democritus, propounder of the atomic theory; Anaxagoras, noted for discoveries in astronomy, biology and his theory on the constitution of matter; and many more. Their

philosophy was materialistic, necessarily so, because it had the most intimate connection with the tools and technical inventions used in agriculture, irrigation, medicine, astronomy, navigation and other related or derived practices and studies. "The materialist world outlook," said Engels, "is simply the conception of nature as it is, without any reservation." They frowned on philosophy if it meant theorising divorced from practice. Natural science and materialism in philosophy expressed the needs and aspirations of the "mercantile bourgeoisie" of ancient Ionia as appropriately as they did for the bourgeois method of production in England in the 17th century and for France of the Great Revolution in the 18th century. Here is an excerpt from the Hippocratic writings on medicine dealing with epistemology, or the theory of knowledge:

"One must attend in medical practice, not primarily to plausible theories, but to experience combined with reason. A true theory is a composite memory of things apprehended with sense-perception. For the sense-perception, coming first in experience and conveying to the intellect the things subjected to it, is clearly imaged, and the intellect, receiving these things many times, noting the occasion, the time and the manner, stores them up in itself and remembers. Now I approve of theorising if it lays its foundation in incident, and deduces its conclusions in accordance with phenomena. For if theorising lays its foundation in clear fact, it is found to exist in the domain of intellect, which itself receives all its impressions from other sources. So we must conceive of our nature as being stirred and instructed under compulsion by the great variety of things; and the intellect, as I have said, taking over from nature the impressions, leads us afterwards to the truth. But if it begins, not from a clear impression, but from a plausible fiction, it often induces a grievous and troublesome condition. All who act so are lost in a blind alley."

A splendid proposition! The key is in the third sentence. Defending materialism against the conception of innate knowledge and the "logical categories" of the idealists, Lenin said: "Categories of logic are factors of the cognition (ideas) of nature by man. . . . The practices of man repeated a billion times become fixed in man's consciousness as figures of logic. . . . These figures have the endurance of prejudice, and are axiomatic in character precisely (and only) by virtue of this myriad repetition."

In the centuries that followed, Ionia with its science was all but forgotten in the great cities of Greece and Rome. Slavery was now the dominant feature of civilised life. Where once the trader, merchant, explorer or coloniser had led society, now the heads of the State were the great

fandowning knights living on the labor of thousands of slaves employed on great estates; or the governor or proconsul of a province bent on extracting the last ounce of wealth from the natives; or the "statesman" serving these two and equally remote from personal toil. And where previously the arts and sciences had stood in the closest relation to production, now culture becomes the pursuit of the leisured class, whose publicists and ideologists provide the philosophical and spiritual justification of class domination. Scientific endeavour and invention necessarily came to an end. With a plentiful supply of slaves, why bother with labor-saving inventions? The earlier fruitful contact with nature and labor which produced materialism in philosophy gave way to metaphysics, to idealism in the method of interpreting the world, to dualism in ethics, and to a hundred philosophical trends which for 2000 years have subverted reason in the interests of the exploiters.

In particular, the honest upstanding science and philosophy of Ionia were followed, when society's class divisions had hardened definitely into upper class and lower orders, by a planned set of religious beliefs whose falsity was openly acknowledged, but nevertheless inculcated into the masses to make them "willing servants of their masters."

Chief sponsor of this deliberate fraud was Plato, the Master himself, and supporting his thesis on the need of the "noble lie" (his own term) with which to confirm the rule of the aristocratic over the slaves and freemen were Aristotle, Varro, Cicero and scores more of the great names in philosophy and literature of Graeco-Roman history. All except the Epicureans! Plato proposed imprisonment and death for their subversive attempts to resurrect the science of Ionia. In both his great works, *The Republic* and *The Laws*, in the latter especially, Plato returned repeatedly to the theme of the "useful lie" and the "royal lie" — the value of the myth for proper administration of the State, the inculcation of falsehood, the elaboration of a system of myth and superstition as the means by which true governance was to be secured.

One must guard against any false appraisal of Plato's work and his role in the history of thought, especially by too easy an identification of his "royal lie" with, say, Hitler's "big lie" of this generation. The student must note the immense difference in time, place, economics, forms of the class struggle, the temper of the epoch, and the experiences of history. Plato's program was designed for the good of the masses in an age when slavery was accepted as a natural phenomenon. Man's intellect cannot transcend the given material and spiritual development of his time. Aristotle, that "mightiest thinker of antiquity" (Marx), floundered helplessly in his effort to discover, in a civilisation based on slave labor, the true nature of "labor," "value" and other economic categories. It would be amiss to draw too close a parallel between the intrigue, cynicism and priestly humbug of the present with the ethos

of ancient times. Plato, for example, set the most exacting moral standards for his students—those intended to become the governors of society. He proposed selecting a small group of men for a life of scholarship and rule, and living an austere life despite the possession of power. Plato's ideal was a State in which "philosopher kings" ruled for the common good; knaves and incompetents were to be completely barred from office.

Plato lived in the social childhood of mankind. With its huge slave (or helot) population debarred from enjoyment of the suffrage, the democracy of ancient Greece was sharply restricted. But Greek democracy was mankind's first taste of voting, majority rule, the right to elect and be elected, and the important experience of the masses exercising control over their institutions and elected or appointed officials. The Marxist can easily trace the link between the promise of Greek democracy—new, unsure and circumscribed—with its present historical fulfilment in the Bolshevik practice of democratic centralism. Further, the historical materialist recognises in the institution of slavery of classical times the means by which the leisured classes could advance their own culture, thereby laying the basis for the future cultural progress of humanity as a whole. Plato's philosophy, therefore, and his ethical code and sociological ideas do not lose their importance for later ages, albeit their predication on human slavery. What Engels said of Hegel applies to Plato, that he covered an incomparably greater domain than any earlier system, and he produced a wealth of thought that is astounding to this day. His limits were set by the social development of his time; specifically, whereas the slave and the freeman enjoyed intimate experience with nature and labor, Plato (and all too many philosophers since, and with less or no excuse) embarked upon the quest for reality independent of experience.

In contrast to Anaxagoras of Ionia, who said that man acquired wisdom through the possession and use of capable hands, Plato discovered more valid knowledge in the enjoyment of the goods produced than in their production! Here is the perfect warrant for social parasitism. Aristotle considered that the era of technical invention had come to an end, and with "the requisites of comfort and social refinement" fairly well secured, the only worthy pursuit left was metaphysics. This gross denigration of labor explains the ethical mutilation. Brilliant and profound, with a richness of thought and a graciousness of expression scarcely ever excelled, Plato's philosophy still presents, when it is all boiled down, a philosophical justification of class oppression.

The following quotation from the Greek historian Polybius (198-117 B.C.) clearly reveals the intent of the "noble lie" and the police function of religion.

"I will venture the assertion that what the rest of mankind deride is the foundation of

Roman greatness, namely, superstition. This element has been introduced into every aspect of their private and public life, with every artifice to awe the imagination, in a degree which could not be improved upon. Many possibly will be at a loss to understand this—my view is that it has been done to impress the masses. If it were possible to have a State in which all the citizens were philosophers, perhaps we might dispense with this sort of thing. But the masses in every State are unstable, full of lawless desires, of irrational anger, and violent passion. All that can be done, then, is to hold them in check by fears of the unseen and other shams of the same sort. It was not for nothing, but with deliberate design, that the men of old introduced to the masses notions about the gods and views on the after-life. The folly and heedlessness are ours, who seek to dispel such illusions."

Among historiographers only Polybius, Gibbon and a few other historians are credited with being painstakingly truthful and "most exact." Perhaps so. But note the typical ruling class detraction of the masses. Exploiters never can conceal their hatred and fear of those who produce their income.

Dealing with the various traditions of God in human shape, Aristotle agrees that they are "myths that have been introduced to persuade the multitude and on account of their utility in regard to social custom and public good." And Cicero, of whom it is said that he expounded all philosophical systems while believing in none, justified the deception by saying that the people's constant need for advice and authority of the aristocracy holds the State together.

Before leaving the "Garden of Epicurus" to draw some lessons for today's problems, we should pay our tribute to the last of the Epicureans, the Roman poet Lucretius (98-55 B.C.), whose marvellous philosophical poem, "De Rerum Natura" (On the Nature of Things) remains one of the great spiritual treasures of humanity. Of special interest here is the atmosphere of tragedy—noble and universal—pervading the work. His genius discerned the gathering catastrophe. The movement which he championed so valiantly was proving ineffectual against the moral decay, corruption and injustice of the Roman empire. No social class appeared capable of challenging the established order. The slaves who formed in his day a large section of the population could not produce ideology, effective organization or social policy. (Note: I mean slaves in their actual condition of servitude, as distinct, for example, from the runaway slaves, semi-free men and others who took part in the heroic Spartacus revolts.) The class struggles of antiquity led frequently, as Marx said, to the common ruin of the contending forces. Lucretius witnessed this tragedy consummating itself on a universal scale—or to use Spinoza's term, "under the form of eternality" (sub specie aeternitatis). What ecclesiastical and other historians described as the "mad-

ness" of Lucretius was merely his driving passion for an enlightened and moral world which he knew man really possessed the power to create.

The "noble lie" today. The hangman and the priest, said Lenin, were needed by the bourgeoisie to maintain their power. By "hangman" is meant the standing army and like agencies for violence against the labor-democratic masses at home and the colonial masses abroad; the "priest" includes many others besides the man in surplice (or the "gendarme in surplice," as Lenin also described him). The class function of the priest, religious or otherwise, is the preservation of bourgeois ideology among the exploited. But religion has long ceased to be the chief ideological weapon of the exploiting classes. Statistics show that not one adult Australian in ten attends church, and even among churchgoers only a minority really subscribe to all the traditional beliefs. Furthermore, more enlightened clergymen and their communicants actively support progressive movements. Engels challenged Feuerbach's assertion that the periods of human development are distinguished only by religious changes. "Great historical turning points," said Engels, "have been accompanied by religious changes only so far as the three world religions which have existed up to the present—Buddhism, Christianity and Islam—are concerned." The Protestant Reformation of the 16th Century represented, in theology and religious practice, the revolt of the new merchant and manufacturing class plus the smaller nobility, artisans and handicraftsmen against feudalism and the Roman Catholic Church, which was the greatest single feudal power in Christendom. The religious imprint on many historical movements of the past becomes clear; equally understandable should be the banner of rationalism under which the French bourgeoisie fought their great revolution in the 18th century.

The chief form of the ideological struggle in this epoch of imperialist decline and proletarian revolution is not religion. The most dangerous "priest" today is not connected with religion, and he may even be quite anti-religious in outlook. He is first and foremost the right wing labor leader or trade union official who, while occasionally compelled to give lip-service to the Socialist ideal, is really appalled at the prospect of a world without the boss; or the starry-eyed soothsayer. Like Browder, who visions decades of prosperity if only the workers would leave matters to the "true class interests" of the imperialists. The Social-democrat, or reformist, has been historically the main social bulwark of capitalism. Among the many types of "priests" must also be included the escapist in art, the materio-criticist in philosophy, race theorists and similar purveyors of outright or hidden imperialist propaganda, the pacifists, philistines and a thousand more.

Science as Politics. Scientific truth is anathema to reactionaries. "The more ruthlessly and disinterestedly science proceeds," said Engels, "the more

it finds itself in harmony with the interests and efforts of the workers." Hence, the scientist eager to propagate his discoveries becomes a politician, or involved in political controversies. The struggle between science and any kind of obscurantism is ultimately a political one. A current example is the attitude of the scientists who produced the atom bomb. In urging international control, they are trenching directly onto the political sphere. Most of them scarcely realise the issues involved. Professor Sir William Bragg laments that scientists are merely "conscripts," meaning that they have no genius. But those scientists and others who study, and apply, the science of Marxism are not victims of events or conditions. The reverse, in fact! Marxists know how to grip hold of events, to master-conditions and make history. It is interesting to trace the development of science in terms of correlative socio-economic conditions, with its all-too-frequent note of frustration and crisis. The "nice people" of Greece and Rome mentioned loathing the names of Leucippus and Democritus, founders of the atomic theory of the constitution of matter. Plutarch relates that the great Archimedes felt contempt for his mechanical inventions. The persecution of Galileo and the burning at the stake of Bruno testify to the mortal terror of clerical-reaction at the advance of science. Contrast this with the experience of scientific endeavor in the Soviet Union! Every scientist, who dedicates himself to search for the truth, will appreciate anew Lenin's statements: "Human thought then by its nature is capable of giving, and does give, absolute truth, which is compounded of the sum-total of relative truths. Each step in the development of science adds new grains to the sum of absolute truth."

Laws and Institutions. The history of class society provides numberless examples of laws and institutions, designed for particular purposes, but used by exploiters to defend their own special class interests. In ancient history we have the example of the Aegurs in Rome. Cicero relates how this body of diviners, ostensibly interested only in religious practices, intervened at the critical moment to defeat the first Gracchi revolt. The best modern example perhaps is the Arbitration Court, created to arbitrate between employers and workers, the Court now decides upon who are to be the officials of trade unions! The Combination Acts of 1799 and later were supposed to operate against both employers and employees; in actual fact not a single factory-owner was ever prosecuted, whereas thousands of wage-laborers suffered imprisonment and transportation across the seas for "violation" of the Acts. American workers know only too well about the operation—against trade unions—of the Sherman "anti-trust" law. Newspapers exist, it is said, to provide the public with truthful accounts of what is happening! Take the simple case of a municipal by-law penalising persons for littering the streets. A necessary by-law, indeed. But why

is it invoked against persons distributing leaflets bearing a working class message? Change the names and dates, and the burning denunciations by Epicurus and his school could apply in all essentials to capitalist repression.

Parasites Hate the Producers. The statement of Polybus quoted above, with its defamation of the toilers, is typical of the attitude of exploiters in all epochs. Fear, contempt, hatred—that is how the wealthy and their ideologists regard the producers of their wealth. "Trample on the empty-headed populace," advised the poet Theognis 2500 years ago. "Goad them hard and let their yoke be heavy; that is the way to make them love their masters." The leader-writers of the yellow press in modern times phrase their thoughts differently, but with the same malign spirit. In *Capital* Marx quotes a number of ardent champions of the idea that the masses should not only toil, but suffer acutely for the benefit of society's elite. There was the 18th century writer Townsend who glorified widespread misery and hunger as a necessary condition of wealth and happiness for the few. . . . "legal constraint (to labor) is attended with too much trouble, violence, noise. . . . whereas hunger is not only a peaceable, silent, unremitted pressure, but as the most natural motive to industry and labor, it calls forth the most powerful exertions." The approach varies with time and circumstance. Plato and Aristotle deplored the advent of free labor, preferring a society composed only of aristocrats and slaves; a Papal Encyclical in 1937 condemned the Communists because they denied the existence of a "natural hierarchy" in society! And what happens when the workers decide that "natural law" or "God's law" must be changed? "The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order," wrote Marx, describing the butchery of the workers and their families, after the Paris Commune, "comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters." The fascist terror, with its mountains of corpses, was the method by which Moneybags in the 20th century met the threat to his privileges. The worker who studies events on the industrial front and the happenings in Greece, Argentine and Indonesia, will readily understand that Moneybags, though happily shorn of much of his earlier power, has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Recall the provocation, as well as its customary perjury, of the monopolist press during the Pt. Kembla strike. The millionaire's appetite for repression has abated not one jot.

And this is the final lesson—that there now exists the force in society fully capable of ideology, organisation and successful struggle for political power. Civilisation based on class oppression is patently passing away before our eyes. The workers, who triumphed in one-sixth of the world 28 years ago, are steadily extending their influence throughout the other five-sixths. Two thousand years ago Lucretius saw the darkness descending upon mankind, and it evoked his passionate and

majestic protest. The last century has given mankind Marxism—with its theory of class struggle, Soviet Union, its advancing history, its Party, its Movement. Humanity is indeed passing, in Engels' words, from the realm of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Acknowledgment: I am indebted to Prof. Far-

ington's *Science and Politics in the Ancient World*, of which this article is, in part, a review; also, Engels' *Feuerbach*, and miscellaneous references to Greek philosophy in basic Marxist writings. Of special interest to Australian Marxists will be, as soon as an adequate translation is available, Marx's doctoral dissertation, "On the Difference between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophies of Nature."

PEST CONTROL

"SCIENTIST"

ALMOST every section of the animal and plant kingdoms contributes its quota of "pests"—from the protozoa to the mammals, and from the bacteria to the higher plants. Pests are plants or animals whose activities in one way or another run counter to human interests. They may attack man directly, producing discomfort or disease. They may attack his domestic animals, his crops, pastures, and forest trees. Or again they may damage dead materials of value to man—stored food, woollen goods, and timber structures. The losses and inconvenience caused in these various ways costs Australia many millions of pounds annually. As a consequence, much attention has been paid for many years to the development of methods of combatting pests.

For a pest to cause damage, three things are necessary. First, the pest has to be present in sufficient numbers. Second, it has to have access to the thing it is capable of damaging. And, thirdly, the latter has to be in a condition that is attractive to the pest. Very broadly, methods of pest control may be classified according to whether they are concerned with the first, second, or third of these aspects. That is, one may attempt either to reduce the numbers of the pest, or to prevent it from gaining access to the plant, animal or stored product which it damages, or to render the animal, plant or stored product unattractive to it.

The majority of control methods aim to reduce the numbers of the pest. Only in very special circumstances, as, for example, when a pest has recently been introduced into a country and is restricted to a very small area, is it at all practicable to exterminate it altogether. As a rule the cost increases so steeply as one attempts to kill a higher and higher proportion of the pest, that it becomes quite uneconomic to continue operations once numbers have been reduced below the level at which significant damage occurs.

The actual method of killing may be quite direct. Weeds may be grubbed up or ploughed under. Rabbits may be shot, trapped, poisoned or gassed. Insects may be sprayed or dusted with poisons, or fumigated. On the other hand, the method may be indirect. Owls and hawks may be protected by law, so that these birds may help to reduce the numbers of field mice. The *Cactoblastis*

moth may be introduced to control prickly pear, or a minute parasitic wasp to control the cabbage moth. A reduction in the numbers of a pest may also be achieved by a slight modification of farming methods. Thus it has been found that bur-rushes clogging irrigation channels may be killed if the water in the channels is maintained above a given level for a sufficient period.

Among methods of denying the pest access to the thing that might be attacked, one may mention the use of mosquito nets, fly screens, rabbit-proof and dog-proof fences, and the packing of food products in insect-proof containers. Insect attack on a crop may sometimes be largely evaded by sowing the crop a little earlier or later than is the normal practice. Quarantine also comes under this head. The entrance of a pest into a country where it does not occur may be delayed for many years, or perhaps prevented altogether, by appropriate quarantine measures. Sometimes its spread within a country may be limited in the same way. Many insect pests have been kept out of Australia by quarantine, and many more could have been excluded, had there been a quarantine control in the early days of settlement.

The object liable to attack may be rendered less susceptible in various ways. Repellents rubbed into the skin may protect the human being from mosquito attack. Repellent dressings give sheep some protection from blowfly attack, as may the surgical removal of certain skin folds. By breeding and selection, varieties of plants and animals may be produced that are resistant in varying degree to pest attack. We have "rust" resistant wheat, and breeds of sheep that are relatively unsusceptible to blowfly strike. Zebu cattle, and Zebu crosses, are relatively resistant to cattle ticks and the disease they transmit. The resistance of plants, both to insect attack and to fungal diseases, may often be increased by the use of fertilisers, which enable the plant to grow with maximal vigor.

In dealing with any pest, all these methods of reducing losses have to be considered, and a programme worked out to embody those that appear most applicable.

Pest control is an outstanding example of an undertaking that can only be carried out satisfactorily on a community basis. Before the best method

of control can be devised, a great deal of scientific research is necessary. The habits and life history of the pest must be closely studied to discover the weak points against which attack should be directed. Alternative control methods should be carefully compared to determine their relative efficiency and cost. Now research is not a thing that can be carried out by an individual on his own resources. It requires special training, costly equipment and facilities, a great deal of time, and security for the research worker—for with the best will and the highest ability, he will be unable to find a solution to certain problems. These conditions can only be provided in a research institution, preferably, like the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, financed by the State.

After the research has been completed, and satisfactory methods of control have been found, there is a need for the information to be conveyed from the research worker to the man who will use it; that is, there is need for an "extension service." This, too, requires men of special training to act as advisers, and must be run by the State.

When we come to the actual work of applying the control measures, we find, again, that co-operation and organisation are very important, and frequently essential. All pests are to some extent mobile. Whether plants or animals, they spread from one field to the next, from one property to the next, from one district to the next. The efforts of the individual are at best only partially and temporarily effective, and at worst quite useless, without the full co-operation of all his neighbours. As a consequence, legislation has been passed making it compulsory for landholders to destroy certain specified kinds of agricultural and stock pests if found on their properties.

Unfortunately, legislation is frequently a quite inadequate means of solving the problem. Apart from the many ways in which the law can be evaded, the landholder may have neither the funds nor the manpower to carry out the requirements of the law. He may also lack necessary special knowledge or special equipment to offer more than a token observance of the law, the provisions of which are in any case frequently quite inadequate to secure proper control of the pest.

Granting, then, the importance of co-operation and organisation in pest control, from the stage of research, through that of extension, right down to the stage of practical application, let us consider to what extent these principles are observed in practice in pest control in Australia.

Starting with research, we find that a number of different institutions are engaged in this work. On the agricultural side alone, the C.S.I.R., the Waite Agricultural Research Institute of South Australia, and the Agricultural Departments of each State, are all doing a certain amount of research on pest control. Some of these institutions are not well-equipped for research work, but their directors wish to raise the prestige of the institution, and think this can be done if they are able to point to "re-

search" being carried out on a number of important problems. Petty rivalries of this kind result in much duplication of work, and interfere with the rational planning of research. Frequently the research workers themselves are willing to co-operate, but the policies of their chiefs make this difficult or impossible. Duplication of research facilities, regional research stations, etc., is often more serious than the duplication of research effort. Sometimes it is only necessary for one research institution to start a regional research station, and immediately another institution will bring forward plans for a research station in the same region.

When we come to extension, we find that it is not so much the organisation of the advisory service that can be criticised, as the hopelessly inadequate staff and funds allocated for this purpose. In this respect we compare very unfavorably with the United States. The small staffs and resources that are available are also frequently deflected from what should be their main work, by demands that they should carry out research. However, we do find a serious lack of proper co-operation between the research institutions and the agencies responsible for extension. The chief research institution, the C.S.I.R., is debarré, by an arrangement with the States, from taking any part in extension work. Its publications are, in general, quite unsuitable for the layman. They need to be carefully studied by the properly-qualified extension scientist, and translated into practical recommendations written up in a simple and attractive manner. Petty jealousy, lack of the necessary time, and sometimes lack of the necessary qualifications, often combine to delay this process for years after important new knowledge has been gained through research.

It is in the field of the practical application of control measures that deficient organisation is most evident and most serious. These deficiencies have already been mentioned, and some of the reasons for them have been given. One is forced to the conclusion that a social and economic organisation based on unrestricted individual ownership and control of land and other means of production, is inherently incapable of dealing efficiently with problems whose range cuts clean across individual boundaries. Narrow self-interest, temperamental intractability, or lack of necessary resources in finance, manpower or equipment, can always be relied on to prevent a variable but considerable proportion of individual producers from co-operating wholeheartedly in a campaign of pest control, or any similar project.

The clash of rival political and commercial interests has unhelpful repercussions on pest control. The market is flooded with useless specifics for the control of this or that pest, just as it is with useless patent medicines. Sometimes these specifics claim dishonestly to conform to the recommendations of some research institution. On the other hand, a genuine formula evolved by a research institution may become the exclusive property of a single firm. The firm first works itself into a privileged position with the research institution. It may make a grant

towards a particular branch of investigation. It may give assistance in some technical aspect of the work, supply test materials free of charge, and so on. It may even secure representation on the governing body of the institution, or at least obtain influence with that body. In this way it gains inside information on the progress of the research, and by the time the results are ready for publication, it already possesses the patent rights, and is prepared to start production of the recommended specific.

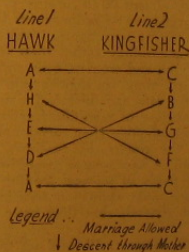
SIDELIGHTS ON ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

CAPT. A. H. JOLLY

PART V.

The Eight Lineage Matrilineal Society and the Quintinary Taboo.

[It is not intended to dwell at any length on this type of society; it is sufficient to say that the pattern and type of fusion, although more complicated, is similar to that of the Four Lineage Society, but in this case each individual had four common ancestors instead of two. If we call one society A B C D and the other E F G H and the Hawk and Kingfisher totems are used this is what happens:



It is not necessary that a whole generation should separate H & F or B & D or, for that matter, that A & C or E & G should marry in their own generation. The society is large enough to accommodate generations of all lineages. The grandparent-grandchild type of marriage is the rule rather than the exception in aboriginal societies.

In this type of society cousin taboo has been eliminated and it is now only possible to marry a second cousin; further, you may not marry a close second cousin, who is differentiated from distant second cousin or spouse. Thus in the Eight Lineage Matrilineal Society one would expect a new term for second cousin and this is exactly what we find.

Many of these Eight Lineage Societies have only fused recently and still retain totems as above, others have lost the matrilineal totemic lines, but

The emphasis placed on various problems competing for the attention of research workers in past control, as in other fields of research, is determined to a large degree by the influence wielded by the various groups that could benefit from the results of the research. There is no difficulty in obtaining funds for the investigation of some problems, while others no less important to the community fail to gain proper recognition. We are still far from being able to plan the distribution of effort in research according to the economic importance of the various possible fields for research.

the society still works in the same way. Although nearly all aboriginal societies are matrilineal, they are for economic reasons patrilineal. The women move and live in the camp or land of their husbands, thus we find family groups made up of fathers and sons but no older daughters. The relatively long distances which separate the family groups make the observance of taboos much easier, but they hinder the coming together of the tribe into a village and hinder the communal economy which would result from village formation, and we shall see that these contradictions are finally overcome by gentile society with a more advanced economy.

The Eight Lineage Matrilineal Societies exist in Northern, and continue down the central regions of Australia.

The Quintinary Taboo

In most Australian tribes an interchange in marriage occurs between sisters of one group and brothers of another, in fact a man will speak of his brother's wife as wife and a woman will speak of her sister's husband as husband and sexual relations between these groups are the rule. To the individual man an individual wife is an economic, not a sexual asset.

Now most tribes have evolved their systems of taboo purely on an empirical basis, they had no scientific knowledge of genetics nor even of conception. Man's part in child production was from dreaming or a lightning flash. In fact if they had had a knowledge of how conception occurred there would have been no need for taboo, all they need have done was to prohibit sexual relations as we do today.

The first inkling of the biology of sex has reached some of the northern tribes and they have introduced the Quintinary Taboo which prohibits a brother-in-law from social and sexual relations with his sister-in-law. In other words it is the first attempt at monogamy and establishing the paternity of one man.

We still have relics of this taboo in our own churches, some of which prohibit the marriage of a man to his dead wife's sister or of a woman to her brother-in-law.

ATOMIC BOMBS: END THIS SECRECY

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

It is reported that President Truman has decided that the technical details of the manufacture of "atomic bombs" are to be kept secret, except perhaps from the Canadian and British Governments.

If this is correct, it probably takes a year or so off my expectation of life, and also off that of a good many Americans. For it means that international control of this weapon will become impossible, or at any rate much more difficult, and that suspicion between nations will grow.

Our own country's part in the matter is unfortunate and dishonorable. In his broadcast speech of June 22, 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, Mr. Churchill promised to put British technical devices connected with the war at the Soviet Union's disposal.

This promise was not kept as regards the atomic bomb, or a number of other inventions of minor importance.

What will be the result?

I have no doubt that research on the utilisation of atomic energy is going on in the Soviet Union and in France. Very probably it is going on in Sweden. Other countries will follow suit. The Belgians, for example, may try it in the Congo, where there is plenty of uranium.

And this is not being done wholly or mainly as a war preparation. It is being done largely in the hope that it will be possible to use the energy of nuclear reactions for industrial purposes, and so bring in an age of plenty.

No nation wishes to be in a position ten years hence of finding America (and perhaps Canada and Britain) using atomic energy by the thousand million horse-power for industry, while they are still working on coal and water power. And industrial use seems nearer realisation today than it did in August.

We are now allowed to know that in the process of making plutonium large lumps of uranium are embedded in a "pile" of graphite, and a fraction of them transformed into neptunium, which then generates plutonium. In this process large amounts of heat are given out, and the whole outfit would melt, and perhaps explode, if the transformation were not regulated. This appears to be done by blocking the streams of neutrons which run through the pile with shutters of the metal cadmium.

In fact, then, the liberation of nuclear energy can already be controlled to some extent, and a development on this line may perhaps give us a source of industrial power. If the details are kept secret, the French and Russians will doubtless work them out at a cost of much money, and perhaps some lives. And they will then keep their processes secret. So five or ten years hence there will be several Powers or groups of Powers with materials

for atomic bombs, and no world organisation controlling them.

Only two Powers will have anything but complete destruction to expect in the event of a war with these weapons, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Britain would have no chance at all. The crazy gang who are working for a Western European bloc do not seem to realise that within ten years London and Paris will probably be within rocket range of the Soviet Union or at least of States which would not belong to any such bloc. We shall also be within range of carrier-borne aircraft, not to mention submarines, from the United States. Meanwhile, we are keeping up a large army and navy which would be about as useful as so many bowmen against atomic bombs, though they are doubtless effective in preserving the interests of the City of London in Greece.

And we are starving science. For example, one of the main laboratories at University College, London, is still occupied by a naval department.

Now if there is any defence against atomic bombs it will be found by scientific research.

Secret research is most unlikely to help us. To take an example, the principles of "radar" were discovered by Watson-Watt in the course of research on the reflexion of radio waves from ionised regions in the air, an investigation which came into the field of meteorology rather than warfare.

Scientific men and women, even those who dislike the Soviet Union, are dead against this policy of secrecy. Not only is it utterly futile, but it may lead to a strangling of scientific freedom far more dangerous and effective than any amount of state planning. If the results of research on atomic physics are to be kept secret, ambitious men will turn to other fields of science, leaving this branch to those whose main ability consists in persuading ministers and generals that they have made great discoveries.

Above all, secrecy will hold up the advent of an age of plenty in which one of the main causes of war will be removed.

The United States has been unusually unaggressive, for a great Power, since 1848, because its people were so fully occupied in developing the resources of their own country. In an age where atomic energy was available for industry every nation would be in this position.

For these reasons I believe that all men and women who love peace, freedom, and honor, should urge that at least the British Government, which started the research on atomic energy, should publish the facts of which it has knowledge. And I have no doubt that the same policy would be in the long run to the interest of the United States.

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