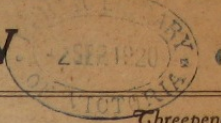


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THE PROLETARIAN REVIEW

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Editor—G. Baracchi.

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Proletarian Comment

THE PROLETARIAN REVIEW is offered to the working class in the hope that it may assist them in their efforts to understand the system which enslaves them. The Marxian method of thought being alone capable of satisfactorily explaining the antagonisms of Capitalism and their outcome. THE PROLETARIAN REVIEW is accordingly uncompromisingly Marxist, and will endeavor to interpret the developments of contemporary society from this standpoint. In grappling with the fundamental problems of the working class, it hopes to arouse a more intelligent interest in those problems on the part of its readers, and to stimulate them to study and to thought. It will recommend sound working-class literature to the working-class student, and should it succeed in increasing the reading of the proletarian classics it will not have been in vain.

THE PROLETARIAN REVIEW opens its columns to contributions in line with its proletarian standpoint. It welcomes questions from its readers upon

matters of working-class interest, and will set aside a part of its space for the purpose of answering them. A limited space will also be set aside for brief correspondence.

Karl Marx once wrote that "philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, but the point is to change it." The working class will change the capitalist world, when, with the aid of the proletarian philosophy, they understand it aright. "To understand means to overcome." But to overcome one must first have understood. It is in the certain knowledge of this that THE PROLETARIAN REVIEW starts upon its way.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN AUSTRALIA.

The ultimate decision as to whether Capitalism or Communism shall control the world will not be made in Australia. A Communist Europe and America will mean a Communist Australia, whether the proletariat of this country likes it or not; but the reverse by no means necessarily applies. Although this is a fact,

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it is not an argument for the working-class in Australia passively awaiting their class in Australia at the hands of their Euro-deliverance at the hands of their European and American fellow-workers; nor, yet, is it an argument for the Australian proletariat contenting itself with the methods it has unavailingly pursued in the past. Apart from the fact that, for its very manhood's sake, it must "do its bit" in preparation for and participation in the world revolution, the actual developments of Capitalism in Australia urgently call for the discarding of an outworn policy, and the fighting of the class struggle by new methods. Against the encroachments of the greater Capital, Trades Unions no longer, in the words of Marx, "work well as centres of resistance," and the political futility of the Labor Party is patent to the very bonehead. The net result of their combined efforts is that during the last twenty years the social condition of the Australian worker has grown steadily worse. In the face of this complete shipwreck of the policy of reform, what new steps are the workers of this country taking? The front ranks of the European and American workers at the present time are actively projecting new methods. What are we doing in Australia?

THE POTENTIALITIES OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Arising from the fact that the Trades Unions no longer "work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital," we have had in this country an agitation for Industrial Unionism, and, as a practical step in this direction, the very recent launching in Melbourne of the O.B.U. or W.I.U. of A., with a considerable membership. In this connection, we wish to draw our readers' attention to a statement of the Bureau of the Third International on Industrial Unionism. "The agitation for, and construction of, industrial unions," the statement proceeds, "provides, in an immediate and practical way, the opportunity to articulate and mobilise the militant spirit of discontent developing in the old unions, to carry on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucracy and the 'aristocracy of Labor.' Industrial Unionism, moreover, provides the opportunity of calling to ac-

tion the unorganised, unskilled workers, and to release the unskilled organised in the Trades Unions from their bondage to the reactionary upper layers of the working-class. The struggle for revolutionary Industrial Unionism is a factor for the development of Communist clearing and for the grasping of the might."

THE LIMITATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

But, although a factor, Industrial Unionism is not, the Bureau of the Third International tells us, the decisive factor in the conquest of power by the workers. "The concept that Industrial Unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of Capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer Utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be organised in Industrial Unions under Capitalist economic conditions. The upper layers of the working-class, being the impulse of Laborism [the creed of the Labor Party], will necessarily reject revolutionary Industrial Unionism; while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of the revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under Capitalism must, in their Industrial Unions, acquire the experience and technical management of industry, 'growing into' the new society by the Industrial Unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the proposals of Parliamentary Socialism—that the working-class must gradually 'grow into' Socialism by acquiring experience of State affairs and 'absorbing' control of the bourgeois state. Each concept, in its own way, rejects the fundamental problem of the revolutionary conquest of State power." The Third International, since its formation in 1919, has all along laid it down that Mass Action and Soviets were the means to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Under the protection of the Soviet Dictatorship, however, "Industrial Unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a Communist basis; and the stronger the Industrial Unions, the easier the process of reconstruction."

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Whatever the role of Industrial Unionism and other things, there can be no doubt about the paramount importance to the workers of proletarian education. For the workers to be CONSCIOUS of the present situation of their CLASS, how it grew out of the past, and whither it tends in the future, that is what really matters. In this respect, there are some encouraging signs. Among others, one. In Melbourne, there is plainly discernible among the more revolutionary elements a new seriousness to supplement the instinct of revolt with a sound knowledge of scientific Socialism. Some of those

who had previously confined themselves to the philosophy of "action" have now betaken themselves to the philosophy of Engels, with the result that their actions in future will be less Utopian and more scientific. Let them persist in their studies, and induce to study others who will induce still others. In this way only, in Australia as elsewhere, will arise a powerful vanguard of proletarians, capable of directing that struggle whose outcome shall forever make an end, the whole world round, of all misery whose source is slavery, exploitation, and ignorance. Happy he who is called to share in this sublime battle and has fitted himself to do so.

The German Revolution

(By A.S.E.)

(Translated from the "Esperanto Internacia Socia Revuo.")

Though the following article was written by a Dutch Socialist, and refers to Germany, the causes and facts of the failure of the proletariat to accomplish anything more than a bourgeois masquerade, posing as a Socialist government, may, with a change of names, be applied to Australia. His statement that the Social Democratic Party of Germany spent its energies not in working-class education, but in obtaining an enormous membership, a large number of representatives in Parliament, a superficial propaganda, and in phrase-mongering, is equally true of the Socialist Party of America, most of the parties of England, and the Labor Party of Australia. They have sufficiently demonstrated by their acts during the war that, in the event of similar conditions to those in Germany, these parties will act as betrayers of the working class.—Translated by E. S. Hanks.

REVOLUTION IN GERMANY! WILHELM EXPELLED!

Workmen's and soldiers' Soviets! Prussian militarism destroyed! Long live the International! So, indeed, Germany appeared during November, 1918. But a year has passed, and we can see that everything was lies, imposture on the proletariat. The Soviets have disappeared, or were suppressed. The new Prussian militarism is more arrogant than the old. And Wilhelm returns—but no, pardon me, it is not Wilhelm; it is Ebert. However, the name is unim-

portant. Both play the role of popular benefactors—just rulers. The only difference is that Ebert has wider opportunity. And anew begin pogroms of Socialists—in the name of the Socialist Government.

But why? How could that terrible imposture occur? That pseudo-revolution?

It will not help to grieve over the present conditions, to complain of schisms among Socialists. It will not help to insult the Socialist renegades who now govern in Germany. We must regard the facts objectively. The heart-breaking failure of the revolution could not have been possible if the German proletariat had had a revolutionary education. Here lies the cause. Before the Great War the German Social Democratic Party labored to get a great membership, a large number of representatives in Parliament. It left aside the training of the proletariat in a Socialist mentality. It nursed a superficial education, a belief in the phrase-mongering of leaders.

This had already avenged itself during the war. The great masses believed in the phantom of the defence of the Fatherland. The anti-militarists were not strong enough for efficient action.

Their few members were sent to the penal establishments or to the trenches. And the Socialist leaders, the lip Socialists, turned from the steep way of opposition and threw themselves into the arms of the war party—of course, the war party of their own land.

Little by little part of the people wakened. Bit by bit grew the numbers of those opposed to the war. The more frenzied grew the militarists, the greater became the prudence of the proletariat. In January, 1918, as if a prelude to the revolution, mass strikes occurred. But they were not successful, because the state on the battle-fronts was favorable to the German War Party. The leaders of the strikes were sent to the war. However, this did not stifle the tendency to revolution. A small part—the cream—of the proletariat labored to become free. And in November, 1918, their labors came to a head, together with the military catastrophe. From these timely circumstances the revolution of the whole nation appeared to spring.

But the appearance was deceptive. The revolutionary idea had not entered the brains of the proletariat. It was the small superior part of it who fired the mass for the first moment. But that momentary flame was valueless, as was soon shown. The first transport of joy over the finish of the war soon passed, and then was uncovered the real lack of revolutionary idea. Then was shown the need of Socialist education. The introduction of the Soviet system—the consequence of a victorious proletarian revolu-

tion—is not possible so long as every proletarian is not thoroughly convinced of its urgent necessity. And for this conviction we must aim and aspire. The Soviet system is the obvious aim of the proletariat. Its definite form is not yet indisputably clear, but one thing is certain: It first requires an educated proletariat, not educated according to bourgeois methods, but educated according to new proletarian culture. Its principle is enlightenment according to economic and political requirements, the knowledge of the process of production in the different industries, the harmonising of all economic conditions to national—indeed, international—well-being.

It is not possible to differentiate between economic and political movements. Every great economic strike is political. Every political movement has economic effects. Because the economic demands of the workers aim at strengthening themselves and weakening the exploiters, till they demand full socialisation.

And political aiming to power of the proletariat is accompanied by the desire to be economically free.

The coming revolution which will give power to the proletariat will only conquer when the majority of the working class understand the necessity for self-education and the need of subtle knowledge concerning economic functions.

Of no use are phrases such as: "All power to the Soviets!" Learn and learn, so that every proletarian can function as a member of a Soviet. Only that way can we conquer.

The Materialist Conception of History

The Physical Factor and the Economic Factor.

(By "Radix.")

The materialistic conception of history connotes that all social customs, laws, institutions, and attainments are ultimately determined by the material conditions in which men live, or have lived. This doctrine is analogous to psychological determinism—the theory that the beliefs, will, and conduct of the individual are due to the circumstances and condi-

tions under which he has developed. Just as individual consciousness is determined by environment, so is social consciousness, if I may be pardoned the expression. And the term "environment" is used in the widest sense, as including the prenatal and post-natal circumstances of an individual in the first case, and of an epoch in the second.

According to the materialistic conception of history, then, all social progress is due to the material environment, working, it is true, through and by means of the minds of men, and NOT to the autonomous indeterminism of those minds themselves.

Further, of all the material factors which influence social growth, the most important during historic times is the economic—that is, the manner in which wealth is produced and distributed chiefly influences the character of the religious, moral, political, and judicial beliefs and institutions of a given historic epoch. This doctrine is, therefore, sometimes spoken of as economic determinism, and seems at times to be confused with the generic concept—that of historical materialism.

It will be borne in mind in what follows, of course, that I am not so much attempting to prove as to define and characterise. The sojourn of mankind on this planet may be divided into two epochs—the first, that unfathomed abyss of time during which he climbed slowly the long path leading into the purview of history—the epoch of primitive Communism; the second, the relatively short but tempestuous voyage which history contemplates. Purely PHYSICAL conditions—soil, climate, etc.—were of chief importance during prehistoric and communistic times, purely economic conditions during historic and private property times. In those early stages of human existence it might be roughly said that there were no economic conditions—that society existed in a wholly PHYSICAL environment. No economic basis was interposed between Nature and society. Tools, etc., were insignificant. Man took almost directly from Nature what he could, being very dependent on her caprices. I do not mean to say that questions of food supply, etc., were unimportant to primitive man. Rather the reverse. But where (as here) it is a matter of APPROPRIATION of wealth, rather than PRODUCTION, the ECONOMIC relations that arise are those between men and Nature rather than between man and man. And it is these latter that form the content of economics. PHYSICAL Nature, there-

fore, determined all social activities and beliefs directly in this stage. The elementary religious notions were acquired directly from Nature, just as were the bodily food, etc. Permanent and private property there was practically none, and, therefore, the moral, judicial, and political institutions were comparatively insignificant, for these are chiefly concerned with private property. Kinship was the social nexus, and classes were unknown, for wealth was so small as to be unable to more than maintain all who helped in gaining it. This shows economic determinism in its negative aspect. Classes are impossible where productivity is small. But this stage was in time outgrown. The kinship bond was broken by the upgrowth of private property (chiefly in the form of flocks and herds), and classes formed. Betimes, handicrafts separated from agriculture. Merchants and money-lenders appeared, and society found itself in the rapids of heartless and sordid commercialism. Ever new methods of production were discovered, and led to fabulous increase of wealth (private). This wealth, or the conditions of its production and distribution, exercised a determining influence on human thought and action. It was itself due, in great part, to an increasing control over Nature. This implies, in converse, that Nature's influence on man and society is less and decreasing. As this increasing knowledge of Nature is applied mainly to increase productivity, new economic relations between men result from it, which in turn react on the thoughts and institutions already existing. Taking the broadest view of human development, it would seem that, for the most part, religious ideas, and such (small) portion of ceremonial and juridical ideas, etc., as have no connection with private property, originated in the primitive stage, independently of economics (in the sense above indicated), and were determined by physical conditions.

The main portion of moral, juridical, etc., beliefs and institutions—namely, those emanating from private property, developed in the second stage, and were determined by ECONOMIC conditions. These same economic conditions caused adaptive VARIATIONS in the religious,

moral, etc., ideas and institutions that were originally directly DETERMINED by physical environment in the first epoch. So with any two historic epochs. The effect of ECONOMIC conditions on religion is chiefly as a variant, while on morals, law, and politics they act chiefly as a DETERMINANT.

For example: Where food is extremely scarce, cannibalism would be freely practised, and receive religious and legal sanction. But with the increase of man's power over Nature, and the possibility of the individual producing more than is sufficient for his own sustenance, cannibalism would cease. It would then be more profitable to set a prisoner to work and appropriate his surplus product. The economic waste (i.e., wrong) of cannibalism would quickly find its reflection in religious and moral ideas. So with slavery and serfdom. There comes a time when wage labor is cheaper and more productive than either, and this soon works a revolution in the "social consciousness."

Bourgeois Parliaments and Reactionary Unions

(By Nicolai Lenin.)

From the point of view of Marxian theory, as well as from the point of view of the experience of the three revolutions of 1905, February, 1917, and October, 1917, I consider it a mistake to decline to participate in the bourgeois parliament, in the reactionary labor unions of Legien, Gompers, etc., in the reactionary "Workers' Council" established by the Scheidemanns. Sometimes, in individual cases, the boycott is practical in a certain land: thus, for example, it was right for the Bolsheviks to boycott the Czarist Duma in 1905, but the same Bolsheviks participated in the much more reactionary and by far more counter-revolutionary Duma of the year 1907. The Bolsheviks took part in the elections to the bourgeois Constituent Assembly in 1917, but in the year 1918 they scattered it, to the terror of all petty bourgeois demo-

To sum up, at the expense even of repetition, physical determinism operates in primitive times, and directly on the whole society. Economic determinism operates in historic times, and indirectly through the classes of which all historic societies are composed. The recognition of these truths gives us the materialistic concept of history—a generic term including physical AND economic determinism.

The economic thread must be our guide through all historic mazes and problems. By its aid only can we explain the changes and revolutions that take place in religious, moral, judicial, and political ideas and institutions. So, in explaining the ideas, customs, etc., of primitive peoples, we must look mainly to their PHYSICAL environment: climate, soil, location, etc. Of course, these latter conditions operate to a certain (though diminishing) extent during historic times, and must be always considered in historic research.

crats, the Kautskys, and the rest of the renegades of Socialism. We participated in the reactionary, purely Menshevist labor unions, which, as far as their counter-revolutionary attitude is concerned, were no better than the most villainous and reactionary unions of Legien in Germany. Even now, two years after we have seized the power of the State, our struggle against the remains of the Menshevist labor unions—that is, the unions of the order of Scheideman, Gompers, etc.—is not yet over, so long and weary is the process, so strong is in various places the influence of the petty bourgeois idea.

Formerly we comprised a minority in the Soviets, a minority in the unions and co-operatives. Through hard work, through a long and weary struggle—both before and since our con-

quest of political power—we drew over to our side the majority, in all the labor organisations, later also in such organisations in which not only workers were represented, and finally also in the petty bourgeois organisations.

Only knaves and fools can believe that the proletariat must win the majority in elections taking place under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, under the pressure of wage slavery, and only then seize the power. This is the height of narrowness and hypocrisy. It is the attempt to substitute for the class struggle and the Revolution, elections under the old social order, under the old government. The proletariat conducts its class struggle without waiting for a vote for the beginning of a strike, although for the full success of the strike the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of the majority of the population—is necessary. The proletariat carries on its fight and overthrows the bourgeoisie without waiting for any preliminary vote (in which the bourgeoisie itself participates, and which takes place under its pressure), although at the same time the proletariat knows full well that for the success of its Revolution, for the successful downing of the bourgeoisie, there is absolute necessity of the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of the majority of the population.

Parliamentary centrism and the modern Louis Blancs insist on the vote, and that a vote carried out by the bourgeoisie determines the sympathy of the majority. But that is the view of pedants, of political corpses, of cunning deceivers.

Actual life, the history of the real Revolution, shows that the "sympathy of the majority of the workers" may often be proved without any vote (aside from such votes as are taken on a basis of "equality" of the exploiter with the exploited). Very often the sympathy of the majority of the workers is revealed, not through votes, but through the growth of one of the parties in the number of members in the councils, through the success of a single strike, which, for some reason, has gained great significance, through success in the Civil War, etc.

The fight against the betrayers of Socialism, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, must be a ruthless one, but it must not be fought on the basis of participation in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary unions, etc., or boycotting of these organs. That would be an absolute mistake. A still greater one would be to deviate from the ideas of Marxism and its practical line (a strong centralised party) in favor of the ideas and practice that demands as a matter of principle participation in the bourgeois parliament, in the reactionary labor unions, in the factory councils organized and castrated by the Scheidemanns. Such a party must function wherever there are workers, wherever workers may be spoken to, wherever the working class may be influenced. One must absolutely unite the illegal with the legal, systematically and without deviation establishing a strict control of the legal activity through the illegal party and its workers' organisations. This is not easy. But there is not, and cannot be, any "easy" task, any "easy" struggle for the proletarian revolution. But this problem must be solved at all costs.

POLAND.

Poland, scapegoat of the nations, see
They send thee daggers now to slash thy
throat;
That with the bloody current of thy life
Thou hold at bay the upstart slaves who
deign
Establish empery in Eastern lands,
And mock the kingship of the imperial
West.

O Poland, hurl their daggers back upon
them!
Cast off thy slavishness—not yet, not
yet,
The work of centuries completed; still
Art thou the servant of their sateless
greed.

Arise, arise, and know thou Liberty:
Thine eastern neighbor cometh with the
dawn
To teach the radiant lesson. Lo, behold!
The rising, not the setting, of the sun!
—Ralph Gordon.

Socialism and Communism

(By KARL MARX.)

(From his Criticism of the Gotha Programme.)

I.—Socialism or Lower Communism.

What we are here concerned with is a Communist Society, not as it might have developed upon an independent basis of its own, but as it actually issues from Capitalist Society. In every respect, alike economically, morally and intellectually, it is afflicted with the congenital defects of the society from which it has sprung. Consequently, after . . . deductions, the individual producer receives back precisely what he gives to society. What he has given is his individual quantum of labor. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual working hours; the individual working time of the individual producer is the portion he has contributed to the social working day, his share in that day. He receives from society a voucher, showing that he has done so and so much work (after deduction of his work on behalf of the communal fund). On presentation of this voucher, he withdraws from the communal store-house articles of consumption as much as this quantum of work is worth. He receives back from society the same quantum of work in another form.

Obviously, the same principle is here at work as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, in so far as this is the exchange of equivalent values. Content and form are changed, because under the changed circumstances no one has anything to give beyond his work, and because, on the other hand, nothing but articles for individual consumption can pass into individual ownership. As far, however, as concerns the exchange of these articles of individual consumption among the individual producers, the same principle operates as when the exchange of commodity equivalents is effected, namely, a quantum of work in one form is exchanged for an equal quantum of work in another form.

Thus equal right remains the workin-

principle—bourgeois right — although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, whereas the exchange of equivalents in the exchange of commodities exists only as a method of averages, and not for the individual case.

Despite this advance, such equal right remains affected by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is proportional to their respective contributions of labor; the equality consists in this, that the same standard of measurement, i.e., labor, is applied to all.

But one person is physically or mentally superior to another, and can, therefore, do more work in a certain time, or can continue longer at work; and if labor is to be the standard of measurement, it is necessary to take into account the duration or the intensity of the labor, for otherwise there is no standardisation. Equal right implies unequal right for unequal work. There are no class distinctions, for every worker ranks with the others; but there is tacit recognition of unequal individual endowments, and, therefore, unequal functional capacities, those with superior equipment being privileged by nature. Like all right, therefore, it is substantially an unequal right.

From its very nature, right can only consist in the application of a uniform standard; but the unequal individuals (unequal simply because they are different individuals) can have an equal standard applied to them only in so far as they are all viewed from the same visual angle, are looked on solely from a single definite aspect. In the case in point we must look on them all simply as workers, must see nothing else in them, must ignore their other qualities. Again, one workman is married, another unmarried; one has more children than another, and so on. Suppose them all to do an equal quantum of work, and all to receive an equal share from the social

fund of articles of consumption, it will follow that in actual effect one will receive more than another, one will be better off than another, and so on. If we are to avoid all these maladaptations, the right must be unequal, not equal.

But such maladaptations are inevitable in the first phase of communist society, because it is born out of capitalist society, and after prolonged labor pains. Right can never attain to a higher level than is attained by the economic structure of society, and by the consequent cultural development of society.

II.—Communism Proper.

In a higher phase of Communist So-

ciety, when the slavish subordination of the individual to the yoke of the division of labor has disappeared, and when concomitantly the distinction between mental and physical work has ceased to exist; when labor is no longer the means to live, but is in itself the first of vital needs; when the productive forces of society have expanded proportionally with the multifarious development of the individuals of whom society is made up—then will the narrow bourgeois outlook be utterly transcended, and then will society inscribe upon its banners, "From everyone according to his capacities, to everyone according to his needs!"

A Proletarian Study Course

The Need for Study.

What was it Karl Marx particularly admired in the German proletariat of his day? Their interest in theory. What is it that Karl Kautsky, in the midst of his attacks on the Bolsheviks, is forced to admit is admirable about the Russian proletariat? Their interest in theory. Why was Lenin glad when he was told that Ramsay Macdonald was coming to Moscow instead of Henderson? Because, although Macdonald is not a Marxist in any sense of the word, he is at least interested in theory. And why have these three men found an interest in theory so admirable in the working class? Because it is the sublime mission of the working class to lead the world from Capitalism to Communism, and in the performance of this task their correct action depends upon their correct thinking. It is essential for the proletariat to have a clear understanding of certain fundamentals.

The rapid development of modern Imperialism, the World War, the proletarian revolution in Russia, the centralisation of control of capital elsewhere, and the portentous developments of the money system—all these things should indicate to the working man who can see beyond his nose that the end of Capitalism is not very far away. In these circumstances he will surely feel the urgent

need for study, for the study of scientific Socialism or critical Communism, which, in 1847, Frederick Engels had already defined as "the theory of the conditions of the victory of the working class." He will feel the need for such study, because he will be aware that with an understanding of the conditions of the victory of his class he will, when the hour of its deliverance has struck, know what to do. Not that it is for him or his fellow-workers to make the revolution or to stay it—it is coming whether they wish it or not; but if they have grasped the positive outcome of philosophy, if they have learnt the lesson of history, if they have understood the economics of Capitalism, if their study has put them on the right track of the development of society, then can they shorten and lessen the birth-pangs of the new era, and render the inevitable revolution fruitful.

Look now at the reverse side. If study leads the working class to correct thinking, and clear thinking leads them to sound action, on the other hand, "the thousand and one Utopian and chimerical notions that are flaring up, the hopeless, helpless grasping after straws that characterises the conduct of the bulk of the working class," the futilities of our Labor

and pseudo-Socialist parties, the miseducation derived by numbers of workers from such bodies as the W.E.A., all these and more have for their absolute prerequisite the ignorance of the mass of the workers of the fundamentals of their own culture, scientific Socialism or critical Communism. Just as a working class educated to veritable class consciousness could never be imposed upon and diverted from its mission either by its enemies or by charlatans and quacks, so workers lacking the elements of such knowledge are capable of acts of the most abysmal folly. Here, again, a course of proletarian study would enable them to steer their way through "the existing chaos that the death-tainted social system creates all around" them.

In Australia at the present time the situation is distinctly non-revolutionary. This is the very time that calls for working-class education, for study. Compared with what is possible, very little proletarian education has yet been done in Australia. But, partly due to the stimulus of the Russian revolution, with its triumphant vindication of Marxism, partly due to other causes, a certain searching of heart is visible in the front ranks of the working class to-day, and a certain demand for Marxist education. In proof of what we say, we can cite a tendency plainly noticeable in Melbourne and other parts of Australia to form proletarian study circles and classes. If the present occasion and demand are promptly and competently met, it may be that we shall shortly see in Australia what we have not seen yet—a considerable band of proletarians firmly grounded in the principles of Marxism or scientific Socialism, who will then proceed to stimulate the more backward ranks of their fellow-workers to similar studies. In this way it may even now be possible to begin the building up of a powerful revolutionary movement in Australia. The pre-requisite of this is a persistent and conscientious study of Marxism.

Being fully seized with the paramount importance of study by the workers of the fundamentals of critical Communism, "the theory of the conditions of the vic-

tory of their class," the "Proletarian Review" aims to offer a Proletarian Study Course to its readers in the near future.

HIGH PRICES.

The main cause of the present high prices is to be found, not in "profiteering," but in the financial system. "The man," writes Professor Edwin Cannan, "who will give Europe a lead in setting currency to rights will have done more to stave off anarchy, bloodshed and confusion than anyone else in the world." In the likely eventuality of the capitalists being unable to find any such man, would it not be as well for the workers to prepare forthwith for that action which alone can rid the world forever of such imminent catastrophes?

THE PRINCE.

"It is unnecessary for a prince to have all the good qualities . . . but it is very necessary to appear to have them. . . . He ought to entertain the people with festivals and spectacles at convenient seasons, . . . and as every city is divided into guilds or into societies, he ought to . . . associate with them sometimes, . . . nevertheless, always maintaining the majesty of his rank. . . . Let a prince have the credit of . . . holding his state, the means will always be considered honest, and he will be praised by everybody; because the vulgar are always taken by what a thing seems to be and by what comes of it."—Nicolo Machiavelli in 1513.

GERMAN SOCIALIST TRAITORS.

The Social Democratic party of Germany has formally acknowledged that there can hereafter be no possibility of accord with the Independent Socialists. At a meeting of the executive committee held in the Reichstag, the party somewhat tardily recognises the decision reached by the Independents at their Leipzig conference on December 16, that the aims of the two parties are in direct antagonism. Minister Ebert and several ministers attended the meeting. People who try to reconcile Socialism with the Australian Labour Party should note this.

Marxian Economics

The basic principles of scientific socialism are three: The **Materialist Conception of History**, the **Class Struggle**, and the **Labor Theory of Value and Surplus Value**. If the first is our "guiding thread" in studying the development of all social phenomena, and the second has been the fundamental fact of all societies subsequent to the epoch of primitive communism, it is only a knowledge of the economics of societies which enables us to apply the one and understand the other. The Labor Theory of Value is the key to a knowledge of the economy of capitalist society. And to reveal the workings of the Law of Value beneath all the phenomena of capitalist production and circulation is the principal task of Marxian Economics. An understanding of these is one of the vital needs of the proletariat.

That being so, subsequent issues of the "Proletarian Review" will naturally contain articles dealing from the Marxian standpoint with various aspects of capitalist economy. We have accordingly thought it useful to include in this issue some definitions of economic terms, which we take from the Socialist Labor Party edition of Marx's "Value, Price and Profit," and which will aid the student to an appreciation of Marxian economic writings.

Definitions.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.—The science of wealth production and distribution.

WEALTH (economically understood) is the sum of the product of human labour socially necessary to humanity. In capitalist society it is called the sum of commodities.

COMMODITY.—A use value; in capitalist society it is the unit of economic wealth, and is produced for exchange. It is socially produced, but is INDIVIDUALLY controlled.

USE VALUE.—A utility or useful thing, which only becomes a reality in consumption.

EXCHANGE VALUE.—A utility-containing expended labour power, and capa-

ble of being exchanged when brought into exchange relation.

VALUE (embodied labour) is the social labour embodied in a commodity, the amount of which is measured by the average social time required to produce the commodity under average conditions and with average ability on the part of the labourer.

LABOUR POWER.—The power or capacity to labour.

LABOUR.—Expended labour power.
SOCIALLY NECESSARY LABOUR.—The amount of labour which, upon the average, society requires for the particular task or process, measured by time.

SOCIALLY NECESSARY LABOUR TIME.—The time required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time.

MONEY.—That commodity which functions as the universal equivalent.

PRICE.—The money name for value. Price oscillates round about value and need not coincide with it.

WAGES.—The price of labour power.
CAPITAL.—That amount of wealth used in the production of commodities with a view to profit.

NOMINAL WAGE.—The price paid by the capitalist to the worker for his labour power.

RELATIVE WAGE.—The return to labour power (the worker) as compared with the rate of profit. If wages do not keep pace with the share of capital, the relative wage has fallen and the social position of Labour has been lowered.

REAL WAGES.—The purchasing power of wages.

SURPLUS VALUE.—The difference between what Labour receives (wages) and what Labour actually produces. This unpaid portion is Surplus Value, and determines the ratio of Labour's exploitation.

The student of Marxian Economics should begin by reading Marx's little

book, "Value, Price and Profit," which covers the ground of capitalist production in an elementary way. Let him commence with chapter vi. on Value and Labour, where he will find the general law for the value of commodities stated as follows:—"The values of commodities are directly as the times of labour employed in their production, and are inversely as the productive powers of the labour employed." After completing chapter vi., the student should turn back to the beginning and go through the book. He should then proceed to a reading of Marx's pamphlet, "Wage Labour and Capital." The 6d. edition contains an invaluable introduction by Marx's collaborator, Frederick Engels, in which he reveals to us with an admirable lucidity the source of the capitalist's profit. "Labour power," he tells us, "is, in our present-day society, a commodity like every other commodity, but yet a very peculiar commodity. It has, namely, the peculiarity of being a value-creating force, the source of value, and, moreover, when properly treated, of more value than it possesses itself." Hence surplus value, hence profit.

Having mastered these two little works, our student, sighing for new worlds to conquer, may now take up the study of Marx's "Critique of Political Economy" (his best work on money) and of "Capital."

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

Revolutionary propaganda formerly sent out by the foreign office of the Soviets at Moscow is now being sent out by the Third or Communist International, according to the State Department at Washington, which contends that this international represents with the Bolshevik government a single movement backed by the governmental machinery. The committee directing the propaganda is said to include Nikolai Lenin, G. Zinoviev, Secretary Bersin of the Communist International, and Bucharin (vice-president of the executive committee of the International). Klinger is said to be business manager of the organisation.

FORTY-FOUR HOURS.

Recently it seemed quite possible that an effort was going to be made by various sections of the Australian working class to gain a reduction in hours of labour from 48 to 40 and in some cases 36. But at the critical moment Mr. Justice Higgins stepped into the arena and suggested a round table conference between Capital and Labour should be held to consider whether the time was not ripe for a reduction from 48 to 44 hours per week. Labour seems to have fallen to the bait, and now it can be said that not only is less than 44 hours unlikely to result in the immediate future, but even the 44 hours per week need not be conceded by the masters. For any point upon which it is possible for two sides to arbitrate is a point upon which it is possible for the two sides to compromise.

A SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.

Solidarity was lately manifested in Melbourne.

Recently a section of the gas workers laid claim to and, in fact, appear to have gained, an increase from £600 to £1000 a year. Now, immediately following the success of this section, another section of the gas workers—this time the dinkum ones, or those who produce useful gas—are making an effort to force an improvement in conditions. At the moment it looks as though the dinkums will have to fight strenuously for any increase they get.

REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN ITALY.

In the last week of February the executive committee of the Italian Socialist Party met in Florence and passed a fateful resolution presented by Bombacci, leader of the left wing element. This resolution provided that the party send out organisers all over the country to begin immediately the formation of Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants, in preparation for the revolution. The one fact that every realistic thinker in Italy knows to-day is that there will be a revolution soon.—"The Liberator."

A PROLETARIAN LIBRARY

(By G. Baracchi.)

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION.

By Nicolai Lenin.

Side by side in the world to-day exist the imperialist States of the capitalists and the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. At such a time, in the culminating epoch of Capitalism, it is, above all, necessary for the working class to apprehend clearly both the nature of the State and its relation to a proletarian revolution. Nothing better than a study of Lenin's little book, written in 1917, just before the October Revolution, can be recommended in this connection. Merely as a compendium of the teachings of Marx and Engels on the subject of the State, the book is invaluable, and Lenin's development of these teachings is scarcely less admirable.

After having explained that the State did not exist in the social era known as primitive communism, that it is only found in societies which are composed of antagonistic classes, that in such societies it is essentially the organised power by means of which one class oppresses another, and that under civilised Communism the State will die out, Lenin passes to an examination of the revolutionary experience gained during the years 1848-1851, and the lessons to be learned therefrom.

He then proceeds to an analysis of the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, an experience which demonstrated that "the working class cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the State, and set it going for its own ends," but must break up this machinery, and substitute their own form of State in its place. The Paris Commune was such a form of State, "the proletariat organised as the ruling class," "the dictatorship of the proletariat," "the political form, at last discovered, under which Labor could work out its economic emancipation." It is important to note that the Commune involved the destruction of Parliamentarism. "The Commune," wrote Marx, "was to have been not a parliamentary,

but a working, corporation." The Russian Soviet, which is also the dictatorship of the proletariat, likewise involves the destruction of Parliamentarism.

Lenin shows how Engels attacked the confused ideas of the Anarchists on the subject of the State; he also shows how Engels criticised the partisans of a "Free People's State," or, as we should say nowadays, of democracy, no less severely. Engels, indeed, wrote in 1894 that "Social-Democratic" was an unsuitable name "for a party whose final political aim is the supersession of the whole State, and, therefore, also of democracy." On the whole question of democracy Lenin's book is intensely interesting.

Engels has told us that under Socialism the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, that the State dies out. Marx has pointed us to the actual evolution by which this will eventuate. Lenin develops their teachings, and traces for us the transition from Capitalism to Socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the further development of Socialism towards Communism. The difference between Socialism and Communism is explained elsewhere in this number of the "Proletarian Review."

Lenin concludes his book with a chapter on the vulgarisation of Marx by opportunists. He points out how these have distorted the meaning of Marxism, covering it up here, evading it elsewhere—in general, cutting out its revolutionary heart. Lenin deals with Kautsky and Plechanoff in particular. This section has a peculiar value for the working class in this country, who are also beset by men who, masquerading under the name of "Socialists," preach opportunism to the workers, and only differ from Kautsky and Plechanoff in the unplumbed depths of their ignorance.

"The State and Revolution" is altogether a masterly little work, written in that simple, straightforward style in which Lenin deals with the most com-

plicated problems, and which is admirably adapted to the requirements of the working class.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

By Karl Kautsky.
"The exploiters," writes Kautsky, "have always been only a small minority of the population." This being so, Lenin draws the Marxist, Socialist conclusion, and takes the relation of the exploited to the exploiters as his basis. Kautsky, on the other hand, draws the liberal or bourgeois-democratic conclusion, and takes for his basis the relation of the majority to the minority.

In the above book, written in 1918, upon proletarian dictatorship in general, and attacking the Bolsheviks in particular, Kautsky takes for "pure" democracy what is in reality purely formal. Democracy implies equality. But while the relation of the exploited to the exploiters persists there cannot be equality. The essential substance of Socialism is that the exploiter and the exploited are not equal. Nor can there be real equality before it is absolutely impossible for one class to oppress another.

Lenin explains that for a long time after a revolution the exploiters will hold many real, great advantages; they have money, which cannot be immediately abolished; they own movable property, often of great value; they have relations, organisation, and administrative experience; they know all kinds of administrative "secrets," customs, methods, means, and possibilities; they own education; they are in close relations with the technically highest personnel, which lives and thinks as bourgeoisie; they have more experience in war, and this is by no means unimportant. Moreover, if the exploiters are crushed in only one country, they will nevertheless remain powerful by reason of their very extensive international relations. A part of the exploited is also apt to go over to the exploiters during a revolution. This was the experience of the Paris Commune.

It is, therefore, absurd to assume that in a thoroughgoing revolution the relation between majority and minority can

be a decisive factor; that the exploiting class will respect the decision of the exploited majority before they have tested their superiority in a final struggle. The decisive factor remains the relation of the exploited to the exploiters. From this it follows that just as a bourgeois republic is in reality a democracy only for the exploiters, so a state of the exploited must be a democracy for these, and express itself as oppression for the exploiters, who are thus put outside "democracy."

The existence of a general or a limited suffrage makes no difference to this. It is, however, instructive to note that Kautsky writes of general suffrage as "the deep source of strong moral authority," whereas Engels, discussing the Paris Commune and the question of dictatorship, speaks of "the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie." Lenin points out that the question of depriving the exploiting class of its suffrage rights is a purely Russian question, not one that is vitally necessary to a dictatorship of the proletariat. But after the experience of the Russian revolution it is probable that in other countries also the exploiters will be disfranchised. The point, however, is this, that be the suffrage limited or general, the absolute prerequisite of proletarian dictatorship is, in the words of Marx and Engels, the "crushing" and "forcible crushing" of the exploiters as a class, and, therefore, the disregarding of "pure democracy," i.e., equality and freedom, in regard to that class.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, the temporary state of the working class, is an immense expansion of democracy, becoming for the first time democracy for the poor, instead of merely democracy for the rich. But since the working class cannot win without crushing the resistance of its opponents, proletarian dictatorship is impossible without violating democracy for the exploiters. This fundamental fact Kautsky has wholly disregarded. He builds up, as one would expect, a clever case against the Bolsheviks from the bourgeois-democratic standpoint, and his book should certainly be read by the working-class student. But the corrective to such reading is Lenin's "State and Revolution."

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BOOKS REVIEWED OR RECOMMENDED IN THIS ISSUE

- THE STATE AND REVOLUTION.** By Nicolai Lenin. (For review of this classic see Proletarian Library by G. Baracchi.) The A.S.P. edition 2/6, posted 2/8.
- DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.** By Karl Kautsky. (See Proletarian Library by G. Baracchi.) Coming, 3/6, posted 3/8.
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SOME STANDARD WORKS

For a study of any subject, no books are better than the standard works on that subject. Describing them as standard works is simply another way of saying that they are the best. They are the fountain heads. All Socialists will agree that the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels stand pre-eminent as the sources from which can be obtained a complete understanding of scientific Socialist principles. Below are a list of some of the great works of these two authors, along with a few others whose excellence is of such a character as to warrant them coming under this heading.

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PROLETARIAN
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1920.

Threepence.



—(From the "Liberator.")

Clemenceau: "But where will you get the troops?"
Lenin: "I'll use yours."

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Proletarian Comment

What Means This Strike?

IN 1919, during the course of the maritime strike, the secretary of the Seamen's Union threatened that the working-class might throw the city of Melbourne in darkness. Barely a year later, the strikes of the factory engine-drivers and of the gas-workers have practically done so. During the cessation of work on the part of the engine-drivers whole districts of Melbourne were plunged each night in an Erebus-like gloom, and, even as we write, but a faint supply of gas is trickling through the pipes. We shall not readily forget the impression made upon us by the darkened streets. They brought home to us in a "striking" manner that it is only by grace of the proletariat that the world of capitalism continues to live. In the production of the necessities and comforts of life, the class that is brow-beaten and starved, exploited and oppressed and degraded is the only class that counts. And the meaning of the present strike is that, for the time at least, the workers in question have had enough of it. As the development of capitalism brings greater pressure to bear upon the workers in the basic industries, these will have had more than enough of it. And in the not distant future a crisis will finally ensue which will force the workers to rid themselves of capitalism for ever. On that day the proletariat will arise and fling its masters into the gutter, whence they may crawl into the factories that are no longer theirs

and beg the victorious workers for a job. It is in its indication, however slight, of impending social revolution that the significance of the strike lies.

The Blight of Sectionalism.

AS a practical success, the Gas-workers' and Engine-drivers' strike does not cut any ice. For this the sectionalism that the Trades Unions foster is chiefly to blame. Had the workers in the two essential industries concerned made common cause and taken proper advantage of the opportunities that offered, the strike might have been won in a few days. Had those conducting the strike been animated by the principle of solidarity which industrial unionism proclaims, they would not have sanctioned any section of the workers going back until the strike was settled. On the tactics employed, "Jaybes," writing in the "One Big Union Herald," is illuminating. "The two vital exemptions made may yet defeat the purpose of the strike. . . . Had the men refused to work the machinery at Angliss' freezing works, they would have found in Angliss a powerful ally (forced by his material interests, i.e., the protection of his perishable goods) to fight his brother capitalists for a speedy termination of the strike. . . . Then again, the pumping at the sewerage works should have never commenced until all the demands were conceded." Had

these tactics been adopted, and organisation along the lines of industry ensured that the sections in question made common cause, then it seems to us that success would have been certain. But the bureaucracy of the trades unions will never understand these things. Slowly, ever so slowly, does the movement for industrial unionism progress. May the speedy liberation of the imprisoned I.W.W. men give a filip to the efforts of those who are fighting a hard fight against the blight of sectionalism.

The Political Strike.

A GREAT deal of nonsense has been talked about political and industrial action. It has been attempted to separate absolutely the one from the other. Dietzgen, however, teaches us that all differences are merely relative. Industrial and political action are no exceptions to this rule. As capitalism develops, strikes become both bigger and more constant and general. They become more constant and general due to the aggravated condition of prices outstripping wages. They become bigger due to the fact that the single employer lays down the conditions for more workers, and that all the employers in a single industry tend to become more of a unit even where the industry is not in fact a monopoly. These bigger and more constant and general strikes lead to government interference, in part against the success of the strikes, in part against the anarchy of the capitalist system. This State intervention makes it emphatic to the working-class that its fight is not against the employer as employer—that this is only a sort of feinting and sparring—but against all the employers in a heap operating through the governmental power. It thus becomes apparent not only that the Government has decisive power, but that this is the class power of the bourgeoisie—exercised dictatorially, whether the Government be called Nationalist or Labour, against the working-class. Moreover, however slowly industrial unionism progresses, the development of the machine process tends inevitably to the breakdown of craft lines.

The class idea thus comes more insistently to the front, and at the same time it is seen that the class struggle centres around the State and its control. The net result is that the strike acquires political significance, and the workers, here as elsewhere, will use it more and more for political ends. This is the definite merger of industrial in political action.

Communist Party Shop Committees.

IF the pure and simple industrialist needs to learn that it is essential for the workers to conquer political power, the pure and simple parliamentarian, on the contrary, must understand that parliamentary action is of secondary importance. "The tribune of Parliament can be exploited for revolutionary purposes," Zinoviev tells us, but the centre of proletarian political gravity lies outside Parliament. Not without cause have Socialist parties been reproached with neglecting the actual proletarian struggle; we have ourselves been asked what advantage have Socialists taken of the present industrial upheaval. In this respect, the experience of the Communist Party of America offers us valuable guidance. This organisation, a political body, formed committees of the party in the workshops themselves. Here again is the merger of political and industrial action. It enabled the American Communists to do good work in the shops, and to flood them with their literature. The same plan should be adopted in Australia. In this way Communists here could broaden and deepen the understanding of their comrades, and, when opportunity offered, direct their action into revolutionary channels.

TOUJOURS HIGGINS.

"It is lamentable," says this precious judge, "that the supply of a public necessity such as gas should be dependent on the will of the majority of any union." More especially if that union happens to be an association of capitalists, Mr. Injustice Higgins! It is to no other cause than this that the gas-workers' strike is due.

Socialism and Nationalisation

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

THE following article, written by Marx's son-in-law in 1882, is still trenchant and useful.

At the present moment a kind of Socialism for capitalists is being created. It is very modest. It contents itself with the transformation of certain industries into public services. Above all, it does not compromise one. On the contrary, it will rally a good number of capitalists.

They are told: look at the Post Office, that is a Socialist public service, functioning admirably to the profit of the community, and more cheaply than if it were entrusted to a private company, as was formerly the case. The gas supply, the railways, and the building of workmen's dwellings, must also become public services. They will function to the profit of the community and—will chiefly benefit the capitalist class.

In capitalist society, the transformation of certain industries into municipal or national services is the last form of capitalist exploitation. It is because that form presents multiple and incontestable advantages for the bourgeoisie that in every capitalist country the same industries are becoming nationalised (Army, Police, Post Office, Telegraphs, the Mint, etc.).

Certain monopolised industries, indeed, delivered up to the greed of private companies, become instruments for the exploitation of other sections of the capitalist class, and so powerful that they disturb the whole bourgeois system.

Here are a few examples. The electric telegraph, on its introduction into France, became a State service because the political interests of the Government required it. In England and the United States, where the same political interest did not exist, the telegraphs were established by private companies. The English Government was compelled to buy them out in the interest of all—particularly the speculators, who in the transaction found means of obtaining scandalous profits. In

the United States the telegraph service is still in private hands. It is monopolised by a gang of speculators who control the entire Press of the country. These speculators communicate telegrams only to newspapers in vassalage to them, and which must pay such a heavy tax that many, being unable to bear such a burden, do without telegraphic news altogether. In America telegrams are the most important part of the newspapers; to deprive them of these despatches is to condemn them to languish and die. In that republican Republic, which individualist Liberals take as the ideal of their most daring dreams, the liberty of the Press is at the mercy of a handful of speculators, without government force and without responsibility, but in control of the telegraph service.

The Railway monopoly is so exorbitant that a company can at will ruin an industry or a town by differential or preferential tariffs. The danger to which society is exposed by the private ownership of the means of transport is so keenly felt that in France, England, and the United States, many capitalists in their own interests demand the nationalisation of the railways. In capitalist society a private industry only becomes a State service in order to better serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. The advantages which the latter obtain are of different kinds; we have just spoken of the social danger created by the abandonment of certain industries to private exploitation, dangers which disappear or are attenuated as soon as the State directs them, but there are others.

The State, by centralising administration, lessens the general charges; it runs the service at a smaller cost. The State is accused of paying for everything more dearly than private enterprise; nevertheless, such is not always the case when there is question of the establishment of means of communication, one of the most difficult and complex enterprises in

modern society. Thus the tramways constructed in France have, with rare exceptions, cost an average of 250,000 to 300,000 francs per kilometre as a first establishment charge. The railway from Alais to the Rhone has eaten up per kilometre of line, a sum of about 700,000 francs. M. Freycinet, who is not a bourgeois director for fun, has established upon positive grounds that the State could construct railways at a cost of 200,000 francs per kilometre. The State can therefore sensibly diminish the prices of the services it exploits. It is the capitalists who profit by this reduction, because it is they, principally, who make use of them. Thus, what a number of workmen only use the postal service once or twice a year! and how very numerous are the commercial houses and industrial concerns which send out over ten and twenty letters a day!

State services become a means to politicians for placing their tools or dependants, and for giving good, fat sinecures to the sons-in-law of the bourgeoisie. M. Cocheret has accorded lucrative posts to Orléanists; among others, to the son of Senator Laboulaye, the man of the inkpot.

Militants of the "Workers' Party" may

and must in their polemics against the public men and politicians of the capitalist class, make use of this transformation of one time private industries into State services, to show how the bourgeoisie themselves are led by the logic of events to attack their own principles, which demand that society, represented by the State, snatch no industry from private initiative. But they must not desire, and still less demand, the transformation of fresh industries into national services, and that for diverse reasons.

Because it is to the interest of the Workers' Party to embitter the conflicts which lacerate the capitalist class, instead of seeking to pacify them—these antagonisms quicken the disorganisation of the ruling class; because nationalisation increases the corruptive power of capitalist politicians; because State employees cannot, like workers in private employ, strike and engage in a struggle with the exploiters.

The only Socialist reason that one might put forward for that transformation is that perhaps it might simplify the revolutionary work of expropriation by the Workers' Party. We will examine this on another occasion.

Study the Socialist Philosophy

By MOSES BARITZ.

The first work for a propagandist journal is to impress upon its readers the necessity for study. The revolutionary movement in Australia needs study classes more than anything else. The backwardness of Socialist organisations in this country is in a measure due to the lack of these classes. Recently I heard a lecturer state that "we must get back to first principles," but, actually, the movement in Australia has hardly started on those principles yet.

The proletarian movement must be well grounded in the Socialist philosophy. It must know Marx, Engels (particularly the latter), Dietzgen, and Labriola. Philosophy is essential. The movement that does not start with a thorough under-

standing of the proletarian philosophy will be without movement. It will simply become stagnant. Study classes ought to be organised, and take as a text book, "Socialism, Utopian, and Scientific." This work of Engels is simple, and will lead one to a good knowledge of the materialist conception of history. The next work to follow ought to be "Fuerbach—The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy." This should be rounded off with "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism." Both these works were also written by Engels. Labriola could be taken in hand after that, and the course completed by going over the works of Dietzgen.

The placing of Engels first and Dietzgen last, is something deliberate. The

former writes for the uninitiated, and is simple indeed. Dietzgen is in a slight degree academic. Philosophy has been disregarded in the work of the movement here. Lecturers ignore the material basis of ideas and morals. They refrain from explaining religion from the standpoint of the materialist conception. A movement that was well grounded in the proletarian philosophy would expose the fallaciousness of the "Christian" Socialist and the fraud of "Rationalism." God-killers and spook destroyers like those that are supported by a certain type of alleged working-class party would have no claim to the word "Socialist."

The word "Atheist" is not necessary in the philosophy of the Socialist, for the atheists are as futile in their efforts to remodel society on the lines of "ideas" as the rest of the ruling class. They try to get society placed upon an "ideal," a "just," a "truthful" basis. They want "reason" to govern. But all the time they want us GOVERNED. They describe the most "just," "true" and "rational" system by their own ideas of the concepts of justice, truth and reason. Engels, however, has come out in sharp antagonism to their fantastic viewpoint. In analysing the "philosophy" of Proudhon, Engels wrote:—

"We describe things as they are. Proudhon, on the other hand, wants our present society to arrange itself, NOT ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, but in conformity with the precepts of justice." (Capitals mine.—M.B.)

Viewed in the light of the materialist conception of history, the "rationalist" is seen to be in a fog, like his brother who calls himself a scientific socialist, yet asserts that a scientific socialist can be a Christian. What Dietzgen calls these people is expressed in the words "dangerous muddlehead."

What a charm possesses the following quotation from Dietzgen:—

"Scientific Socialism considers our views dependent upon our material needs and our political standpoint dependent upon the economic position of the CLASS we belong to. Moreover this conception corresponds with the aspirations of the masses whose needs are in the first place material, WHILE THE RULING CLASS MUST NECESSARILY BASE ITSELF ON THE DEDUCTIVE

PRINCIPLE, ON THE PRECONCEIVED UNSCIENTIFIC NOTION that the spiritual salvation and the mental training of the masses are to precede the solution of the social question." (Capitals mine.—M.B.)

The "rationalist," like the "Christian" Socialist, is exposed and disposed of by those two sentences. What Dietzgen says in them, has, in the actual course of social development, been illustrated time and again. Ethics and morals, like "reason," are of a class nature, supported and generated by the ruling class. Proletarian ideas ensue from a totally antagonistic aspect of the same phenomenon. What exists is a CLASS struggle. That CLASS struggle develops its own antagonism in the ideology of the two sections. Capitalist ethics are not compatible with proletarian action. Everything taught by the ruling class as being what the "rationalist" calls "reason" is inimical to the working-class. Our philosophy is directly the reverse of that of the modern "philosophers." We are in agreement with, we support, the materialist and dialectical method. The capitalist class endeavours to ram the metaphysical method down our throats. The two systems are opposed. We take our stand with Marx, Engels, Labriola, and Dietzgen. We must study their works carefully and we will be on the way towards enlightenment.

DICTATORSHIP DYING OUT.

Speaking at the Trades Union Congress held at Moscow on April 10 of this year, Lenin, among other things, said: "No country held as many congresses during these past years as Soviet Russia. No State is so imbued with a democratic spirit. . . . The organisations of the working class are growing into larger forms each day. The only task now is to aid this class to achieve its aim. . . . What is necessary now is organic cohesion. There must be no more discipline imposed by one man. There must be no single responsibility. There must be no more dictatorship. The trade union army numbers three million. Six hundred thousand of these are Communists; they must be the leaders of the rest. We must reject the interests of groups and crafts for the sake of final victory."

A Marxian Analysis of the Present Soaring Prices

By E. S. HANKS.

The present "High cost of living" is a topic that is particularly prominent at the present time. To correctly grasp the reasons for the "soaring" trend of prices it is necessary to divide the periods into distinctly separate parts—No. 1 being the causes prior to the world war; No. 2 being an analysis of the more rapid upward trend which followed from the declaration of war right up to the present time.

Prior to the war, the main factor was undoubtedly what is known to economic students as "The depreciation of the value of gold." Owing to improved methods in the production of gold, that commodity had become cheaper, hence, in exchange for other commodities, more of it had to be given. (The statement, "more gold," is equal to saying "more money," because a sovereign is merely a certain weight of the metal gold.) Of course owing to the improved methods of almost every kind of production, commodities in general had decreased in value, but not to the same extent as gold.

Karl Kautsky, in the "High Cost of Living," deals exhaustively with this phase. In the same work he makes the prophecy that gold from then on will not further depreciate, but rather tend to appreciate. That this view was correct may be seen from the following figures of the world's gold production given in the "Commonwealth Year Book," No. 12—1901 to 1918:—

1908	£92,237,000
1909	92,960,000
1910	93,390,000
1911	95,097,000
1912	96,824,000
1913	93,435,000
1914	90,048,000
1915	95,982,000
1916	93,043,000
1917	86,714,000

That there has certainly been no increase in the world production of gold is obvious, indeed rather is there a gradual decrease. If no notes had been issued the temporary rise in prices due to lack of shipping, etc., directly due to the war must have caused a demand for more currency (in that case—gold). In any case the yearly increase of trade necessitates a certain amount of extra currency year by year. Even after replacing the gold currency by the note issue, if the notes had been issued in such amount to only replace the gold coinage (or, upon a rise in prices, only in such extra quantity as would have been the case with gold), then certainly no rise in prices could have taken place from this cause. That an excess amount of notes was issued, I will show in the next issue of the "Proletarian Review."

Some Melbourne students of economics who failed to grasp Marx's theory of money in all its breadth, still obstinately cling to the belief that the cause of the present rising prices is gold depreciation coupled with the withdrawal of labor from production (i.e., for war purposes). The fact that most of the labor withdrawn from production has now returned, and yet we face still the problem of soaring prices is sufficient evidence of the fallacy of that argument. Besides, whoever claims that the withdrawal of labor power from the production of commodities and inability to obtain new machinery, caused their increase in value, forgets that the same factors acted with the same force in regard to gold production.

The idea that on account of the isolation of Australia it was not so much the world depreciation of gold, as the local depreciation in Australia, which caused the rise, is shown to be equally fallacious, when one studies the figures of gold production for Australia alone. I take them from the same source:—

1908	3,074,374	ozs.
1909	2,968,992	"
1910	2,720,902	"
1911	2,484,063	"
1912	2,325,933	"
1913	2,207,433	"
1914	2,054,908	"
1915	1,946,908	"
1916	1,665,827	"
1917	1,456,169	"

The ever-increasing difficulty of producing gold in Australia is too well known to need further comment. The Transvaal is the main source of the world's supply of gold, and according to most authorities on the subject, these fields must ever become more and more difficult to work, and so of course their product ever of more value.

Of the gold production of the world the Transvaal supplied (out of world's production as quoted above):—

1915	£38,628,000
1916	39,490,000
1917	38,306,000

Of course should some rich fields be discovered or a new supply of easily produced gold be obtained, then again would be seen the depreciating value of gold, and where gold currencies exist, rising prices due to that cause. However, before that arises, capitalist economy, killed by the contradictions inherent in it, will have passed into the graveyard of political systems and gold be dethroned from its position as "god" in the modern capitalist religion—the pursuit of wealth.

From the above it will be seen that the depreciation of the value of gold is not the cause of the phenomenal general rise of prices since the war. Marxism supplied us with the means of examining price tendencies in general, and it is in the light of the scientific Marxian analysis of capitalist economy that the cause of the present "soaring" tendency of prices can be understood. For those interested in this subject, the best books are first:—"Critique of Political Economy," by Marx, which is the best book on money in all its forms ever written. Second, the third chapter of "Capital," vol. I.

In the next article will be shown how the excessive note issue is the main factor in causing prices to rise, since the war.

AN INCIDENT OF ANOTHER GAS STRIKE.

The fame of the Australian Labor Party has been noised abroad. "While the Mc-Gowen Labor Government was in office," writes "A Digger" in the Glasgow "Socialist," "the Sydney gas-workers struck for higher wages. The Labor Premier at once condemned the strike and advised the men to return to work. Some of the leaders were arrested, but the men stood firm. The Labor Government then issued a proclamation calling for 'volunteers,' otherwise scabs, to fill the places of the strikers. The response was not encouraging, so a meeting was convened in Sydney Town Hall by the Lord Mayor, Alderman Cox, for the purpose of enrolling 'volunteers.'

"At this meeting several members of the S.F. of A. organised a 'stunt.' When the Mayor had finished his impassioned address to those assembled, and had pointed out, to his own satisfaction, the enormity of the strikers, three men marched up to the platform. The leader handed the Mayor a stoker's shovel, one of the others handed him a pair of overalls, and the third a flannel singlet. A roar of laughter went up, and the meeting ended in a fiasco.

"But the Mayor took the hint, and next day he went and stoked at the ovens at the gas works. He lasted one day, and then he organised another meeting in sympathy with the strikers. He swallowed his former words, and admitted that for the work done the men were miserably underpaid."

ANE PERDU.

In the latest number of "Ross's" appears a contribution entitled "Karl-Almighty-Marx" from an individual who signs himself "Ane Perdue." After reading this contribution, we would, without wishing to interfere in other people's affairs, strongly urge the writer to alter his pen name slightly to "Ane Perdu." Instead of signifying "Lost Soul" it would then be translated "Stray Donkey."

Parliamentary Action Statement of the Third International

The following circular letter is reprinted from the "New York Current History," which took it from the "New York Volkszeitung" after it had made its way into the columns of that journal via German Communist papers. Although the argument is, in both cases, identical, the text below differs slightly from the text of the same circular letter reproduced in the Sydney "International Socialist" of July 3rd. As the two texts seem to help each other out, readers of the "International Socialist" of July 3rd would do well to study the text below, and, conversely, those who study the text below, would do well to read the "International Socialist" of July 3rd.

Dear Comrades,—

The present phase of the revolutionary movement has, along with other questions, very sharply placed the question of parliamentarism upon the order of the day's discussion. In France, America, England, and Germany, simultaneously with the aggravation of the class struggle, all revolutionary elements are adhering to the Communist movement by uniting among themselves or by co-ordinating their actions under the slogan of Soviet power. The anarchist-syndicalist groups and the groups that now and then call themselves simply anarchist are thus also joining the general current. The Executive Committee of the Communist International welcomes this most heartily.

In France the syndicalist group of Comrade Pericat forms the heart of the Communist Party; in America, and also to some extent in England, the fight for the Soviets is led by such organisations as the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World). These groups and tendencies have always actively opposed the parliamentary methods of fighting.

On the other hand, the elements of the Communist Party that are derived from the Socialist parties are, for the most part, inclined to recognise action in Parliament, too. (The Lorient group in France, the members of the A.S.P. in America, of the Independent Labor Party in England, etc.). All these tendencies, which ought to be united as soon as possible in the Communist Party at all cost, need uniform tactics. Consequently, the question must be decided on a broad scale and as a general

measure, and the Executive Committee of the Communist International turns to all the affiliated parties with the present circular letter, which is especially dedicated to this question.

The universal unifying programme is at the present moment the recognition of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet power. History has so placed the question that it is exactly on this question that the line is drawn between the revolutionary proletariat and the opportunists, between the Communists and the social traitors of every brand. The so-called Centre (Kautsky in Germany, Longuet in France, the I.L.P. and some elements of the B.S.P. in England, Hillquit in America) is, in spite of its protestations, an objectively anti-Socialist tendency, because it cannot, and does not wish to, lead the struggle for the Soviet power of the proletariat.

On the contrary, those groups and parties which formerly rejected any kind of political struggle (for example, some anarchist groups) have, by recognising the Soviet power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, really abandoned their old standpoint as to political action, because they have recognised the idea of the seizure of power by the working class, the power that is necessary for the suppression of the opposing bourgeoisie. Thus, we repeat, a common programme for the struggle for the Soviet dictatorship has been found.

The old divisions in the international labor movement have plainly outlived their time. The war has caused a re-grouping. Many of the anarchists or syndicalists who rejected parliamentarism conducted themselves just as despicably and treasonably during the five years of the war as did the old leaders of the Social Democracy, who always have the name of Marx on their lips. The unification of forces is being effected in a new manner: some are for the proletarian revolution, for the Soviets, for the dictatorship, for mass action, even up to armed uprisings—the others are against this plan. This is the principal question of to-day. This is the main criterion. The new combinations will be formed according to these labels, and are being so formed already.

In what relation does the recognition of the Soviet idea stand to parliamentarism? Right here a sharp dividing line must be drawn between two questions which logically have nothing to do with each other: The question of parliamentarism, as a desired form of the organisation of the State, and the question of the exploitation of parliamentarism for the development of the re-

volution. The comrades often confuse these two questions, something which has an extraordinarily injurious effect upon the entire practical struggle. We wish to discuss each of these questions in its order and make all the necessary deductions.

What is the form of the proletarian dictatorship? We reply: The Soviets. This has been demonstrated by an experience that has a world-wide significance. Can the Soviet power be combined with parliamentarism? No, and yet again no. It is absolutely incompatible with the existing parliaments, because the parliamentary machine embodies the concentrated power of the bourgeoisie. The deputies, the Chambers of Deputies, their newspapers, the system of bribery, the secret connections of the parliamentarians with the leaders of the banks, the connection with all the apparatus of the bourgeois State—all these are fetters for the working class. They must be burst. The governmental machine of the bourgeoisie, consequently also the bourgeois Parliaments, are to be broken, disrupted, destroyed, and upon their ruins is to be organised a new power, the power of the union of the working class, the Workers' Parliaments, i.e., the Soviets.

Only the betrayers of the workers can deceive the workers with the hope of a "peaceful" social revolution along the lines of parliamentary reforms. Such persons are the worst enemies of the working class, and a most pitiless struggle must be waged against them; no compromise with them is permissible. Therefore, our slogan for any bourgeois country you may choose is: "Down with the Parliament! Long live the power of the Soviets!"

Nevertheless, the question may be put this way: "Very well, you deny the power of the present bourgeois Parliaments; then why don't you organise new, more democratic Parliaments on the basis of a real universal suffrage?" During the Socialist revolution the struggle has become so acute that the working class must act quickly and resolutely, without allowing its class enemies to enter into its camp, into its organisation of power. Such qualifications are only found in the Soviets of workers, soldiers, sailors, and peasants, elected in the factories and shops, in the country and in the barracks. So the question of the form of the proletarian power is put this way. Now the Government is to be overthrown: Kings, Presidents, Parliaments, Chambers of Deputies, National Assemblies, all these institutions are our sworn enemies, that must be destroyed.

Now we take up the second basic question: Can the bourgeois Parliaments be fully utilised for the purpose of developing the revolutionary class struggle? Logically, as we just remarked, this question is by no means related to the first question. In fact, a person surely can be trying to destroy any kind of organisation by joining it and by "utilising" it. This is also perfectly understood by our

false enemies when they exploit the official Social Democratic parties, the trade unions, and the like, for their purposes.

Let us take the extreme example: The Russian Communists, the Bolsheviks, voted in the election for the Constituent Assembly. They met in its hall. But they came there to break up this Constituent Assembly within twenty-four hours and fully to realise the Soviet power. The party of the Bolsheviks also had its Deputies in the Czar's imperial Duma. Did the party at that time "recognise" the Duma as an ideal, or at least an endurable, form of government? It would be lunacy to assume that. It sent its representatives there so as to proceed against the apparatus of the Czarist power from that side, too, and to contribute to the destruction of that same Duma. It was not for nothing that the Czarist Government condemned the Bolshevik "parliamentarians" to prison for "high treason." The Bolshevik leaders were also carrying on an illegal work, although they temporarily made use of their "inviolability" to weld together the masses for the drive against Czarism.

But Russia was not the only place where that kind of "parliamentary" activity was carried on. Look at Germany and the activities of Liebknecht. The murdered comrade was the perfect type of a revolutionist. Was there, then, something non-revolutionary in the fact that he, from the tribune of the accursed Prussian Landtag, called upon the soldiers to rise against the Landtag? On the contrary. Here, too, we see the complete admissibility and usefulness of his exploitation of the situation. If Liebknecht had not been a Deputy, he would never have been able to accomplish such an act; his speeches would have had no such echo as they had. The example of the Swedish Communists in Parliament also convinces us of this. In Sweden Comrade Hoglund played, and plays, the same role that Liebknecht played in Germany. Making use of his position as a Deputy, he assists in destroying the bourgeois parliamentary system; no one else in Sweden has done as much for the cause of the revolution and the struggle against the war as our friend.

In Bulgaria we see the same thing. The Bulgarian Communists have successfully exploited the tribune of Parliament for revolutionary purposes. At the recent elections they won seats for forty-seven Deputies. Comrades Blagoieff, Kirkoff, Kolaroff, and other leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party understand how to exploit the parliamentary tribune in the service of the proletarian revolution. Such "parliamentary work" demands peculiar daring and a special revolutionary spirit; the men there are occupying especially dangerous positions; they are laying mines under the enemy while in the enemy's camp; they enter Parliament for the purpose of getting this machine in their hands in order to assist the masses behind the walls of the Parliament in their work of blowing it up.

Are we for the maintenance of the bour-

geois "democratic" Parliaments as the form of the administration of the State?

No, not in any case. We are for the Soviets.

But we are for the full utilisation of these Parliaments for our Communist work—as long as we are not yet strong enough to overthrow the Parliament.

Yes, we are for this—in consideration of a whole list of conditions. We know very well that in France, America, and England no such parliamentarians have yet arisen from the mass of the workers. In those countries we have thus far observed a picture of parliamentary betrayal. But this is no proof of the incorrectness of the tactics that we regard as correct! It is only a matter of there being revolutionary parties there, like the Bolsheviks or the German Spartacists. As soon as there is such a party, everything can become quite different. It is particularly necessary: (1) that the deciding centre of the struggle should lie outside Parliament—strikes, uprisings, and other kinds of mass action; (2) that the activities in Parliament be confined by this struggle; (3) that the deputies also perform illegal work; (4) that they act for the Central Committee and subject to its orders; (5) that they do not heed the parliamentary forms in their acts—have no fear of direct clashes with the bourgeois majority, "talk past it," etc.

The matter of taking part in the elections at a given time, during a given electoral campaign, depends upon a whole string of concrete circumstances, which in each country must be particularly considered at each given time. The Russian Bolsheviks were for boycotting the elections for the first Imperial Duma in 1906; and these same persons were for taking part in the elections for the second Imperial Duma, when it had been shown that the bourgeois-agrarian power would still rule in Russia for many a year. In the year 1918, before the election for the German National Assembly, one section of the Spartacists was for taking part in the elections, the other was against it; but the party of the Spartacists remained a unified Communist Party.

In principle we cannot renounce the utilisation of parliamentarism. The party of the Russian Bolsheviks declared in a special resolution in the spring of 1918, at its Congress, when it was already in power, that the Russian Communists, in case the bourgeois democracy in Russia through a peculiar combination of circumstances should once more get the upper hand, might be compelled to return to the utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarism. Room for manoeuvring is also to be allowed in this respect.

The comrades' principal efforts are to consist in the work of mobilising the masses; establishing the party, organising their own groups in the unions and capturing them, organising soviets in the course of the struggle, leading the mass struggle, agitation for the revolution among the masses—all this is of first line importance; parliamentary action

and participation in electoral campaigns are only helps in this work, no more.

If this is so—and it undoubtedly is so—then it is a matter of course that it doesn't pay to split into factions over this now secondary question. The practice of parliamentary prostitution was so disgusting that even the best comrades have prejudices regarding this question. These ought to be overcome in the course of the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, we urgently appeal to all groups and organisations which are carrying on a real struggle for the Soviets and call upon them to unite firmly, even despite lack of agreement on this question.

All those who are for the Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship wish to unite as soon as possible and form a unified Communist Party.

With Communist greetings,

G. ZINOVIEV,
President Executive Committee, Communist
International.
Sept. 1, 1919.

THE TWELVE I.W.W. MEN.

AGITATION ABROAD.

Most interesting are recent letters from Tom Barker, who is visiting European capital cities as the accredited representative of 250,000 South American workers. The objects of his trip are to secure the release everywhere of class war prisoners. Special attention is being paid to the Sydney twelve. Last letters showed that Tom had set an agitation going throughout Scandinavia, and that he was now touring England, placing the facts of the case before the various Labor organisations there. After all, the capitalist class gains little or nothing by deporting men like Barker. They simply shift their activities from one centre to another.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN CRIMEA.

"The alleged recovery of the White army, now sheltered in Crimea, under General Baron Vrangel, is a senseless dream of a group of brainless Russian monarchists abroad, who, even in the Polish invasion, were ready to behold the downfall of Soviet Russia. They have lost everything except hope, and of this they cannot be deprived."—Lt.-Col. Bek, in "Soviet Russia."

A PROLETARIAN LIBRARY

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

"A SPECTRE is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism." Such is the opening statement of the illustrious Manifesto which in February, 1848, first saw the light of day. At this moment, in July, 1920, the same spectre—the spectre of Communism is haunting not only Europe, but all the world. In Russia, indeed, this spectre becomes a reality, grim enough for an expropriated bourgeoisie, but glorious for the risen proletariat. Even in Australia, where the struggle of the classes is not yet so intense as in the older countries, the spectre of Communism has made its appearance; the "Proletarian Review" is one of the forms in which it has appeared.

This is an immense progress; but, although the date of publication of the Manifesto marks the first unquestioned entrance of the Communists into history, whereas in 1920 they are bracing themselves for the final struggle against Capital, despite this lapse of two and seventy years the Manifesto still stands for the revolutionist like a granite boulder untouched by the tooth of time. Now as then the Communists of the world stand firm upon its principles; the new Communist Manifesto so recently issued by the Third International but develops that theory and practice the clear outlines of which were traced by Marx and Engels in 1848.

There is something else that must be said of the Communist Manifesto, and, in an essay commemorating its jubilee, Antonio Labriola says it.

"Not one of the previous or subsequent works of the authors of the Manifesto themselves, although they have a much more considerable scientific leaning, can replace the Manifesto or have the same specific efficacy. It gives us in its classic simplicity the true expression of this situation; the modern proletariat exists, takes its stand, grows and develops in contemporary history as the concrete subject, the positive force whose necessarily revolutionary action must find in com-

munist its necessary outcome. And that is why this work while giving a theoretical base to its prediction, and expressing it in brief, rapid and concise formulae, forms a storehouse, or rather an inexhaustible mine of embryonic thoughts which the reader may fertilise and multiply indefinitely; it preserves all the original and originating force of the thing which is but lately born, and which has not yet left the field of its production."

That, above all, is the reason why the working man should closely study the Communist Manifesto.

If he does so, he will find formulated in the first section the famous doctrine of the class struggle. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Marx and Engels have here in mind, of course, written history, history since the break-down of primitive communism, in which there were no class struggles. Our studious working man will find these various struggles briefly indicated, and the development of our own class struggle dealt with at length, traced up to the point where "the more or less veiled civil war" between the workers and the capitalists "breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat." The reader will note the proud and open declaration of the inevitability of a violent revolution, and judge for himself its applicability in his own day, the era of capitalist Imperialism.

He will note, too that the Manifesto proclaims every class struggle to be a political struggle, and speaks of the "organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party." He will not fail to understand that Marx and Engels use the term "political" in the wide sense; that while mere parliamentary action is certainly political, political action, on the contrary, is not necessarily parliamentary. He will further discover that political power is splendidly defined as "merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another."

Though Marx and Engels did not use

this precise phrase until after the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, the 'Manifesto yet directly points the reader to the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. Of course, in the beginning this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production."

Already, then, in 1848, we have a clear outline of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Indeed, the actual measures which the Manifesto tells us the victorious workers will "pretty generally" apply in the most advanced countries, bear a striking resemblance to what has actually been done in Soviet Russia.

Labriola wrote half a book on the Communist Manifesto, and we would not be averse ourselves to writing a whole one on the same subject. But for the present we must stop here, having already exceeded our space. An understanding of this work is absolutely indispensable for the proletarian student. Outside their longer works, which the wage-slave has not always the opportunity to read, Marx and Engels put up the essence of their theory in concise yet classic form. Thus Engels, in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," briefly introduces us to the **Materialist Conception of History** and the socialist philosophy. Thus Marx, in "Value, Price and Profit," introduces us in like manner to the **Labor Theory of Value** and working-class economics. And thus too, in the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels combine to give us a superb introduction to proletarian politics and the doctrine of the **Class Struggle**.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By Karl Radek.

Marx and Engels developed Socialism from Utopia to science; the Russian Revolution develops it from science to ac-

tion. The Russian Revolution is Marxism become life. In the above pamphlet, which was originally written as an introduction to Bucharin's book, "The Communist Programme of the World Revolution," Radek traces out this latest development of Socialism. He shows us the revolutionary standpoint of the founders of modern socialism and the emasculation of Marxism which occurred during the comparatively peaceful period of capitalism which began in the seventies of last century. The reformist illusions of this period, however, collapsed before the present century had proceeded very far, and the Russian Revolution of 1905 brought the problem of the road to power prominently before the militant proletariat.

"Already in 1905 the German and Austrian proletariat had worked its way through to the idea of the mass strike." "The mass strike as general strike was exalted by the French syndicalists as a means of winning complete liberty." The leaders of the left wing of the workers discussed this question for years.

"Should the leaders of the workers' organisations decide upon the strike if Parliamentary action should fail, should it be a pistol, then, held in readiness to back up the Parliamentary struggle, or should it be the actual mode of the struggle itself, emerging spontaneously out of the increasingly acute class conflicts, prepared, not in the conference chambers of the leaders, but preparing every hour in the shops and factory prisons—not only through the growing agitation, but through the stimulated action of the proletariat."

The majority of the Socialists saw in democracy the means by which the workers would gain the victory; the Syndicalists pointed to the labor unions as the agency which should win proletarian power, and wield it when it had been won. Events have shown us that neither capitalist democracy and its parliamentary agencies nor the labor unions are the instruments of proletarian power. When Pannekoek, some time before the war, proclaimed that new organs of power must be created in the fires of the proletarian revolution, he was on the right track. It remained for the Russian Revolution to show what those organs were. When the revolution is upon them, the

workers organise themselves in Soviets, and by their mass action, win to power. The Soviets, "the worker-delegate councils, which can always be re-elected, and which always return to their native soil, the factory," then become the mechanism of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. That is the lesson of the Russian Revolution.

Radek writes interestingly upon the conditions requisite for a Socialist Revolution, upon the counter-revolutionary problems facing the proletariat, and upon democracy. With reference to the last, we were recently asked whether Radek did not advise the workers to boycott Parliament on all occasions. That is not so. Whilst clearly realising the bourgeois character and the limitations of Parliament, he writes in the present work as follows:—

"As the feeble proletariat is interested in free speech, in free voting, in order to collect its forces, we have recognised Democracy as a way to Socialism; that means that it was necessary for us to enjoy, participate freely in the affairs of the State, in order to mobilise the masses for Socialism."

In his "Letter to a German Communist," he takes up the same attitude towards Parliament and elections. Radek's position is in this respect identical with that of Lenin, Zinoviev, and the Third International.

POLISH IMPERIALISM COLLAPSING.

Of the war of capitalist Poland upon Soviet Russia, Lt.-Col. Bek says: "Hated by all their neighbours, and by their 'allies,' the Ukrainians, more than by anyone else, the Poles blindly advanced farther and farther into Russia, having forgotten the bitter lesson which their ancestors received in absolutely similar attempts, which ended in the partition of Poland." Now the Polish armies are being soundly thrashed by the Red soldiers. "Polish imperialism, like Prussian Kaiserism, will vanish, and on the wreck of the present Poland, a Soviet Poland will arise, and then it may be as large as its population may consider necessary."

LABOR LEGISLATION.

IN RUSSIA AND ELSEWHERE.

There are some people who say that what Russia is getting under Bolshevik rule is simply the Labor Legislation we are all familiar with. The same people declare that Marx and Engels urged, in their Communist Manifesto, the legislation we term Labor Legislation. Neither of these statements is correct. In both cases the same answer applies. The enactments urged by Marx and Engels were to follow the revolution, not precede it. And that is the situation in Russia. In such case the spirit of the legislation is entirely different to that which underlies what we get as Labor Legislation outside Russia. The spirit of our legislation, of our wages awards, of our old-age pensions Acts, of our factory legislation, is to give to the working man as little as possible, or as much only as is absolutely necessary. Not so in Russia. There the spirit of those measures as operated by the Bolsheviks is to give as much as possible to the worker. It is not how little can we get him to work for and how long can we work him, but it is how much can we allow for the work to be done and how few hours are required to do it. A vastly different thing.

BOLSHEVIK FOREIGN POLICY.

"Another victory in the domain of our foreign policy is the conclusion of peace with Esthonia, which the present session of the All-Russian Executive Committee is called upon to ratify. This represents an event of the greatest historical importance. A bourgeois government of a small nation has entered into an agreement with us, preferring peace with us, because it clearly understands the robber plans of imperialism, the oppressor of small nations. We brought about this peace at the cost of territorial concessions and by recognising the independence of Esthonia. Through our victories over Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich, we have demonstrated our ability to oppose force with victorious force and our peace agreement with Esthonia has demonstrated that we are also able to win by declining to use force."—Lenin.

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Mine Owner: "Trouble with you people is, you want the earth."
Miner: "Trouble with you is, you've got it."

Proletarian Comment

The Twelve I.W.W. Men.

THE release of ten out of the twelve imprisoned I.W.W. men certainly calls for proletarian comment. They have emerged from a narrower into a wider bondage, from the wage-slave's prison into the prison of wage-slavery. On that they are to be congratulated. But, beyond congratulations, certain facts in connection with their case must needs be stressed. In the first place, we invite our readers to consider the combined circumstances of the trial and conviction of the twelve men, and of the two subsequent commissions arising out of their case, as well as the facts elicited by these. If they do so, they cannot any longer retain the least vestige of respect for bourgeois law as they know it to be administered in Australia. Henceforth they may comply with that law so far and so long as this may be necessary, but respect it they never will again. In the second place, we hope that no one will be misled by the release of ten out of the twelve men into revising his estimate of the futility of the Labor Party. Rather should its ultimate futility be confirmed by the fact that two out of the twelve remain in gaol. Had a revolutionary Communist party the same support from the working class as the Labor Party now enjoys, not ten but twelve I.W.W. men would have emerged, not into the wider bondage of capitalism, but into the comparative freedom—for them—of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But a revolutionary organisation will only rally the mass of the workers over the dying body of the Labor Party. Unfortunately, the Labor Party still flourishes; nevertheless, Communists must use the means at their disposal in the attempt to secure the release of Reeve and King.

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The Deportation of Father Jerger.

A CATHOLIC priest has been deported from Australia. In an effort to prevent this, the crew of the "Nestor" refused to work the ship if she

carried Father Jerger, nor would the waterside workers have handled the "Kyber" had they known he was to be placed on board. We have here an example on a small scale of that extra-parliamentary political action which ensues when the proletariat uses its industrial might to accomplish political purposes, to bring pressure to bear upon the bourgeois state. As such, it is welcome enough. It is only a pity that waterside workers and seamen did not make use of the same weapon in the past, when members of their own class were being deported during the war. We hope that in the future, in the event, for instance, of the Commonwealth Government attempting to deport any of the released I.W.W. men, it will not have to be said against the workers concerned that those who resisted the deportation of a priest, traitorously assisted in the deportation of a wage-plug. We would point out this. The American authorities recently jailed the Irish working-class agitator, Jim Larkin, for his efforts in behalf of the American proletariat. Although both Dr. Mannix and De Valera were on the spot, we have yet to learn that either of them has uttered a single word in behalf of Larkin. We do not blame them for that; on the contrary, we commend their attitude to the proletariat. They have their own interests, to which they closely adhere; we advise the workers to do likewise. By all means let them develop the political strike, let them develop it into that broader mass action which in due season will lead the proletariat along the road to power; but let them use such action in their own class interests, and let them leave matters which lie outside those interests well enough alone.

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The Coal Miners.

THAT the period of strikes which the Australian proletariat has entered is by no means ended, the brewing trouble among the coal miners clearly proves. Apart from the mere wage demands of the Coal and Shale Employees'

Federation, a more sweeping claim is reported by the daily press—whether correctly or not we cannot say—to have been made by one of the officials of that body. As reported, the substance of this claim is that there can be no peace in the coal industry until the miners are given an "equal economic partnership." We are bound to say that if this demand means an equal partnership between the coal miners and the do-nothing capitalists who own the mines, it is at once monstrous and absurd. It is monstrous that the miners should go into partnership with the robbers who fleece them. It is absurd because, in the words of Lenin, **exploiters and exploited cannot be equal.** If what is intended is that the mines should be owned by the State, and the industry controlled by the Union in a sort of partnership with it, the case is nothing better. So long as the State represents the class power of the capitalists (and the existence of a "Labor" Government in no way alters this), it is a mere playing with toys for some group of workers to have something to do with the management of their industry. At the most it might mean the entrenchment of this particular group within the scheme of State capitalism. No such "schemes" will stand. The first step towards the emergence of the coal miners from wage slavery must be the seizure of political power by the working class, the shattering of the existing bourgeois machinery of State, and the setting-up of a new State machine fashioned to the needs of the proletariat. Then, and not before, will the coal miners be able to proceed to the reorganisation of their industry along Communist lines.

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The Industrial Peace Bill.

IF we have felt bound to criticise adversely the reported "partnership" talk of a representative of the coal miners, we are at least heartily in accord with his simultaneous repudiation of the Industrial Peace Bill introduced into Parliament by the Prime Minister. The Arbitration Court being in a fair way to suffer shipwreck on the jagged rock of irreconcilably antagonistic class interests,

Mr. Hughes proposes to supplement it by Commonwealth and district councils, special tribunals and local boards, each of these to be composed of representatives of employers and of workers, together with a chairman. The Industrial Peace Bill plainly reveals the bankruptcy of bourgeois statesmanship. Its remedy for the failure of conciliation is more conciliation. If anyone imagines that industrial peace can be attained by such means, he is sadly mistaken. As well try to appease a hungry man by inviting him to sit at table after you have finished the meal. The Bill offers the working class the forms of class conciliation upon the economic basis of class antagonism. It invites the proletariat to come and forget, in the happy and peaceful atmosphere of Mr. Hughes' councils, its indignation at being mercilessly exploited. We hope the working class will lose no time in kicking the bottom out of these councils. Industrial peace can only be achieved through class war and the victory of the workers therein. The councils these need do not contain employers; they are of the form of Soviets, and constitute the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE DEPENDENTS OF THE I.W.W. MEN.

We have been informed by George Washington, hon. secretary of the Relief Committee of the dependents of the I.W.W. men, that the fund for the relief of these is almost exhausted. Although ten of the twelve men have now been released from gaol, our readers will realise that it will be extremely difficult for them to find employment, and that in consequence the need for the relief of their wives and children remains as great as ever. The Relief Committee has accordingly sent out an urgent call for funds, and it asks that all contributions be forwarded to the treasurer, John B. Steel, Box 1656, G.P.O., Sydney.

"The economic structure of society is the real basis on which the juridical and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; in short, the mode of production determines the character of the social, political and intellectual life generally."—Karl Marx, Capital.

Socialism and Nationalisation

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

II.

In the last issue we were saying that the only Socialist reason that might be given in favour of the transformation of certain private industries into services administered by State or Commune, was that the transformation would simplify the revolutionary task of expropriation to be accomplished by the workers' party when masters of political power. But this reason has not a leg to stand on. The advantages of the change would be far from balancing the many dangers presented, which we have already briefly mentioned.

The first great revolutionary effort of the workers will be to seize the central power. So long as this capitalist stronghold will not have been captured, all proletarian measures will be refused, even urgent ones; or, if accorded, it will be in such a form that they become illusory and only benefit the capitalist class.

When the bourgeoisie are dispossessed of political power, then only will the workers' party be able to commence their economic expropriation. But those who demand the nationalisation of certain industries—even under present conditions—say that the task of the workers' party will be lightened because the bourgeoisie will already have been dispossessed of a portion of the social means of production.

Not at all.

The great organisations of communication and credit (such as the railways, the Bank of France, the Credit Foncier, and the like), which it is desired to put into the hands of the State, are already so admirably centralised that, in order to seize them, it would only be necessary to give a kick to their directors and burn a few bundles of papers. It would be just as easy to take possession of the Bank of France and its provincial branches as it would be to take over the General Post Office and its branches. It would only be needful to send four men and a corporal, and to put the high officials under lock

and key, in order to paralyse their intrigues and obtain information, if need were felt even for this.

It would be the same with the railways. Under the Commune it should have been seen how Mr. Rothschild and all the chiefs of the railway screwed up their mouths. They became quite humble when they spoke to a delegate of the Commune. It was quite a pleasant sight. I happen to know something about it.

Nationalisation would not facilitate the revolutionary task; but it would give rise to financial swindles and a fearful deterioration of the Exchequer. In the second number of "L'Egalite" and in the "Revue Socialiste" I have pointed out some of the scandalous robberies of public funds which took place on the State purchase of the smaller railways. All the political jobbers—the Freycinets, Gambettas and Wilsons—their appetite whetted by the repurchase of the small lines, demand the purchase of the trunk railways.

Although in a less degree, the expropriation of the great organisations of production (ironworks, mines, textiles, etc.) will still be an easy matter. It will only be a question of displacing—and confining, if needful—a few administrators or owners. But expropriation is only a part of the historic task of the workers' party.

Those who busy themselves with State Socialism—that is to say, those who demand nationalisation or municipalisation of certain services—do not trouble at all about the lot of the workers engaged in them; but even admitting that they sought to improve the lot of those employed, would they be able to do so? If they can, let them prove it; let them begin by improving the conditions of the underpaid workers in the Post Office, in the State tobacco factories, railways, and State ironworks. The workshops of State

and municipality are prisons quite as bad as private workshops, if not worse.

The toilers are more greedily exploited in them than in private enterprise; they are bent beneath an authority that is more powerfully hierarchic; they can neither combine nor strike. And it could scarcely be otherwise, the State and municipality being only official representatives of the capitalist class.

But the revolutionary power which will socialise the instruments of labour taken from the capitalist class will have to mount guard over the general interests of the society served by the socialised industries, and in particular over the interests of those directly engaged in them.

Suppose the party of the proletariat had sent Mr. Rothschild to Jericho to look for records of his ancestors, and had seized the Northern Railway of France; and let us further suppose that it either would not or could not establish gratuitous transport at the outset; it could arrange matters somewhat in this way: Out of each 100 francs of receipts, 10 francs are set aside for depreciation and general expenses, and 30 francs are distributable to share and debenture holders. Now, shares and debentures being suppressed, the revolutionary government could divide the portion taken by the shareholders for doing nothing into three parts. One-third could be left to the workers, one-third go to cheapen freight, and one-third go as revenue to the State.

Thus the revolutionary government could immediately increase the remuneration of the employees by nearly 16 per cent. It would have to ensure that the remuneration was distributed in quite a different way to the present, where the less an administrator or high official works, the more he is paid. To remedy this it need only leave those interested to apportion the amount according to services and talents. The revolutionary government would also have to obtain guarantees that the workers to whom it confided a social instrument possessed all the requisite qualities for its good working, and that it did not become a means of exploiting certain grades of workers, as co-operative workshops have become in present society.

This method of utilising the social means of production could only be a passing one, imposed by the difficulties amidst which the workers' party will have to struggle on the morrow of the revolution. But we can perceive a period wherein, with the needs of consumption and the powers of production scientifically calculated, consumption as well as production will be free. There will then be neither wages nor market prices. Human society will then once more enter the period of communism.

Indeed, only a "possibilist" professor, ignorant of social conditions and steeped in bourgeois prejudices, could offer the nationalisation of public services as the Socialist ideal.*

Is there a Revolutionary Organisation in Australia?

By P. FINN.

Putting on one side the question of the necessity or otherwise in Australia for a revolution or revolutionary organisations, let us consider what a revolution is and what kind of organisation is requisite for such an act; then we shall be in a position to judge whether there is a revolutionary organisation in this country. It is not the purpose of the writer of this article to cavil at this or that organisation; his

sole concern is to discover whether, as a matter of fact, there exists in this country a working-class organisation adequate to the exigencies of revolution.

Revolution is a sudden change of existing conditions to entirely new conditions. Whether these new conditions are better or worse than the old conditions is beside the point. If present conditions are changed to old, previously abandoned

*Translated from the French by F. C. Watts, of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

conditions, such an act is counter-revolution or retrogression. Revolution, then, always aims at entirely new conditions, and, if this aim is achieved, the revolution has been successfully accomplished. It has been the general historical rule that such a sweeping change has not been accomplished without an actual fight between those who desired such a change and those who opposed it. Supporting the existing conditions there is always some kind of force whose duty it is to maintain these conditions, and, therefore, to oppose all attempts at drastic change. It follows that to accomplish such a change the force behind the old conditions must be dislodged, and even, perhaps, destroyed. That can only be done by a new force stronger and superior to the old one.

Of course this does not necessarily imply the creation of a superior force by imitation of the old one and surpassing it in numbers, and, perhaps, in technique. Disruption of the old forces is one of the most effective weapons in the hands of their antagonists. But no matter how far this disruption may be carried, it is absolutely essential to have new efficient forces, not only for the final dislodgment of the old forces, but also for the protection of the constructive work during the period immediately following the revolution and pending the complete disappearance of resistance to the new conditions.

The new forces will at different stages shape themselves into different forms. In Russia, before the revolution of 1917, the revolutionary forces were being prepared mainly by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party. But as soon as the revolutionary forces challenged the old regime, they at once welded themselves into a new form, the Soviets, which are now established as the essential form for the period of transition to complete Communism, when all forms of force will have become superfluous and disappeared. The experience of two revolutions in Russia shows us that this second form can exist only during the actual revolution and after it only in the event of proletarian victory. The Soviets were established during the revolution of 1905, but as on that occasion the revolutionary forces were defeated, the Soviets were immediately disbanded. But

even during the existence of the Soviets the Communist Party persists, and functions as a guiding hand for these organisations.

The question of this guiding hand is now before us. A well known revolutionist likened it to the **General Staff** of an army whose soldiers were the rank and file of the proletariat. If that be so, then the task of a revolutionary organisation is much greater than the task of mere propaganda, essential as the latter is. The General Staff of an army acts and commands. Certainly it does not neglect the training of officers and soldiers, but these being trained, it puts them at once into action, and, if there is no war, into dummy action. But all, General Staff, officers, and soldiers are ready at any moment for a real action.

The General Staff deals with military affairs. Of course, it is concerned with the present conditions of existence of the whole army, with clothes, transports, machinery, with plans, with the disposition of cities, villages, rivers, seas, with the peoples of its own and other countries who may be enemies or allies in action. Even at a time of peace, a good General Staff will know who are likely to be its enemies and friends, and will help the future friends, and try to weaken the likely enemies.

This is the precise position of a revolutionary organisation. The task of a revolutionist is not so easy as many so-called revolutionists imagine. It carries with it hard work, severe hardship, great danger. The Executive Committee of the Third International has recently circulated a letter on Parliamentarism* which bears this article out, and expands the idea contained in it. In the further light which this letter throws upon the question we have been discussing, we should be able to discover whether there is a revolutionary organisation in Australia.

"Philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, but the point is to change it."—Karl Marx.

*This letter was published in the July number of the "Proletarian Review."

A Marxian Analysis of the Present Soaring Prices

By E. S. HANKS.

In the last issue the causes of rising prices before the war were analysed, and in this issue the more rapid rise which occurred since will be analysed.

In the early days of the war, the international relations of the various countries were so upset that the mechanism of credit was disorganised, and the international trade relationships had to be conducted with gold. Owing to the warring nations requiring war materials, they bought great quantities of munitions, etc., from the neutral nations, in particular from the U.S.A. Payment had to be made in gold, as the belligerents were too fully engaged in war production to be able to keep the "balance of trade," or, in other words, they were not able to export commodities to act as repayment for the munitions, etc., which they were importing. Thus we find America demanding gold as payment, and the belligerent governments taking control of all gold coin, specie, etc., in order to liquidate their debts abroad. To meet the currency requirements within the borders of their own countries, notes were issued and were made legal tender. If the issue of these notes had been only of an amount to replace the gold withdrawn, or, on there being a rise in prices from any cause, only in such extra quantities as would have been equivalent to the extra amount of gold (for a general rise in prices necessitates an increase of currency), then certainly no further rise in prices could have occurred from this cause.

Says Marx ("Critique of Political Economy," p. 155): "How many reams of paper cut up into bills can circulate as money? Put in that way the question would be absurd. The worthless tokens are signs of value only in so far as they represent gold within the sphere of circulation, and they represent it only to the

extent to which it would itself be absorbed as coin by the process of circulation."

Marx, with characteristic thoroughness, has analysed the results of inflated currencies. Though the "Critique of Political Economy" was published in 1859, the theoretical examples given in that work have been reproduced in substance in almost every country in Europe and in Australia since the outbreak of war.

On p. 157 ("Critique") Marx says:—"Since paper bills are legal tender, no one can prevent the State from forcing as large a quantity of them as it desires into circulation, and from impressing upon it any coin denomination such as £1, £5, £20. The bills which have once gotten into circulation cannot be removed, since, on the one hand, their course is hemmed in by the frontier posts of the country, and on the other, they lose all value, use value as well as exchange value, outside of circulation."

Marx here refers to the fact that these notes are of no use for foreign exchange. It was for this reason that gold was withdrawn by the belligerents and used for foreign payments. So great was the inrush of gold to America that it was melted down, and later, American securities, which were held in England, were demanded as payment.

In the 'Age,' 16/12/15 was the following:—

"The United States Treasury has accumulated so much gold coin as a result of British payments that it has melted down 20,000,000 sovereigns. The block weighs 200 tons, and measures 6ft. by 11ft."

Marx sums up the whole position in the following words ("Critique," p. 159-160):

"The rise or fall of prices of commodities following a rise or fall of the quantity of paper notes—the latter only

where paper currency constitutes the exclusive medium of circulation—is nothing but an assertion through the process of circulation of a law mechanically violated from without; namely, that the quantity of gold in circulation is determined by the prices of commodities, and the quantity of tokens of value in circulation is determined by the quantity of gold coin which it represents. For that reason any desired number of paper notes will be absorbed and equally digested by the process of circulation, because the token of value, no matter with what gold title it may enter circulation will be compressed within the latter to a token of that quantity of gold which could actually circulate in its place.*

It has been shown that gold became a necessity for oversea payments, and thus, in order to meet these obligations, gold was withdrawn from circulation and notes substituted; but, having this power, the Government (harrassed by the great and growing war expenditure) had a means of payment for debts contracted within its own borders, and so we find the truth of the trite expression of a bourgeois economist, "Paper money is an ingenious method of borrowing by a needy Government."

Two cases can be quoted of the Commonwealth Government thus simply issuing notes to meet payments—one being £6,000,000 required for wool, the other being a statement that the Australian note issue was to be £56,000,000, the extra £3,000,000

*The Melbourne "Socialist," July 9th, 1920, printed an unsigned article entitled "The Money Fetish." The "Socialist" proceeds to dress down the Sydney Labor Council for the latter's, in this case, correct and Marxian statement re the present cause of rising prices. Presumably, the "Socialist" is angry that the S.L.C. have not on this occasion, chimed in with it in the parrot cry of "Profiteers! Profiteers! Profiteers!" The "Socialist" seems to imagine that a clear understanding of the economic factors would lead to an agitation on the note issue. No more is this the case than that an understanding of the fact that machinery tends to displace labor, would lead a Marxian to smash machinery. A correct grasp of economic subjects will never lead the working class into chasing worthless reforms, rather is it the greatest antidote to this.—E.S.H.

in this amount, according to the Treasurer, being required for "wheat and other agricultural exports."

It is difficult to state with exactitude the amount of gold currency which could have circulated had no inflation occurred, but the figures given by Mr. Buchart, in his pamphlet, "Money, Credit and Banking," also those given by "Lombard" in his series of articles in the "Argus" during April, 1920, are about £20,000,000. In any case, the total amount of currency given in the Treasury estimate, 1914, was:—

Estimated currency in hands of public, June 30th:—

Gold	£6,500,000
Commonwealth Notes	5,000,000
Other Notes	300,000
Silver and Bronze	500,000

Total in public hands £12,300,000

The amount held by both banks and public was:—

Coined gold, silver and bullion	£36,410,024
Commonwealth Bank notes	9,573,738
Other Notes	306,809
Total (with bullion etc.)	46,290,571

It must be noted that the bullion and the coin that was not being used (which in itself really constitutes bullion) cannot be regarded as currency; therefore, I do not think the currency would be more than thirty millions at the utmost. (Much of the amounts held in the banks would be definitely currency).

The note issue to-day is £56,000,000, but as gold bullion to the extent of £16,000,000 was taken over from the banks and notes to that value were returned to them to be held as receipt or substitute, we find that the paper currency is £40,000,000.

A very striking analogy of the different price trends in two separate countries was given in the "Australian Insurance and Banking Record," April, 1916.

"In the third quarter of 1915 it took 31/1 to buy what could have been bought (other than rent) in 1911 for 20/-."

And the same capitalist journal points

out that in New Zealand, where the State did not issue bank notes at all, the figures were, "third quarter of 1915, 23/10½ for what could have been bought in 1911 for 20/-."

Some time later New Zealand also issued quantities of notes, but until it did so, we had a splendid illustration of the effect of an excessive note issue, as the other effects of the war on prices were about equal for both countries.

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One aspect of this question has befogged some students of Marx, and that is why the disparity between the depreciated notes and gold did not become glaring. The fact is, that the Government has learned by previous cases of inflating the currency (by no means rare) that gold must be withdrawn, and the few gold coins which were about, were not sufficient to affect the matter. If a sufficiency of gold coins to compete with the notes had been in circulation, then certainly the disparity would have become apparent. Even this arrangement no longer holds good, because the notes which had to be given for an ounce of gold were, on March 21, £4/17/10½ instead of £3 17/10½ in this country, and considerably more in England. This is equivalent to saying £4/17/10½ in notes must be given for £3/17/10½ (i.e., an ounce) in gold.

And this is not the full disparity which will manifest itself as time goes on.

Generally speaking, the inflation of notes affects prices in this way. The Government, in order to buy requirements, issues notes. In so far as it issues these notes in excess of gold withdrawn, it creates an increased purchasing power or demand, firstly, by its own purchases; secondly, by those who receive payment from the Government, and now have an extra purchasing power, and so likewise they, by purchasing business requirements, etc., etc., spread the general demand for commodities in all directions, this demand inevitably tending to raise prices. Likewise, there will be a general increase of deposits at the banks. These then lend larger sums to business men, builders, etc., thus again causing a demand for commodities. Thus may be seen the factor at work causing prices to rise, but once the paper money gets into circulation, it does not go out again, the reason being well stated by Marx in the quotation given above from the "Critique of Political Economy," p. 157. This is undoubtedly the main cause of the recent general rise in prices. Other factors enter in a minor way, but refer mostly to particular commodities, as, for instance, dyes, some chemicals, etc., which became almost or even totally unprocurable owing to the war.

Trade Unionism, Industrial Unionism, and Workers' Committees

(Issued by the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International.)

1.—Unions are necessary organisations in the economic struggle of the workers against their employers, since, in spite of their limitations, the unions are means for resisting and often improving the most inhuman conditions of labor. Nor are the unions transitory in character, since they can particularly as industrial unions become active means of revolutionary struggle, and a factor in the Communist reconstruction of society.

2.—The Trades Unions persisting in the defensive struggle against Capitalism do not materially improve conditions. The rise of wages is, in general, exceeded by the rise of prices, while the policy of compromise, wage agree-

ments and industrial peace weakens the fighting spirit of the workers.

3.—The Trades Unions arose during the epoch of small industry, with its consequent division of the workers into crafts or trades. The artisan conception prevailed that a worker's craft or skill was a form of property, developing a property and petty bourgeois ideology; and this, together with the circumstance that Trades Unions acquired power during a period of intense national economic development (1870-1900), produced the concept of limiting the proletarian struggle within the limits of Capitalism and the nation.

4.—Trades Unionism represented (and still

represents) the upper layers of the working class, excluding the bulk of the unskilled workers; and where these workers are organised in Trades Unions, they are dominated by the concepts and practice of the upper layers—the "aristocracy of labor."

5.—The development of Imperialism merges the Trades Unions definitely in Capitalism, the upper layers of the working class being bribed with a share in the profits of imperialism by means of slightly higher wages, steady employment, and labor legislation. The "aristocracy of labor" dominant in Trades Unionism accepts Imperialism, uses the unions to assist Capitalism in "stabilising" labor in industry, and becomes the source of the corrupt ideology of social imperialism. The decisive factor in the old International was the immersion of Socialism in Trades Unionism, with its practice of social-Imperialism, petty bourgeois democracy, and its fundamental counter-revolutionary tendency.

6.—Trades Unionism (as typically expressed in the American Federation of Labor) is impotent to improve materially conditions of labor or to conquer power, since the division of the workers into craft or trade organisations splits them into innumerable unions, each antagonistic to the other, making hopeless the struggle against concentrated Capitalism, which largely expropriates the worker of his skill, eliminates the craft divisions of small industry, and brings masses of the proletariat together regardless of particular occupational functions. The general mass strike alone is capable of decisive action against concentrated Capitalism; but Trades Unionism in form and spirit is antagonistic to the mass strike.

7.—Trades Unionism comes to realise its economic impotence, and proceeds to Parliamentary action, which, represented by Laborism (as typically expressed in the British Labor Party) is as impotent as Trades Unionism to accomplish fundamental conquests, since Laborism necessarily accepts the dominant union concepts and practice. Laborism unites with petty bourgeois democracy against the proletarian revolution — that petty bourgeois democracy which is seduced by Imperialism.

8.—The governmental form of expression of Laborism is State Capitalism, the merger in the state of the capitalists, the small bourgeois, and the upper layers of the working class dominant in the Trades Unions; the state is used to regulate equally industry and labor for purposes of Imperialism, the proletarian masses being compelled to accept this arrangement by means of deception and force.

9.—The tendency is for Laborism and Socialism to unite (either formally or by means of Trades Union domination of the Socialist Party) each necessarily accepting social Imperialism, since their activity is limited within the limits of Capitalism and the nation; and under the ascendancy of monopoly and finance capital, the "prosperity" of a nation depends on Imperialism.

10.—Laborism becomes the final bulwark of

defence of Capitalism against the oncoming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a merciless struggle against Laborism is imperative. But while politically Laborism expresses itself as State Capitalism and petty bourgeois democracy, its animating impulse and force is in Trades Unionism. The struggle against this form of unionism accordingly is an inseparable phase of the struggle against Laborism, proceeding—

(a) In general by the Communist parties agitating to drive the unions to more revolutionary action.

(b) Encouraging every movement in the unions that tends to break the permanency of the bureaucracy, and placing control in the masses by means of delegates being subject directly to instructions and recall.

(c) By the formation of organisations such as the Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees, economic Workers' Councils, and direct branches of the Communist parties in the shops, mills, and mines, which are not alone means for moving the masses and the unions to more revolutionary action but which at the moment of the crisis may develop the Soviets.

(d) By endeavouring to transform the Trades Unions into industrial unions, that is, a unionism in form paralleling the economic integrities of modern capitalism, and in spirit animated by the struggle for political power and economic mastery.

11.—The agitation for and construction of industrial unions provides, in an immediate and practical way, the opportunity to articulate and mobilise the militant spirit of discontent developing in the old unions, to carry on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucracy and the "aristocracy of labor." Industrial Unionism, moreover, provides the opportunity of calling to action the unorganised, unskilled workers, and to release the unskilled organised in the Trades Unions from their bondage to the reactionary upper layers of the working class. The struggle for revolutionary Industrial Unionism is a factor for the development of Communist clearing and for the grasping of the might.

12.—Unionism, trades and industrial, must not limit itself to economic strikes, but must acquire the concept and practice of the general political strike—co-operate with the Communist parties to develop the general mass struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois state.

13.—The concept that Industrial Unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of Capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be organised in industrial unions under Capitalist economic conditions. The upper layers of the working classes, being the impulse of Laborism, will necessarily reject revolutionary industrial unionism; while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under Capitalism

must in their industrial unions acquire the experience and technical management of industry, "growing into" the new society by the industrial unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the proposals of parliamentary Socialism—that the working class must gradually "grow into" Socialism by acquiring experience of state affairs and "absorbing" control of the bourgeois state. Each concept, in its own way, rejects the fundamental problem of the revolutionary conquest of state power.

14.—The conquest of the power of the state is the objective of the revolutionary proletariat. Neither the parliaments nor the industrial unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the Soviets—mass action to rally the workers, organised and unorganised, in the open revolutionary struggle for power, the Soviets to constitute the mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of Soviets.

15.—After the conquest of political power and under the protection of the Soviet Dictatorship, Industrial Unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a Communist basis; and the stronger the industrial unions the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush Capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the government of Soviets functions geographically and politically; but alongside of itself it constructs a central administration of industry, wholly economic in character, equality in representation and functions, perfecting the organism of proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organised producers.

STRIKES.

Just as water finds its own level, so the standard of living of the working class constantly tends to find its level over the whole class. When relatively good conditions obtain in one city, State or country, the workers of other cities, States or countries begin a movement to the favored spot, a movement which goes on until the conditions of the one spot become less attractive in comparison. Precisely in the same way does labor tend to flow into those occupations where re-

latively good conditions obtain. This being the case, it is manifestly in the interests of all sections of the working class that any one section should win out in its struggles with the master class. It is, in short, a demonstration of the necessity of making an injury to one the concern of all.

TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.

Speaking in the Arbitration Court, Mr. Justice Starke recently suggested that there should be a lower wage for single than for married working men, because their needs were different. Although, in capitalist practice, this suggestion merely amounts to a proposal for the increased exploitation of the working class, the principle of which it is a perversion is that wealth should be distributed according to human needs. The Melbourne Trades' Hall Council countered the judge's suggestion with a resolution to the effect that wages should be determined in accordance with services performed. This resolution really lays down the principle that wealth should be distributed according to human labor. The Council, however, dangerously misstates this principle. Since it is of the essence of wages that the class which draws them should not receive the equivalent of the labor it expends, it is a misstatement to speak of payment according to services as wages. This misstatement is dangerous, because it implies the compatibility of the principle laid down with capitalism, of which wages are the corner-stone. The principle perverted by the judge, the principle "To each according to his needs," will rule in the highest stage of Communism, and not before; it will then rule in harmony with the corresponding principle, "From each according to his faculties." The principle misstated by the Council will rule in the lowest stage of Communism, and not before; when allowance has been made for certain deductions in behalf of the communal fund, the worker will then receive the equivalent of the labor he has given. The Council is right in repudiating the judge's perversion of

the principle of needs; but, in the course of this repudiation, it misstates the labor principle, than which, moreover, the principle of needs is, in its proper setting, of

higher justice. In connection with capitalism both principles are Utopian, being utterly at variance with the economic basis of this social order.

A PROLETARIAN LIBRARY

(By G. BARACCHI.)

COMMUNIST PROGRAMME OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

By N. Bucharin.

Bucharin is a prominent member of the Russian Communist Party and of the Third International, by the Executive Committee of which he has been recently instructed to draw up, in company with Zinoviev and Radek, a thesis on the burning question of labor unionism. He has been described as "more left than Lenin," and, in the above book, he certainly wields a powerful pen. Simple, logical, utterly uncompromising, the "Programme of the World Revolution" gives us a vivid picture of revolutionary action, and it is easily understandable that the book has had an immense vogue among the Russian working class. Fine as it is, however, it is yet distinctly inferior to the writings of Lenin, of whose revolutionary genius Bucharin falls short.

We cannot resist the temptation to give just one example of Lenin's firmer grip of reality. In the course of his book Bucharin writes as follows on the matter of international diplomacy:—

"Let us bear this in mind. The question is not of the right of the nation (i.e., of the workers and the bourgeoisie together) to independence, but of the right of the labouring classes. That means that the so-called 'will of the nation' is not in the least sacred to us. We consider sacred only the will of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat masses. That is why we speak not of the rights of nations to independence, but of the right of the laboring classes of every nation to separation if they so desire."

From the standpoint of the class struggle that seems perfectly logical. But now let us hear what Lenin has to say upon this very matter. In March, 1919, Lenin countered Bucharin's proposal to

substitute "self-determination of the workers" for "self-determination of nations" in the party program, with these words:—

"Such a proposal leaves out of consideration with what difficulties, and by what a winding road, the class-differentiation within the nations is now taking place. . . . If we should say that we do not recognise any Finnish nation, but only the laboring masses, it would be the emptiest nonsense. It is impossible not to recognise that which is. It will compel its own recognition. . . . And we must recognise that the laboring masses of other nations on our borders are still full of mistrust for the great Russians, as an oppressing nation. . . . Our nationality-policy does not interfere in any way with our struggle with the Finnish bourgeoisie as a class-enemy; we merely use this policy in that struggle as the most appropriate possible weapon. A Soviet Republic, organised in a country whose Tsardom oppressed Finland, must say plainly that it respects the right of nations to independence. Otherwise they would suspect us—and not without warrant! . . . Scratch some Communists, and you will find a Great Russian Chauvinist! . . . It is useless to proclaim the class differentiation of the laboring masses; we must bring about this class differentiation by propaganda. This we are doing. And meanwhile there is no doubt whatever that we must recognise the self-determination of the Polish nation, bourgeoisie though it be. The Polish proletariat. . . are being told that we Muscovites, who have always oppressed the Poles, are attempting to inflict again upon Poland our Great Russian chauvinism, camouflaged this time as Communism! Whereas we know that not by way of violence is Communism to be inculcated."

We see now to what the statement that Lenin is "more right" than Bucharin really amounts. His "rightness" amounts to a superior ability in the analysis of a concrete situation. That is all.

To say this is only to give Lenin his due; it is by no means to depreciate the work of Bucharin. Indeed, the impression made upon us by this work may be

judged by the critical rather than indiscriminating nature of the appreciation we extend to it. In particular, it is good to see Bucharin pitch overboard neck and crop the opportunist shibboleth of the Second International that religion is a private matter. In relation to the State, by all means; but in relation to a Communist Party—never. Marx wrote in his "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law":—

"Religion is the opium of the people. The suppression of religion as the happiness of the people is the revindication of its real happiness. The invitation to abandon illusions regarding its situation is an invitation to abandon a situation which has need of illusions. Criticism of religion is therefore the germ of a criticism of the vale of tears, of which religion is the holy aspect."

It has been urged in the past that since Communists regard religious ideas as shadows of society, they should not drop the substance for the shadow, but should ignore religion entirely. Such an attitude would be utterly mistaken. We must frankly face every implication of Communism; moreover, ideas, religious and otherwise, have a reflex action upon society which cannot be ignored. We accordingly find Bucharin, who has reverted to the precept of Marx, laying it down that—

"Religion must be fought, if not by violence, at all events by argument. . . . On the other hand, freedom of thought must be guaranteed. Hence the axiom that religion is a private affair. This does not mean that we should not struggle against it by freedom of argument. It means that the State should support no church organisation."

Bucharin makes some interesting observations on compulsory labour, a scarecrow which is held up to the workers in capitalist countries with the object of turning them against the Russian Revolution. Once more the ruling class misses the mark. Compulsory labour has no terror for the workers; they are hardened to it by long experience. But what the Polishheviks have apparently done is to introduce compulsory labour, not for the workers, for they had been the subjects of compulsory labour all their lives, but for the exploiters who had never done any work previously. No doubt this seems

a frightful catastrophe to some of these, but they will get used to it and, meanwhile, the spectacle of their toil must be an exhilarating one for their ex-wage-plug fellow-workers.

Bucharin expounds the other salient features of the revolutionary program with bold directness and brilliant lucidity. His book should be in the library of every revolutionist; moreover, for the novice it will serve as an excellent introduction to the practice of Communism.

§ § §

WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL. By Karl Marx.

Just as Lenin was prevented from finishing his book, "The State and Revolution," in 1917, by the onset of the Russian proletarian revolution, even so, in consequence of the uprisings in Germany in 1849, was Marx compelled to forego the completion of that series of articles which, still unfinished, is now collected in the pamphlet "Wage Labor and Capital." But whereas Lenin tells us that he was only too happy to exchange writing for participation in revolution, the counter-revolutionary authorities appear to have thrown Marx into a towering passion by the suppression, among other things, of his newspaper, "Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung," in which the articles in question had been appearing. Already aware of his paper's impending doom, Marx's indignation is plainly revealed in the columns of the final number, from which he hurls at the bourgeoisie these burning words:—

"We are ruthless and want no consideration from you. When our turn comes, revolutionary terrorism will not be sugar-coated. . . . There is but one way of simplifying, shortening, concentrating the death agony of the old society as well as the bloody labor of the new world's birth—revolutionary Terror."

We see, then, that the articles which comprise "Wage Labor and Capital" were already written in the forties of last century. At that time Marx had not yet completed his criticism of political economy. The edition republished by Andrade has accordingly been altered where necessary by Engels, so as to read "approximately as Marx would have written

August, 1920.

it in 1891." Engels has also added an introduction which is equally as valuable as the work itself, and in which the origin of surplus value is to our mind more lucidly explained than anywhere else in the writings of either Marx or Engels.

"Wage Labor and Capital" is written as simply and popularly as possible, and supposes no previous knowledge of economics. Like "Value, Price and Profit," it was expressly written for the workers, and should be read by all of them. Moreover, what Marx said of Germany applies also to Australia.

"There prevails the most remarkable ignorance and confusion of ideas in regard to the simplest economic relations, from the patented defenders of existing conditions, down to the Socialist wonder-workers and the unrecognised political geniuses, in which divided Germany is even richer than in duo-decimal princelings."

A study of "Wage Labor and Capital" will certainly assist to rid the mind of the Australian worker of a like confusion and ignorance. It will teach him what wages are, by what the price of a commodity is determined, by what wages are determined. It will show him the nature and growth of capital.

"It is only the dominion of past, accumulated, materialised labor over immediate living labor that stamps the accumulated labor with the character of capital. Capital does not consist in the fact that accumulated labor serves living labor as a means for new production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves accumulated labor as the means of preserving and multiplying its exchange value."

Marx goes on to discuss the relation of wage labor to capital, and the general law that determines the rise and fall of wages and profits:—

"They stand in inverse proportion to each other. The share of capital (profit) increases in the same proportion in which the share of labor (wages) falls, and vice versa. Profit rises in the same degree in which wages fall; it falls in the same degree in which wages rise."

It follows directly from this that, even if we keep ourselves within the relation of capital and wage labor, the interests of capital and the interests of wage labor are diametrically opposed. Let the working class but remember this, and they cannot go very far wrong. Let them forget it and they cannot go right.

Marx shows the effects of the introduction of machinery, which, under Communism, is destined to release mankind from drudgery, upon the working class under capitalism. Speaking of the industrial war of capitalists among themselves, he says:—

"This war has the peculiarity that the battles in it are won less by recruiting than by discharging the army of workers. The generals (the capitalists) vie with one another as to who can discharge the greatest number of industrial soldiers."

Under capitalism machinery throws out laborers; under Communism it will throw out HOURS of labor.

The latter portion of "Wage Labor and Capital" is especially valuable as an aid to the understanding of the last parts of "Capital," vol. 1, which investigate the accumulation of capital exhaustively. The whole pamphlet, indeed, along with "Value, Price and Profit," cannot be dispensed with as an introduction to working class economics.

W.E.A. MISEDUCATION.

In connection with a statement, which appeared in the first number of "The Proletarian Review," to the effect that numbers of workers suffered mis-education at the hands of the W.E.A., a number of letters have reached us from Broken Hill. These letters unanimously declare that Mr. Molesworth, the W.E.A. tutor in Broken Hill, leaves nothing to be desired from the standpoint of uncompromisingly revolutionary Marxism. We are glad to hear that this is so, but it in no way militates against our contention that W.E.A. mis-educates numbers of workers. If a W.E.A. tutor happens to be a revolutionary Marxist, he is merely the exception that proves the above rule.

Marx on Revolution.—"Just as our opinion of an individual," wrote Marx, "is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production."

August, 1920.

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THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

This A.S.P. reprint (just off the press) of the great working-class classic, written by the founders of Scientific Socialism, has four prefaces, the third of which contains a most interesting document, in the shape of Engels's translation of the joint preface to the second Russian edition. The matter in it makes most valuable reading, in view of Russia's situation to-day.

The Manifesto itself cannot be spoken too highly of as a working-class document of intrinsic value.

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WORKERS' CONTROL IN INDUSTRY.

By G. D. H. Cole.

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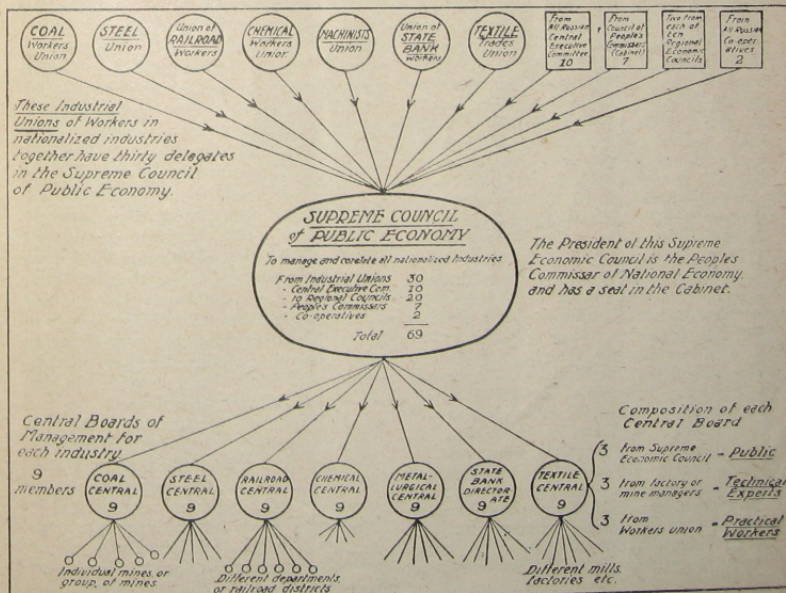
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COMMUNIST RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY.



Plan of the Economic Organisation of Soviet Russia.

Proletarian Comment

Political Prisoners and Mass Action.

MORE than once in these columns we have written of the importance of the political strike, of the imminence and potentialities of its development. As if to prove our words, the executive of the New South Wales Labor Council has formulated a plan for the resistance by the working-class of further deportations from Australia, a plan which, according to the reports of the capitalist press, includes "irritation strikes, go slow strikes, stop work meetings, propaganda on warships, and the application of the 'darg' in the coal mines." Against this plan, involving, as it does, a mass action of the workers which, if not yet revolutionary, is at least political, the New South Wales Premier fulminates a tirade entirely worthy of a Labor lieutenant of the capitalist class. In the course of this tirade, he scores, at the most, a single point. Since deportations, he says, are at an end, the plan of the executive of the Labor Council to prevent them is "shadow-sparring." But even if deportations are really at an end, it is, nevertheless, an easy matter to oblige Mr. Storey and make the proposal for political mass action something other than shadow-sparring. If this proposal should aim to force you to find means of releasing from gaol the two I.W.W. agitators you have so far failed to liberate, how, Mr. Storey, would it suit you then? And if the New South Wales workers who have entered on a struggle for a working week of forty-four hours, should add to this a further demand for the release of King and Reeve, how would that suit you, Mr. Storey? However such things would suit a petty bourgeois "Labor" Premier, to work for them is the plain duty of Communists in New South Wales. If, by an intense propaganda, they can develop out of the industrial struggles of the workers the concept and practice of political mass action, they will have gone far towards developing the concept of that revolutionary mass action whose practice leads the proletariat to the final conquest of power.

Workmen's Councils.

TO the attention of those who assume that the Soviet is a purely Russian form, with no application to the conquest of power by the Australian proletariat, we heartily recommend some recent happenings in England. We had already observed that the workers of such widely diversified countries as Germany, Hungary and Italy formed Soviets during a revolutionary crisis; we have now witnessed a similar occurrence during a tense situation in another land. With the recent threat of open aggression by English capitalism against Russian Communism, the Labor Council of Action sprang up in England, and it was reported that local councils were also being formed. If it is argued that subsequent messages make it clear that the central council is in the hands of reactionary elements, we answer that precisely the same thing was the case with the Russian Soviets prior to the November Revolution. Let a crisis develop in England which the "moderates" are unable to control, and, if not the present Council of Action, then future similar councils will fall into the hands of the revolutionists. Should a revolution ensue, these councils will then naturally constitute the mechanism of proletarian dictatorship. We see accordingly that, wherever the proletarian revolution raises its head, the organisation of the workers takes Soviet shape; we know, moreover, that the comprehensiveness—since it includes all wage-earners—and the flexibility—as exemplified in Russia—of the Soviet organisation, make it an ideal political instrument for the transition stage between capitalism and communism. In view of these facts, we not only fail to see the inapplicability of Workmen's Councils in Australia, but we hold that probabilities point to the actual forging of some such instrument of proletarian power in the fires of the Australian revolution.

Parliamentary Action.

WHEN the Ballarat Trades Hall Council read our reprint of the Third International's letter on parliamentary action, it refused any longer to handle the "Proletarian Review." This is a blow to Communism from which it may be doubted whether it will ever recover; nevertheless, we must maintain our opinion that it is through mass action, and not through Parliament, that the workers conquer power. We must persist, further, that the value of parliamentary action to the workers lies, not in "constructive legislation" and bureaucratic petty bourgeois reform measures, but in revolutionary criticism, in developing the industrial action of the masses, in awakening their revolutionary consciousness. For we hold with the Third International that just as in Russia, in Germany, in Sweden, and in Bulgaria, to take a few actual instances, the tribune of Parliament has been exploited for revolutionary purposes, so, by the participation of a Communist Party in election campaigns and legislative debates, revolutionary propaganda is no less possible in countries like Australia. In non-revolutionary situations, a Communist Party can avail itself of these propaganda opportunities to expose the sham of capitalist democracy. Again, when the workers win one or more battles of revolutionary potentiality, the doors of the legislative halls are likely to be thrown wide open to the Laborite betrayers of the workers' struggle, who will then become invaluable agents of the capitalist class in keeping alive the illusions of parliamentary democracy. In such a situation, Communists can make good use, both of elections and of the floor of the House, to expose this deception and keep to the front the slogan: "Down with the parliamentary sham of capitalism! Hail to the Soviets and real working-class democracy!" On the other hand, when a revolutionary crisis itself shatters the mass illusions as to capitalist democracy, and whenever the elections would be a diversion from the mass action of the workers, the boycotting of elections is the proper policy for Communists. By those who doubt the practicability of all this, it may be argued that we are only

theorising. Exactly so. The precise revolutionary value of parliamentary action in Australia can be finally determined only by experiment. What is wanted is a strong Communist Party which shall, among other more important tasks, proceed to make this experiment.

Communist Party and O.B.U.

THE released I.W.W. men have lost not a moment in plunging back into the proletarian struggle. They are actively engaged in estimating the present situation of their class, and many workers await expectantly their pronouncement upon the line of action they intend to follow. In these circumstances, we commend to the serious consideration of the ten men the great lessons of the Russian Revolution, lessons which in every respect confirm the teachings of Engels and Marx, and which find definite expression in the programmes of Communist parties and the Third International. The Communist programme appreciates the importance of the O.B.U. concept which the I.W.W. men did much to popularise; while it rejects the concept that the O.B.U. alone is necessary for the conquest of capitalism, it appreciates the importance of industrial unionism as a factor both in the revolutionary struggle and in the Communist reconstruction of society. But the Communist programme also appreciates the importance of the concepts of mass action and proletarian dictatorship, of the experience of the proletarian revolution in action. And this experience has proven beyond question the supreme necessity for a strongly disciplined, centralised party, which, unlike the O.B.U., does not organise in its ranks all and sundry, but welds into one compact body all Communists, sending them forth to function everywhere, in the factories, in the unions, even in the bourgeois parliaments, as the agents of universal revolution. Wherever the class struggle may be fought, wherever working-men may be influenced, there, subject to the centralised control of their party, must groups of revolutionists function, leading their more backward fellow-workers to the understanding and

the action of Communism. The achievement of such an organisation, adequate to every exigency of revolution, may be difficult; it may not even be immediately possible; nevertheless, it is indispensable and must be aimed at. "The Communist

International," writes its president in recent communication, "holds out the hand of brotherhood to the I.W.W. Will I.W.W. men respond by helping build up the Communist Party of Au-
tralia?"

The Class Struggle

By "Spartacus."

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM.

There were not always class struggles. To our remote ancestors of the era of human development we may call savagery, class struggles were unknown. The Australian aborigines represent a survival of this stage. To our ancestors of the succeeding stage of development to savagery, which we may name barbarism, class struggles were again unknown. The Iroquois Indians, whom the discovery of America brought in contact with European peoples, typify a survival of the barbaric epoch. In this stage of human development, the unit of social organisation was the **gens**. The gens consisted of individuals who traced their descent from a common female ancestor, the founder of that gens. A number of gentes made up a phratry, a number of phratries made up a tribe. Sometimes several tribes were federated in a league of tribes. In this simple society women enjoyed an exalted status, and female lineage alone was valid. The form of the family was what has been called the pairing family. One man lived with one woman, but the marriage tie might be easily broken by either party, and the children belonged to the mother only.

Primitive was the division of labor in such a society. The work was simply divided between the sexes; the men were supreme in the forest, the women in the house. Each sex also owned the tools made and used by it: the men were the owners of the weapons, of the implements for hunting and fishing; the women of the household goods and utensils. The household was communistic, comprising several and often many families. Whatever

was produced and used collectively was regarded as common property: the house, the garden, the long boat. Not class struggles, but a primitive communism was characteristic of gentile society.

But humanity did not everywhere persist in this stage. In Asia, for example, the domestication of animals resulted in the stock-raising tribes segregating themselves from the rest of the barbarians. Here was the first great division of social labor. This was followed by an increase of production. Now, for the first time, human labor power was enabled to produce more than was required for its maintenance. Now, for the first time, it became practicable to transform those taken in war into slaves. The first great division of social labor carried in its wake the first great division of society into classes, into masters and servants exploiters and exploited.

There followed the transfer of the herd from the collective ownership of the tribe or gens to the private ownership of the heads of the families. With this development, exchange, which had previously occurred only between tribe and tribe now took place between individuals at the prevailing form. Moreover, since the cattle, and the commodities and slaves obtained in exchange for them, now belonged to members of the male sex, all the surplus resulting from production belonged to these. This wrought a revolution in the family. Woman lost her status and man attained to practical supremacy in the household. Female lineage was replaced by male lineage; matriarchy by patriarchy. And as group marriage

which is the typical form of the family for savagery, had previously given way to the pairing family, which is typical for barbarism, so now the transition began to the monogamic form of family, which is typical of that stage of social development we call civilisation.

The second great division of social labor took place: handicrafts separated from agriculture. Slavery, till now sporadic, became an essential part of the social system. To the distinction between freemen and slaves was added the distinction between rich and poor. This and the new division of labor formed a fresh division of society into classes.

The development of division of labor, of exchange, of private property, the transition to monogamy, the splitting of society into classes irreconcilably antagonistic, all these things mark the downfall of the old society and of the gentile constitution which was its expression. The gens was replaced by the **state**; the communist society of barbarism by the class society of civilisation.*

CIVILISATION.

Thenceforth, all history has been, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, the history of class struggles.

"Free man and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations. . . Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

Inseparably connected with class struggles is the State. The State is simply

*For an amplification of the above sketch, see

the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. Says Engels:

"It is simply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradictions which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these classes with conflicting economic interests, may not annihilate themselves and society in a useless struggle, a power becomes necessary that stands apparently above society, and has the function of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order.' And this power, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it, and becoming more and more divorced from it, is the State."

If we compare the State with the gentile constitution, we notice in the first place that whereas gentilism organised its members by blood-kinship, the State groups its subjects by **territories**. This seems natural to us now, but it was not always so, and the history of Athens and Rome bears witness that it was only accomplished as the result of prolonged struggle. Secondly, the State created an institution unknown to gentilism, a **public power of coercion** distinct from the general population. Engels says:

"This public power of coercion exists in every State. It is not composed of armed men alone, but has also such objects as prisons and correction houses attached to it, that were unknown to gentilism. It may be very small, almost infinitesimal, in societies with feebly developed class antagonisms and in out of the way places, as was once the case in certain regions of the United States. But it increases in the same ratio in which the class antagonisms become more pronounced, and in which neighbouring States become larger and more populous. A conspicuous example is modern Europe, where the class struggle and wars of conquest have nursed the public power to such a size that it threatens to swallow the whole society and the State itself."

To maintain this public power, the State has need of another institution of which gentile society never dreamed—**taxes**. In possession of the public power and the right to collect taxes, the **officials** in their capacity of State organs are exalted above society. Here again is a difference from gentilism. A modern police constable has more "authority" than all the organs of gentile society put together.

The State having arisen amid class
Engels' "The Origin of the Family."

conflicts and with the object of keeping these down, Engels accordingly tells us that

"it is as a rule the State of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class, and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses."

Thus the slave-owners used the ancient State to hold the slaves in check. In feudal times, the landed nobility oppressed the serfs and dependent farmers through the state. The modern representative State enables the capitalists to keep the wage-laborers "in their place." Occasionally, when the contending classes have been nearly balanced in strength, the state has acquired a certain independence and posed as a mediator between them. This was the case with the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which balanced the nobility against the bourgeoisie. In the same way, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were set off against one another by the Napoleonic empires. More recently, the Bismarck-made German Empire played the proletariat and the bourgeoisie against each other for the benefit of the junkers.

We see then that, in the words of Marx, the state is an instrument by means of which one class enslaves another. In most states, citizen rights have been apportioned directly according to wealth. The highest form of state, however, the democratic republic, knows nothing officially of property distinctions. Here wealth exerts its power indirectly, but all the more safely. According to Engels:

"This is done partly in the form of direct corruption of officials, after the classical type of the United States, or in the form of an alliance between government and bankers, which is established all the more easily when the public debt increases and when corporations concentrate in their hands, not only the means of transportation, but also production itself, using the stock exchange as a centre. . . The possessing class rules directly through universal suffrage."

He further remarks that universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working-class, but that it can and will never be anything more than that in the modern state.

This is a convenient point at which to

summarise what we have so far written. We have seen that in the epoch of primitive communism there were no class struggles, but since the dawn of civilization-history has been made up of nothing else. We have learnt further that class struggles produced the state, which is nothing but an instrument by which one class oppresses another. This is equally true of the modern democratic republic. The consideration of this form of state recalls us to the class struggle of our own day, the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat. In the next issue we shall pass to an examination of this, the class struggle, and its outcome in proletarian dictatorship.

(To be continued).

SOCIALISM AND RATIONALISM

In an article in the July number of the "Proletarian Review," Moses Baritz, among other things, sharply criticised Rationalism. In the Melbourne "Socialist" of August 13, W. J. Miles falls foul of Baritz's criticism. We have accordingly been asked to explain the precise difference between the Socialist and the Rationalist attitude towards religion.

We reply that Baritz adheres to the Socialist position. That position, as taken up by the organisation for which Baritz stands, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, is as follows. The Socialist case against religion differs widely from the usual Freethought position. There are Rationalist superstitions as well as Christian. Religion was not the wicked invention of charlatans; nor is the passing of superstition simply to be explained by the "triumph of Reason." The "march of mind," the development of science, and the decay of religion, are themselves ultimately explicable only from the evolution of economic conditions. Ideas play a secondary part in social development. They are the effects of the material environment upon human beings, and are not the creative motive force of social evolution. Consequently, in his worship of the "idea" the bourgeois freethinker is like the Christian, attributing miraculous powers to the figments of men's brains.

Money Talks

By JOHN KERACHER.

I am money. Yes, I'm Mr. Gold, and my business is that of exchanging things and measuring their value, and I am powerful. At one time the sword was my master, but now I, the precious metal, am monarch of all I survey. I am the social lever of the capitalist world. The sword, my old master, has yielded to the potency of my power. He had his day, he was sharp and ever ready, but alas! AUTOCRATIC, and therefore out of date, while I, well, am up to the minute, and above all DEMOCRATIC, measuring all alike by my measure of value, reducing everything and everyone to a cold cash basis. From the commonest knave to the highest dignitary in office, each in my catalogue has a price.

So great is the power of my little yellow pieces that I have enslaved the great masses of mankind. Millions serve me and put their very lives at my disposal; the Genius, the Statesman, the Artist, the Physician, the Soldier, the Artisan, the woman of the street, and the preacher in the pulpit—they are ALL mine. They are ALL measured by my shining yard-stick.

Where did I come from? Well, I was not a special creation. I was not invented. I was discovered a long time ago. In the dim past mankind prized me because of my brilliance, my weight, wearing qualities, pliability and rarity. They fashioned me into ornaments for their personal adornment, and although not then the universal medium of exchange that I am to-day, still in a world of trade and barter I held my own with the best of them in the markets of those days. The wool and the wine, the hides and the horns, the fruits of the earth and the beasts of the field were bartered and exchanged with each other at their respective values. They were clumsy and coarse and bulky, while I, though small, was brilliant and refined. Many of them were perishable. I was tough and enduring.

At first, I must confess, I did not stand

alone as an exchange medium. I had many rivals, chief of which were Copper and Silver. These fine metals now play a secondary part, and their value is measured by the standard of mine, for let me tell it proudly again—I AM THE UNIVERSAL MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE. I, Money—that everyone wants, from the beggar with his outstretched palm to the reckless spendthrift who squanders me voluptuously—am but the embodiment of so much Human Labor. I but represent the sweat and toil and pain of the productive classes. Yet of the many who handle me, how few really know that simple truth: That I, GOLD, THE MONEY COMMODITY, AM ONLY VALUED IN THE SAME MANNER AS ALL OTHER COMMODITIES—SO MUCH REALISED HUMAN LABOR. That is how I function in exchange. So much socially necessary labor that is worked up in the other commodities exchanging with a like quantity of socially necessary labor, worked up in a certain portion of me. It makes no difference what the nature of the commodities may be, nor the purpose for which they are used, whether they are socks or soap, beer or bricks, small in size or big and bulky, my sole affinity with any of them, the coarsest or the finest, is the SOCIALLY NECESSARY LABOR THAT WE MUTUALLY CONTAIN.

I am chopped up into every denomination from a penny upwards, to measure in exchange the respective quantities of socially necessary labor embodied in all commodities. The sphere of capitalism, the commodity market, is as wide as the world. But the circle of exchange is narrowed down to: MONEY, COMMODITIES, MONEY. And so the mad scramble goes on for place and power. The journey is over one route only—Money, Commodities, Money.

The commodity, Gold, out of which I, the Money commodity am made, has a

price like all other commodities. It is used for manufacturing watches, rings, and other articles, and sells by weight. Yet I, Gold, as money, have no price. To say the price of a Dollar is a Dollar, would be illogical, or that Ten Dollars is worth Ten Dollars. I can, therefore, be understood only as a commodity, equivalent to all other commodities, through which they exchange with each other. My value can only be measured by their values. So, therefore, it is not I that makes them commensurable. On the contrary, I, the medium by which they are exchanged, am only commensurable with all of them: BY THE AMOUNT OF SOCIALLY NECESSARY LABOR EMBODIED IN MY PRODUCTION OR REPRODUCTION.

And why am I the chosen one? Midst all the articles of commerce, why Gold? Why not lead, or lumber? Why not diamonds? My case is a true one of the **survival of the fittest. I have been naturally selected.** I have stood the test of time. Many, many things have functioned as money in the past, and do still in remote parts of the Earth. But I have topped them all, because I have been obtainable for ages, yet not in sufficient quantities to make me cheap like Coal or Iron. My wearing qualities, neither too brittle nor too soft, have aided my success as coinage, as well as social custom and the outstanding fact that has dominated that custom—Great values in little bulk. And with it all, what am I! What do I really represent? In the earth, embedded in the rocks, before labor has been applied, I am worthless. I show a bright face to the world, but my body is of common clay, the commonest of the common kind that sells on the market along with the other RAW materials, the logs of lumber, barrels of blubber, tallow, coal, oil or axle grease. Yes, that is all I am! That is the real source of my wonderful power—COMMON, CHEAP, HUMAN LABOR.

Economic and Political Action.—"The attempts," writes Marx, in a letter to his friend Bolte, "to force from individual capitalists a reduction of the labor time in some individual factory or in some line of occupation is a purely economic movement; but a movement trying to obtain an eight-hour law, or something similar, is a political movement."

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND AMSTERDAM.

The following is the exact text of the Soviet radio of May 4 on this subject:—

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International, in a session at which were present the representatives of the Left parties of Norway and Sweden, made a statement on several topics which have been the subject of controversy in the 'International.' It was unanimously recognised that to refuse to make use of the Parliamentary weapon, to abandon the task of developing a revolutionary spirit from within in the Trade Unions, comes of an insufficient grasp of the part to be played by the Communist parties as agents of the world revolution, is in flagrant contradiction to the interests of the working-class, and amounts to changing the struggle for proletarian dictatorship into an empty phrase. The Executive Committee appointed Bukharin, Radek and Zinoviev to draw up a memorandum and these on these questions. It was unanimously decided to revoke the mandate of the Amsterdam Bureau, on the ground that on all questions that bureau maintains a point of view opposed to that of the Executive Committee. Its functions are handed over to the West-European Secretariat. If partial conferences assembled, composed of parties adhering to the Third International, their decisions can only have a provisional nature. Only the International Congress, summoned by the Executive Committee, can make definite decisions. The Executive Committee elected Radek as its secretary."

TWO DEFINITIONS OF MODERN IMPERIALISM.

Karl Kautsky: "Imperialism is the product of a highly developed industrial capitalism. It embodies the endeavour of every industrial capitalist nation to annex or to subject all the extensive *agrarian* (the italics are Kautsky's) areas, irrespectively of the nations by which they are peopled."

Nicolai Lenin: "Imperialism is Capitalism in that stage of development in which monopolies and financial capital have attained a preponderating influence, the export of capital has acquired great importance, the international trusts have begun the partition of the world, and the biggest capitalist countries have completed the division of the entire terrestrial globe among themselves."

Lenin says that Kautsky's definition is utterly incorrect, and aims at glossing over the most profound contradictions of Imperialism, and thus at affecting a reconciliation with Opportunism.

HE GETS THE FISH

BY ANISE.

In a manufacturing town

* * *

In the south

* * *

Is a large PLANT

* * *

Progressive, up-to-date

* * *

In its ideas,

* * *

And growing more prosperous,

* * *

Every year.

* * *

And the owner of it said:

* * *

"We are LUCKY

* * *

In having on our force

* * *

A real GENIUS

* * *

An INVENTOR!

* * *

You may be sure we

* * *

TREAT him RIGHT;

* * *

Why, every year we give him

* * *

A whole month's vacation

* * *

To go FISHING

* * *

And his WAGES go on

* * *

Just the same.

* * *

He wanders off somewhere

* * *

In the deep woods

* * *

And sits on a LOG

* * *

Overlooking a STREAM

* * *

Letting his mind relax

* * *

From the WORRIES

Of daily work,

* * *

And somehow

* * *

Every time that man gets back

* * *

He brings with him

* * *

A CORKING new IDEA!

* * *

I guess they come to him

* * *

In those quiet moods

* * *

When he's UNWORRIED

* * *

And has a chance to think

* * *

Quite undisturbed!

* * *

Well, anyway, each fall

* * *

We can practically COUNT

* * *

On a NEW invention

* * *

That's what keeps us progressive

* * *

And up-to-date!

* * *

And we've made a lot of money

* * *

Out of it!"

* * *

Then somebody said: "WHAT

* * *

Does the inventor get

* * *

Out of that summer month

* * *

From which YOU get

* * *

So MUCH?"

* * *

"Why," said the owner

* * *

Of the factory,

* * *

"HE gets—the FISH!"



The Military Program of the Revolution

By N. LENIN.

The following article and an article by Lenin, published under the title of "The 'Disarmament' Cry," in the August number of "The Communist," the official paper of the Brisbane A.S.P., partly cover the same ground. But each article contains matter which is omitted from the other, and both should, therefore, be read:—

From among the revolutionary social-democrats in Holland, Scandinavia, and Switzerland who fought against the lie of the social chauvinists about "defence" in this imperialistic war,* voices are heard favoring the substitution of "disarmament" for the old term "militia" or "citizen-army" of the Erfurt-program. It is our intention to scrutinise the argument upheld by the supporters of disarmament.

Their basic argument is that the demand for disarmament is the clearest, most determined, and effective expression of the struggle against all militarism and every war. But in just this argument lies the fundamental error of the supporters of disarmament. Socialists cannot be opposed to every war without ceasing to be Socialists.

In the first place, Socialists never were, and never can be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the big imperialistic powers has become reactionary through and through, and we consider the present war, waged by this same bourgeoisie, to be a reactionary, enslaving, and criminal war.

But now, what about a war against this bourgeoisie? For instance, a war on the part upon this bourgeoisie, or a war for independence on the part of their colonies? In the program of the group "Internationale," we read: "In this era of reckless imperialism national wars can no longer occur." Obviously, this is not true. The history of the twentieth century, a century of "reckless imperialism," abounds in colonial wars. But what we Europeans (who are the imperialistic oppressors of the majority of the peoples of the world), with that base chauvinism so characteristic of us, call "colonial wars" are often national wars or national rebellions on the part of the oppressed peoples.

It is one of the most fundamental character-

*Lenin refers to the world war which began in 1914.

istics of imperialism to hasten the development of capitalism in the backward countries and thus spread and intensify the struggle against national suppression. Junius, in the defence of the previously mentioned "program," maintains in his pamphlet that, in the imperialistic epoch, every national war against one of the imperialistic powers would result in the participation of a second imperialistic power in competition with the first, and that thus every national war is changed into an imperialistic war. But this argument also is not true. It may be true, but it is not always true. Several of the colonial wars between 1900 and 1914 did not follow this course. It would be ridiculous to say that, when the present war ends with the complete exhaustion of the fighting nations, there can be "no" national, progressive and revolutionary war against the great powers, say on the part of China, in alliance with India, Persia, Siam, etc. All denial of the possibility of national wars under imperialism is theoretically untrue, historically incorrect, and practically it is European chauvinism. We who belong to the nations oppressing hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., we explain to the oppressed peoples that their war against "our" nations is impossible!

In the second place, civil wars, too, are wars. Whoever accepts the class struggle must also accept civil wars, which represent a natural, at times unavoidable, continuation, development, and intensification, of the class struggle. All great revolutions prove this. To deny or to disregard civil wars would mean to turn to extreme opportunism and to abandon the idea of Socialistic revolution.

In the third place, Socialism, victorious in one country, does in no way thereby exclude all wars as such. On the contrary, it presupposes them. The development of capitalism in the various countries proceeds very unequally. It cannot be different in the age of industrialism. Hence it unavoidably follows that Socialism cannot be victorious in all countries simultaneously. It first will gain control in one or several countries; the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This will not only produce friction, but will lead, moreover, to direct efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to destroy the victorious proletariat of the Socialistic state. In such a case, war on our part would be legitimate and just; it would be a war for Socialism, for the freeing of other peoples from the bourgeoisie.

Engels, in his letter to Kautsky, of December 12th, 1882, was quite right when he unreservedly acknowledged the possibility of wars of defence on the part of already victorious Socialism. By that he meant the defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries. Not until we have overthrown the bourgeoisie in all countries, conquered and expropriated them, will wars be impossible.

It is scientifically incorrect, and not at all revolutionary, for us to avoid and to conceal the most important thing, that which will prove the most difficult in the transition to Socialism, namely, the overthrow of the bourgeois opposition. The "social" clergy and the opportunists are always ready to dream of peaceful Socialism in the future, but they differ from the revolutionary social-democrats in this particular: they dodge all thoughts of bitter class struggles and class wars as well as all other real efforts to realise this beautiful future.

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by words. For example, the idea of "defence" is hateful to many, because it serves the outspoken opportunists and the "Kautskians" to cover up the lie of the bourgeoisie in the present war of aggression. This is true. But it need not lead us to disregard the importance of political slogans. To accept the "defence" idea in the present war would mean to consider it a just war, serving the interests of the proletariat. That and nothing else! For, after all, every war may bring invasions. On the other hand, it would be foolish not to recognise the idea of defence on the part of oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialistic powers, or of the victorious proletariat in its struggle against some Gallit of a bourgeois country.

Theoretically it would be altogether wrong to overlook the fact that every war is but a continuation of politics with changed methods. The present capitalistic war is the continuation of the imperialistic policies of two groups of world powers, policies which were created and nourished by the sum total of conditions of the imperialistic epoch.

However, this same epoch must of necessity give rise to the policies of war against national oppression and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Thus we see the possibility and unavoidability, first, of revolutions and national wars, second, of wars and uprisings of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and, third, of a combination of these two types of revolutionary wars.

There still remains another general question to be considered. An oppressed class which does not strive to be familiar with, to wield, and to possess arms, deserves to be oppressed, maltreated, and enslaved. If we do not wish to degrade ourselves to bourgeois pacifists and opportunists, we must not forget that we are living in a class-society from which there is no possible or thinkable escape except through class wars.

In every class-society, whether it rest upon slavery, serfdom, or, as to-day, upon wage

slavery, the oppressing class is always armed. Not only the standing army of to-day, but also the militia of to-day, not excluding that of Switzerland, is armament of the bourgeoisie directed against the proletariat. Surely, it is not necessary to prove this elementary fact. It may suffice to point to the immediate call for troops in capitalistic countries during strikes. The arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the biggest and most important realities of present capitalistic society.

In the face of this fact, can anyone expect the revolutionary social-democrats to put forward demands for "disarmament!" That would mean complete abandonment of the inherent idea of the class struggle and of all the thoughts of the revolution. We say: Arming of the proletariat for the purpose of conquering, expropriating, and disarming the bourgeoisie—these are the only possible tactics of the revolutionary class, tactics which are being prepared for us, established, and taught us by the entire objective development of capitalistic militarism. Not until the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie can it discard its weapons without betraying its historic mission. It can do it then, but no sooner.

And if the present war creates among the "social" clergy and the sentimental middle class fear and terror, and hence abhorrence of the use of arms, we still must maintain that capitalistic society always was and always will be a terror without end. If, as a result of such a reactionary war, this very society perishes in terror, we have no cause to despair. All preaching and clamoring for, or rather dreaming of, disarmament can only be a sign of despair. And this at a time when the only legitimate and revolutionary war, the civil war against the imperialistic bourgeoisie, is being openly prepared by the bourgeoisie itself!

Whoever considers this a mere abstract theory, we should like to remind of two historical facts, namely, the position of the trusts and that of woman labor on the one hand, and the Commune of 1871 and the events in December, 1905, in Russia on the other. It is the business of the bourgeoisie to promote the trusts, to drive women and children into factories, and then torture and corrupt them and to subject them to unspeakable misery. We cannot promote, we cannot even tolerate, this practice; we must fight against it. But how do we fight? We openly proclaim that trusts and factory work for women are stages in the industrial advance. We do not wish to return to the handicraft stage, to pre-monopolistic capitalism, to housework for women. Forward, beyond the trusts and through them to Socialism!

The same holds true for the militarising of the people. The imperialistic—and all other—bourgeoisie is now militarising, not only all manhood, but also the youth. To-morrow it may even militarise the women. Our answer is: All the better! Keep on! So much the sooner shall we have the armed uprising

against capitalism. How could the social-democrats allow themselves to be frightened and cowed by the militarising of the youth, with the example of the Commune before them? Surely, that is neither theory nor dream, but plain fact. It would indeed be hopeless, if the social-democrats, despite all economic and political evidence, should begin to doubt that the imperialistic epoch and the imperialistic wars must of necessity lead to a repetition of such events.

A bourgeois observer of the Commune wrote in an English paper, on May, 1871: "If the French nation consisted only of women, what a terrible nation would that be!" During the Commune the women, as well as the children over 13, fought side by side with the men. It will not be different in future wars against the bourgeoisie. When the well-armed bourgeoisie shoot upon the poorly armed, or perhaps defenceless, proletariat, the proletarian women will not be willing to look on; as in 1871, they will again take up arms.

Out of the frightened and disheartened nations of to-day—or rather out of the labor movement, disorganised by the opportunists more than by the government—there will sooner or later arise an international alliance

A PROLETARIAN LIBRARY

(By G. BARACCHI.)

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC.

By Frederick Engels.

Antonio Labriola says of Engels' "Anti-Dühring" that it is the work which ought to get an international circulation before any other, and that it remains the unexcelled book in the literature of Socialism. "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," comprises three chapters out of "Anti-Dühring," with an added long introduction and an appendix on the Mark. The appendix was written with the intention of spreading among the proletariat some elementary knowledge of the original forms of land tenure common to all Teutonic tribes, and to contrast

"the misery of the agricultural laborers of the present time and the mortgage-servitude of the small peasants, with the old common property of all free men in what was then in truth their 'fatherland,' the free common possession of all by inheritance."

In the introduction to his work, Engels gives us a useful historical sketch of the

of "terrible nations" consisting of revolutionary proletariats.

At present, militarisation penetrates all public life. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the great powers for a redistribution and revision of the world, and, therefore, it must lead to further militarisation even in the small and neutral countries.

What will the proletarian women do to prevent this? Merely denounce all wars and militarism? Merely demand disarmament? Never shall the women of an oppressed and revolutionary class resign themselves to so despicable a role. On the contrary, they will say to their sons: "You will soon be grown up. You will have a gun. Take it and learn how to use it—that is vital to the proletariat—not in order to fight your brothers, as is the practice in this war of plunder and the advice of the betrayers of Socialism, but in order to fight the bourgeoisie of your 'own' country; in order to put an end to misery and wars, not by means of 'kind wishes,' but by overthrowing and disarming the bourgeoisie."

Whoever, in view of this last war, is not willing to carry out this demand, let him be good enough to refrain from uttering large words about the international revolutionary democracy, about the social revolution, and about the war against wars.

materialist philosophy, and a concise account of the development of the European bourgeoisie, with the corresponding growth of the proletariat. The first chapter offers us a critical survey of the work of the great Utopians, Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen. Of Saint Simon Engels says:—

"In 1816, he declares that politics is the science of production, and foretells the complete absorption of politics by economics. The knowledge that economic conditions are the basis of political institutions appears here only in embryo. Yet what is here already very plainly expressed is the idea of the future conversion of political rule over men into an administration of things and a direction of processes of production."

Here, at any rate, is a great anticipation, an anticipation which is in process of actual realisation in Soviet Russia. And if, nevertheless, Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen remain Utopians, let us remember this. Utopian ideas are to-day the hallmark of bourgeois idiocy, but they were the only outlet for sociological genius in

the conditions of the early nineteenth century.

Chapter two gives us, in brief, the essential character of dialectics, and contrasts this with the metaphysical mode of thought. Says Engels:

"To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. . . . Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin and ending."

In masterly fashion, Engels proceeds to trace the development of those conditions under which Marx could see that all past history, its primitive stages alone excepted, was the history of class struggles, and could make the two great discoveries with which Socialism became a science. These discoveries are the materialist conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalist production through surplus value.

The materialist conception of history is formulated in the opening lines of chapter three:

"The final causes of all social changes and political revolutions, are to be sought not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."

Engels devotes the remainder of the chapter to a sketch of the evolution of capitalism. In mediæval society we find individual production on a small scale, and, largely, for immediate consumption. But, although commodity production is the exception, in this there is already the germ of anarchy in the production of society at large. With the capitalist revolution production becomes social, but exchange and appropriation remain individual acts. From the fundamental contradiction that the social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist, spring the antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie and the other contradictions of present society. These contradictions are solved when the proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property. In so doing, Engels concludes,

"it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. . . . (But now) State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself."

What remains is a vast Communist association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

Students should read the body of the work first, and then turn back to the introduction. When they have mastered this book they will be on the high-road to clear class consciousness. It is the task of scientific Communism to impart to the proletariat a knowledge of the historical conditions, and thus the very nature of the great emancipatory act the accomplishment of which is its mission. In this task no other book has played a worthier part than "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

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THE SOVIETS AT WORK. By Lenin.

This pamphlet contains Lenin's Programme Address before the Soviets in April, 1918, and a postscript on the Brest-Litovsk peace. His simple statement on the latter amounts to this: a true socialist, when he is badly defeated, neither denies the fact nor becomes despondent. Like all of Lenin's work, the Programme Address arouses our enthusiasm by its very matter-of-factness. Nothing more different from the empty rhetoric with which our "great" bourgeois statesmen regale us can well be imagined. Lenin's speech has two main trends of thought, a political and an economic, the problem of industrial management on the one hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other. Concerning these questions, he says:

"The first problem of any rising party consists in convincing the majority of the population that its programme and politics are correct. . . . The second problem of our party was the conquest of political power, and the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters. . . . We are now confronted by the third problem, which is the most urgent and which characterises the present period—to organise the management of Russia."

We have never heard of any bourgeois politician frankly admitting the difficulties of his programme and the failures

and mistakes of his party in the manner of Lenin. He tells us that the Revolution has been expropriating the expropriators faster than it can organise the industries it has seized. With an equal candour he says of the payment of high salaries to specialists:

"It is clear that such a measure is a deflection from the principles of the Paris Commune and of any proletarian rule, which demand the reduction of salaries to the standard of remuneration of the average workers—principles which demand that 'career-hunting' be fought by deeds, not by words."

He admits that there is also a deviation from Socialist principles in the relation of the Soviet Government to the consumers' co-operatives, because the co-operatives do not allow membership to everyone, and sometimes have bourgeois managers. And, withal, by the very frankness of his admissions, he leaves us more confident of the triumph of Communism in Russia than if we had been told that everything went smoothly. That such confidence is not misplaced, is proved by the removal, subsequent to 1918, of many of the difficulties here described as facing the Revolution. We may instance the Socialist development of the co-operative movement which occurred last year.

Lenin gives us no homilies on "eternal justice" or "the inalienable rights of man." So far as he is concerned, the Russian Revolution must content itself with more prosaic slogans. Over and over again in his speech he returns to the supreme importance of "strict and universal accounting and control of production and distribution," "labor discipline," "systematic trial and adaptation of the Taylor system to increase productivity." These are his slogans. He is not a Marxian for nothing, and he knows that the Revolution can only triumph on the basis of a rapidly improved production. Of accounting and control, he says:—

"It is especially clear to us now how correct is the Marxian proposition that Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism are bourgeois tendencies, irreconcilable with Socialism, with a proletarian dictatorship and with Communism. The struggle to instil into the masses the idea of the Soviet State control and accounting, this is a momentous struggle, of universal historical significance, a struggle for Socialist consciousness against bourgeois-anarchistic 'freedom.'"

On the political situation during the transition to Socialism, Lenin says that the suppression of insurrection, unrest and the crimes produced by the decay of the old order, requires time and an iron hand. Hence the necessity for what Marx called the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the Soviet rule is the organised form. He gives, as an example of dictatorship, the granting of unlimited power to individuals in the management of railways. Of this, he says that large machine industries, on which Socialism must be founded, demand complete submission of a group to a single direction, and he adds:—

"This subjection, if the participants in the common work are ideally conscious and disciplined, may resemble the mild leading of an orchestra conductor; but may take the acute form of a dictatorship—if there is no ideal discipline and consciousness."

It is interesting to note that since his 1918 address Russian conditions have advanced far enough towards Socialism for Lenin to be able to say, in 1920, that there must be no more dictatorship of individuals.

Lenin claims for the Soviets that they permit an organisation of the workers so informal that, for the first time, the mass of the people are learning to govern. The aim is to attract every member of the poor classes to participation in the Government, so that the Soviet members may not become professional politicians. The nearness of the Soviets to the toiling masses naturally creates special forms of recall and mass control. Lenin insists on the encouragement of these forms in order to repeatedly remove the wild grass of bureaucracy.

No review can give an adequate impression of "The Soviets at Work." It is a proletarian classic, and must be read and re-read. As Communism supplants it, the dictatorship of the proletariat will pass away, is passing away in Russia even as we write. But the analysis of that dictatorship which Lenin made in 1918 will long persist; it will be treasured as a historic document when capitalism is but an unhappy memory.

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BOOKS REVIEWED OR RECOMMENDED IN THIS ISSUE

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC. By F. Engels. Paper. 1/6, posted 1/8.

THE SOVIETS AT WORK. By N. Lenin. Paper. 9d., posted 10d.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE. By F. Engels. Cloth. 3/6, posted 3/8.

LANDMARKS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM (Anti Dühring). By F. Engels. Cloth. 7/6, posted 7/9.

TWO NEW WORKING-CLASS NOVELS.

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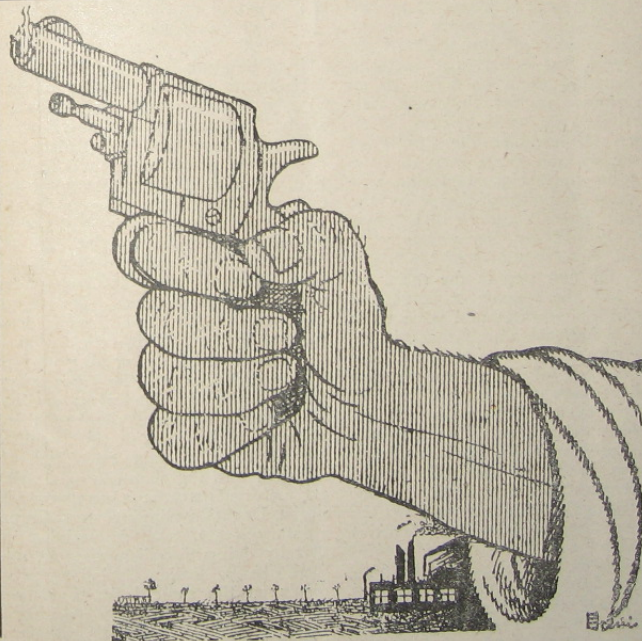
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Editor—G. Baracchi.

ETC. ETC.

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"Avanti" to the Italian Workers: "Don't congregate in the streets and squares! Seize the factories and work for yourselves!"



Proletarian Comment

The Italian Upheaval.

ON our front page we reproduce from the Socialist paper, "Avanti," a cartoon and some advice that pauper gave to the Italian workers at the end of last April. The advice these workers, or, rather, a considerable number of them, have lately followed, and the cartoon accurately depicts the recent upheaval in Italy. News of the seizure of factories and lands by Italian workers and peasants had barely reached us when some syndicalists proclaimed that, whatever might have been the case in Russia, Italian "experience" showed that the direct lock-out of the capitalists by the workers was sufficient to accomplish revolution. On the other hand, no sooner had word come through that the workers who had seized the factories were evacuating them on terms of an "equal economic partnership" with their exploiters, etc., etc., than certain Socialists began to denounce the futility of factory-seizing, and to reiterate that the first step in the social revolution was the conquest of political power by the proletariat. The inadequacy of the first view is equalled by the pedantry of the second. The conquest of the State-power IS the first step in the social revolution, but the seizure of lands and factories by the workers and peasants is an act of the greatest importance in relation to such conquest. Here in Italy was a situation of high revolutionary potentiality: here was mass action of the workers on a wide scale in a country seething with revolt. It was the splendid mission of the Socialist Party of Italy to generalise this mass action to the broadest possible limits, to direct the struggle definitely against the bourgeois State, to hold the factories against it as the forts of the revolutionary workers, and, circumstances permitting, to lead the workers on from the seized factories to the seizure of the public power itself. The Socialist Party should at least have developed this crisis to the uttermost. But did it, in fact,

do so, or did it, too, fail to appreciate the revolutionary possibilities of factory-seizing? We do not definitely know. But we know this. During the present year, Italy has been racked by similar, though smaller crises. Did the Socialist Party develop these to the uttermost? L. Nitti, Italian Premier preceding Giolitti, bear witness. In a revolutionary situation, speaking of the 156 Socialist parliamentary Deputies, Nitti congratulated international capital on these "hostages to constitutionalism"!!!

☞ ☞ ☞ ☞

Italian Socialists Misuse Parliament.

IT is necessary that the use and, on the other hand, the uselessness of capitalist Parliaments to the workers should be studied in a concrete manner. The situation in Italy during the present year provides valuable material for such study. An analysis of this situation reveals the fact that the Italian Parliament, as a propaganda field for revolution, as a field for obstructive tactics and as affording an opportunity to expose the ruling class, had been exhausted. In reply to Nitti, the Italian Socialist Party loudly protested that only intended using Parliament for revolutionary propaganda. Its proper answer was to quit the bourgeois debating club altogether. With the social crisis in Italy irresistibly driving the proletariat—and even the peasantry—sporadic, bloody, leaderless revolt, the only place for Socialists was outside Parliament, in the heart of this revolt, leading it from a vain frittering of its strength into the channels of revolutionary victory. Instead, we have seen 156 Socialist Deputies clinging to their parliamentary seats, and a Socialist Party thereby doing Socialism a great disservice. If the Italian Socialist Party had displayed the same lack of courage and revolutionary leadership during the latest upheaval, it is little wonder that this upheaval culminated in an arrangement which Italian capitalist economists

describe as a "safety valve through which the dangerous gas will leak harmlessly," and as an "illusory participation in control which will rejuvenate the men's joy in work"—for their real masters, of course. The executive of the Italian party has since decided, in accordance with the wish of the Communist International, to expel the reformist minority, and it is to be hoped that this action will result in a greater display of revolutionary initiative when a grand opportunity next presents itself. At any rate, for us the lesson is plain. We must look to it that such an hour as found revolutionary Italy leaderless, finds us fully prepared. We must realise in particular that at such an hour parliamentary action lags on the stage superfluous, and must take its farewell.

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Lenin and Labor Parties.

THE "Socialist Standard" for August tells us that "the report of the Executive of the Communist Party of Russia to the 1920 Congress of the Third International lays down the position that we should get inside the Parliamentary Labor parties," and that Lenin "says that by supporting the pro-capitalist Labor Party and helping to establish a Labor Party government, the workers will learn the uselessness of the Labor parties." Truly this Lenin is a most surprising fellow; he proposes tactics which throw our rigid-minded revolutionists literally on their beam ends, tactics so audacious that they almost seem to coincide with some of the counter-revolutionary antics of the pseudo-Socialists. The combination of two qualities, however, distinguishes Lenin both from the rigid-minded revolutionists and from the opportunists. He has very great flexibility of purpose in the matter of the revolutionary end; in the matter of the means to this end, his mental attitude is as flexible as possible. It may be said that he proposes against Labor parties a line of action which is dangerous; the answer is that all revolutionary action is dangerous. But just as Lenin approaches every problem from the standpoint of dialectics, so we must ourselves be dia-

lectical in applying his advice to Australian conditions. In the present circumstances of England, Lenin thinks that Communists should help to establish a Labor Government as a means of showing the workers its futility. Where, as in Australia, Labor Governments have been actually established over a number of years, other methods of demonstrating their uselessness to the workers must be adopted. Again, no one denies that there is plenty of good material for Communists to work on in A.L.P. branches. Only the method of seducing this material from its allegiance to reactionary leaders by a Communist Party affiliating with the Labor Party must be abandoned in Australia as impracticable. The A.L.P. would certainly refuse such affiliation; moreover, for a Communist Party even to apply for affiliation at a moment when the A.L.P. is actually using the capitalist political machinery in several States to oppress the workers, would be to mislead those workers and do a poor service to the cause of Communism.

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A New Communist Party

A MANIFESTO and program of the Communist Party of Australia, the Central Executive Committee of which has been lately formed, has reached us from Sydney. We wish the new party well. We also wish well to the conference the Australian Socialist Party is calling in Sydney this month with a view to arriving at unified Communist activity. Besides the C.P.A. and the A.S.P., there are at least two other Communist tendencies in Melbourne which have to be reckoned with, and we understand that there are still other such tendencies elsewhere. All these groups claim adherence to Third International principles, but owing to the different stress each of them in practice seems to lay on the different aspects of the Communist program, it is impossible to say how far they are capable of unified activity at present. At least we shall say nothing to prejudice whatever chances of Communist unity there be. We know that the Third International

lays it down that there should be but a single Communist Party in each country. We know that it has said that the present hour calls for the maximum of Communist unity attainable. We know how the childish bickerings of the different Communist sects in Britain and America disgusted the International, and how, with considerable success, it strove to unify those sects. We know that if

all the Communist elements in Australia were united, they would still form only an utterly insignificant party, but that disunited, the insignificance of these elements baffles description. We know that in a revolutionary situation, all these groups would unite within an hour. But in the existing situation, we do not know whether any of them will unite. We can only hope for and work for the best

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

By "Spartacus."

Bourgeoisie Versus Proletariat.

In the light of the conclusions we reached in the last issue of "The Proletarian," let us take up the examination of the class struggle of our own times. With the advent of capitalism, production became a social act. Exchange and appropriation, on the other hand, continued to be individual acts, the social product being appropriated by the individual capitalist. This fundamental contradiction is at the root of all other contradictions of capitalist society, its fine flower being the contemporary class struggle, the mortal combat between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

With the birth of the proletariat, its struggle against the bourgeoisie begins. At first this struggle is carried on by individual laborers, then by the workers of a factory, then by the operatives of a single trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who exploit them. It is of this stage of the struggle that the "Communist Manifesto" says:—

"They direct their attacks, not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages."

"Some" saboteurs were these early proletarians!

At this stage they still form an incoherent mass broken up by their own competition, and if, on occa-

sion, they unite into more compact bodies, they do this, not in order the better to fight the bourgeoisie, but actually to fight in the interests of the bourgeoisie against the enemies of the latter—the remnants of the absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial and petty bourgeoisie. But with the unceasing improvements in machinery, the growing competition among the bourgeois and the resulting commercial crises, the livelihood of the proletariat becomes ever more precarious, and the struggles between individual workers and individual capitalists take on more of the character of struggles between two classes. Thereupon, the "Communist Manifesto" tells us:—

"The workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots."

The real fruit of these struggles lay, not in the occasional and temporary successes they brought the workers, but in the growing union of the proletariat. Tremendous developments in the means of communication further assisted this union by bringing into contact with one another the workers of different localities. Thus the very development of modern industry created the conditions for the welding of the various local struggles into a single national struggle between classes. A "national" struggle, not in the sense that the modern class

struggle is in substance anything but international, but in the sense, that the proletariat of each country must first of all settle matters with its "own" bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels tell us that every class struggle is a political struggle, and that the organisation of the proletariat into a class implies its organisation into a political party. This class organisation is constantly being upset by the competition between the workers themselves, but each time it rises up mightier than before. Moreover, whole sections of the ruling classes are either threatened in their conditions of existence or precipitated into the proletariat by the advance of industry, and, in the latter case, go to swell the fighting ranks of the workers. Finally, when the class struggle approaches its climax, a small section of the ruling class voluntarily goes over to the proletariat, openly espousing the cause of the revolutionary class in whose hands the future lies, just as a section of the nobles went over to the bourgeoisie at the time of the capitalist revolution. There has but to ensue, created by the incurable contradictions of capitalist economy, a revolutionary crisis, and, to quote once more the "Communist Manifesto":—

"The more or less veiled civil war raging within existing society, breaks out into open revolution, and the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat."

The proletariat, the last of all the oppressed classes, takes thereby the first step to the abolition of all classes and oppression. It raises itself to the position of ruling class; it conquers political power.

☘ ☘ ☘ ☘

Proletarian Dictatorship.

Political power is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another, and the proletariat will use its political supremacy to expropriate the capitalists and crush their resistance to the socialisation of the means of life. In his famous criticism of the Gotha Program, Marx tells us:—

"Between capitalist society and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding with this, there will be a period of political transition, during which the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

The dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat organised as the ruling class, is the last form of State. In order to study the essential characteristics of this proletarian State power, we have no need to plunge into the cloudy regions of speculation. History has already provided us with two concrete examples of proletarian dictatorship in the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Soviet of 1917.

The Commune of Paris was immediately faced with the necessity of suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie, and, on this score, Engels charges it with having shown insufficient determination, with having made too little use of the authority of the armed people against the exploiters. This cost the Commune dear. In the second place, the experience of the Commune conclusively proved, as Marx points out to us in his "Civil War in France," that:—

"The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes."

In a letter written on April 12th, 1871, Marx says, further, that the shattering of the bureaucratic and military machinery of the bourgeois State is the preliminary condition of any real people's revolution on the Continent, and that it is exactly this that constitutes the attempt of the heroic Communards. The reason why the proletariat cannot use the bourgeois State machine for its own ends is clear: the bureaucratic and military machinery of this State are indissolubly bound up with the capitalist class. In this connection it is worth noting that in the seventies Marx thought a revolution might be possible without this preliminary shattering of the bourgeois State by the workers, in countries like England and America, where the standing army and bureaucracy were undeveloped. But, since 1914, the British Empire and America have rolled down into the morass of

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military-bureaucratic institutions, and, today, in these countries no less than on the Continent, the breaking up of the bourgeois State by the workers is the prerequisite of the social revolution.

A third important lesson of the Commune is that it involved the destruction of parliamentarism. Marx tells us:—

"The Commune was to have been, not a parliamentary, but a working corporation, legislative and executive at one and the same time. Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to 'represent' and repress the people in parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, organised in communes, as a means of securing the necessary workers, controllers, clerks and so forth for its business in the same way as individual suffrage serves any individual employer in his."

Having destroyed the capitalist State, what is the nature of the proletarian State which the victorious workers will erect in its stead? The first decree of the Commune proclaimed the abolition of the standing army, and its replacement by the people in arms. The Council of the Commune consisted of municipal representatives elected by universal suffrage in the various districts of Paris, responsible and revocable at any time. There sat in the Council 65 revolutionaries of different shades, while the opposition consisted of 21, 15 of whom were reactionaries, and 6 radical republicans of the Gambetta school. All officials of the Commune were also to be elected by universal suffrage and to be revocable at any time. In addition, all representatives and officials received only the equivalent of workmen's wages. Such were the essential features of the Paris Commune, the first dictatorship of the proletariat, in the words of Marx, the political form, at last discovered, under which labor could work out its economic emancipation.

Lenin tells us that the Soviets, in type and socio-political character, are identical with the Commune. In certain respects, however, they are more thorough-going than the latter. They have shown greater determination in suppressing the resistance of the exploiters; they have utterly shattered the bourgeois State machine; and they are still more unlike a parliament than the Commune. These developments are

quite in keeping, not only with Russian conditions in particular, but also with the general conditions of full-fledged imperialist capitalism.

The second proletarian dictatorship has definitely armed the proletariat, and equally definitely disarmed the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the Soviet consists primarily of industrial deputies elected by working class suffrage, the exploiters being disfranchised. Finally, members of Soviets, commissaries, etc., are all revocable at any time by their electors, and only receive the equivalent of workmen's wages. The backward state of Russian economy has, however, necessitated the temporary payment of higher salaries to experts.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, the last form of State, differs from all previous States in the following respects:— It is the State of the exploited; whereas all others have been the exploiters' States. It is an immense expansion of democracy, being democracy for the many poor with restrictions for the few rich; whereas capitalist democracy is, in reality, democracy for the few rich with restrictions for the many poor. It is, lastly, by its very nature, a State which inevitably dies out; all other States have, previous to their overthrow, waxed instead of waned.

Protected by their own State power, the working class will proceed as rapidly as possible to reconstruct society. When the socialisation of the means of production is complete, the economic basis for classes and class antagonisms vanishes, and with it the economic basis for the political State likewise disappears. In these conditions, every form of State, the dictatorship of the proletariat included, becomes superfluous and dies out. There is no one to be exploited and no one to be oppressed; "the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and by the conduct of processes of production." In other words, mankind, which, so many centuries ago, struck the route of the valley of the class struggle, emerges at long last upon the smiling plain of Communism.

October 7, 1920.

Prohibition, Communism and the Joy of Life.

By L.C.F.

In a recent interview, N. Bucharin, a prominent member of the Russian Communist Party and of the Third International, discusses the problem of prohibition. Bucharin declares that prohibition is rigidly enforced in Russia, a severe penalty being imposed for a violation of the Soviet regulations; that a drunken man in Moscow or Petrograd is a rarity.

But, proceeds Bucharin, these restrictions are temporary, made necessary by the civil war; after this necessity is over, the restrictions will be modified "and fine wines introduced for the use of the workers." The Communist, declares Bucharin, is not an ascetic, but a firm believer in life and the joy of life—a Pagan rather than a Puritan.

In this, there is another contrast between the sincere human philosophy of the Communist and the deadening hypocrisy of bourgeois "civilisation."

Capitalism develops two extremes—compulsory self-denial for the workers and corrupting self-indulgence for the bourgeois. Each extreme is vicious, demoralising, a denial of life and the joy of life.

The bourgeois possesses an animal conception of life. Power—debauchery—brutality—that is the unholy bourgeois trinity. A social system based upon oppressor and oppressed, upon master and slave, can never develop a human conception of life. Luxury is considered joy, excess self-expression. Through it all there runs the black thread of hypocrisy: does anyone really believe that prohibition prohibits for the rich?

The other philosophy—for the oppressed, the workers—is a slave philosophy of work. The masses live to work, and not work to live. The burden of

excessive toil imposes a burden upon the human spirit—there is no real self-expression for the masses of the people. Self-denial is the ideal that religions and class morality impose upon the workers. Self-denial—itsself a denial of life and the urge of life! Work—a means to an end made an end in itself!

Self-denial and self-indulgence each pervert the human spirit. The urge to life becomes, under capitalism, the urge to the meretricious things of life; self-expression becomes either a perversion of life or mechanical routine; liberty of the individual becomes a mockery among the workers and an incitement to degeneracy among the bourgeois.

Life is stultified, joy perverted, and culture vitiated by the fetters imposed upon individual self-expression.

Capitalism, moreover, perverts life by making it a struggle for material well-being. In a class society, the struggle of man over nature becomes a means of aggrandising the masters, and not a means of realising life for the people. Communism, by ending class divisions and by mobilising all the industrial resources for the use of life, ends the miserable struggle for existence, makes work a secondary consideration. Life and the joy of life become supreme—self-expression becomes the means to a finer culture, individual liberty the inspiration for a self-imposed discipline.

There have been moments in the history of the world when the potential beauty of life partly flowered. There were the Pagan Greeks; there was the Renaissance—each with its philosophy of self-expression, of life and the joy of life. But these efflorescences of the human spirit were limited by their class character, by not including the whole of humanity, but being based upon the

oppression of the majority. The Pagan Greeks ended in degeneracy, the Renaissance in libertinage. The emancipation of humanity is necessary to realise life and the joy of life.

The Communist program implies the

A Normal Working Day.

By Karl Marx.

The capitalist has bought the labor-power at its day-rate. To him its use-value belongs during one working day. He has thus acquired the right to make the labor work for him during one day. But what is a working day?

At all events, less than a natural day. By how much? The capitalist has his own views of this *ultima Thule*, the necessary limit of the working day. As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital. But capital has one single life impulse, the tendency to create value and surplus-value, to make its constant factor, the means of production, absorb the greatest possible amount of surplus labor.

Capital is dead labor that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labor, and lives the more, the more labor it sucks. The time during which the laborer works, is the time during which the capitalist consumes the labor-power he has purchased of him.

If the laborer consumes his disposable time for himself, he robs the capitalist.

The capitalist then takes his stand on the law of the exchange of commodities. He like all other buyers, seeks to get the greatest possible benefit out of the use-value of his commodity. Suddenly the voice of the laborer, which had been stifled in the storm and stress of the process of production rises:—

The commodity that I have sold to you differs from the crowd of other commodities, in that its use creates value, and a value greater than its own. That is why you bought it. That which on your side appears a spontaneous expansion of capital, is on mine extra ex-

emancipation of humanity from material oppression; but it equally implies emancipation from oppression of the spirit of man—freeing life from the fetters imposed upon its expression, its joy and its beauty.

penditure of labor-power. You and I know on the market only one law, that of the exchange of commodities. And the consumption of the commodity belongs, not to the seller, who parts with it, but to the buyer, who acquires it. To you, therefore, belongs the use of my daily labor-power. But by means of the price that you pay for it each day, I must be able to reproduce it daily, and to sell it again. Apart from natural exhaustion through age, etc., I must be able on the morrow to work with the same normal amount of force, health and freshness as to-day. You preach to me constantly the gospel of "saving" and "abstinence." Good! I will, like a sensible saving owner, husband my sole wealth, labor-power, and abstain from all foolish waste of it. I will each day spend, set in motion, put in action only as much of it as is compatible with its normal duration, and healthy development. By an unlimited extension of the working day, you may in one day use up a quantity of labor-power greater than I can restore in three. What you gain in labor, I lose in substance. The use of my labor-power and the spoliation of it are quite different things. If the average time that (doing a reasonable amount of work) an average laborer can live, is 30 years, the value of my labor-power, which you pay me from day to day is $\frac{1}{365 \times 30}$ or $\frac{1}{10950}$ of its total value. But if you consume it in ten years, you pay me daily $\frac{1}{10950}$ instead of $\frac{1}{3650}$ of its total value, i.e., only one-third of its daily value, and you rob me, therefore, every day of two-thirds of the value of my commodity. You pay me for one day's labor-power, whilst you use that of

three days. That is against our contract and the law of exchanges. I demand, therefore, a working day of normal length, and I demand it without any appeal to your heart, for in money matters sentiment is out of place. You may be a model citizen, perhaps a member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and in the odour of sanctity to boot; but the thing that you represent face to face with me has no heart in its breast. That which seems to throb there is my own heart-beating. I demand the normal working day because I, like every other seller, demand the value of my commodity.

We see, then, that, apart from extremely elastic bounds, the nature of the exchange of commodities, itself imposes no limit to the working day, no limit to surplus labor. The capitalist main-

tains his rights as a purchaser when he tries to make the working day as long as possible, and to make, whenever possible, two working days out of one. On the other hand, the peculiar nature of the commodity sold implies a limit to its consumption by the purchaser, and the laborer maintains his right, as seller, when he wishes to reduce the working day to one of definite normal duration. There is here, therefore, an antinomy, right against right, both equally bearing the seal of the law of exchanges. BETWEEN EQUAL RIGHTS, FORCE DECIDES. Hence is it that, in the history of capitalist production, the determination of what is a working day, presents itself as the result of a struggle, a struggle between collective capital, i.e., the class of capitalists, and collective labor, i.e., the working class.

Communist Party and I.W.W.

Elsewhere in this issue we review the message of the Communist International to the I.W.W. The following article bears upon the same point, and should, at the present time, be of special interest to "ex-I.W.W. men and Industrial Unionists in Australia." It contains the answers of the official organ of the Communist Party of America (date, Dec. 20th, 1919) to inquiries received by it concerning the relation between the Communist Party and the I.W.W. The questions submitted and the answers to these questions are as follows:—

- (1) "What is the difference between the Communist Party and the I.W.W.?"
- (2) "Is the I.W.W. the ideal organisation on the economic field, or should the Communist Party strive to create another economic industrial union?"
- (3) "Is the Communist Party in favor of sabotage?"
- (4) "Is the Communist Party in favor of direct action?"
- (5) "How do you define direct action?"
- (6) "What is the relation between the I.W.W. and anarchism?"
- (7) "Is mass action a direct action?"

Question No. 1.

The accurate scientific way to answer this question is to consider what historical circumstances

account for the existence of each of these organisations and what life purposes they have to fulfil. Some phrases or sentences appearing in the literature of either organisation cannot answer the question.

The I.W.W. is a labor union. It is a special kind of labor union. It came into existence in 1905 in opposition to the dominant trade unionism represented by the A.F. of L. It sought an industrial and class basis for unionism, as opposed to the narrow craft basis. It accepted the class struggle as its guiding principle of action, not the capitalist contract system which was fundamental in the action of the A.F. of L.—the trade unionists regarding their craftsmanship as a species of capitalistic property. Above all, the I.W.W. meant the bringing into the unions of the unskilled, of groups of workers heretofore ignored in the domain of union organization. It is this latter item which has made the I.W.W. so unique in character and of revolutionary spirit.

Industrial unionism, simply as a distinct form of unionism, using the United Mine workers as an example, is not necessarily either revolutionary nor in opposition to the A.F. of L. It is a challenge to craft unionism as to greater effectiveness, and certainly there is no question about the effectiveness of an industrial strike such as we have just witnessed on the part of the United Mine Workers.

The I.W.W. is of revolutionary significance because it identifies industrial unionism with the class struggle. This is not settled by quoting the world-famous preamble of the I.W.W., but by recognising that the unionism of the unskilled

and semi-skilled necessarily brings to the front the class issue. We have seen how the unionism of the steel workers and miners inevitably brings the class issue to the front when they strike as an industrial mass, instead of as craft groups. At the present stage of economic concentration, any stirring of the underlying mass of workers is bound to take on momentum toward the proletarian revolution. There is no possible basis for compromise between capitalism and the mass of unskilled labor. Capitalism depends upon having at its absolute mercy a large body of unskilled, unorganised laborers. It will accept the unionism of one-tenth of the workers, welding this group into an anti-revolutionary "labor aristocracy" and using this group against the general mass of the unorganised workers. But when the A.F. of L. is itself invaded by the unskilled and semi-skilled, as in the basic steel industry, then Judge Gary takes a stand even against collective bargaining, i.e., against making contracts with his workers enforceable by a strike of the whole steel industry. From this viewpoint it is apparent why the coal strike was of such fundamental importance to the capitalist system that the government intervened to break the strike, and to take care that whatever gains came to the miners would appear to be voluntary grants, by aid of the government, rather than concessions won directly on the strike field, thereby impressing upon the miners their class power.

Unionism is bound to adapt itself to the conditions of struggle under highly concentrated capitalism. It was the I.W.W. which first gave conscious expression to this new form and temper of unionism in the United States. Not strictly first, because the I.W.W. itself was an amalgamation of several existing organisations which had already anticipated its principles; but the first to make a general propaganda of revolutionary industrial unionism and to lay down a basis for the entire re-organisation of the labor union movement along new lines.

* * *

On the other hand, the Communist Party is the immediate organised expression in the United States of the propaganda of the proletarian revolution going back to the Communist Manifesto of 1847. The Communist Party represents no interests of labor except the totality of interests embraced in the proletarian revolution itself.

All of unionism is of interest to the Communist Party, as it develops the forces which lead to the proletarian overthrow of capitalism and to the establishment of Communist industrialism. It is from this viewpoint that we value industrial unionism as against craft unionism, though it is undoubtedly true that craft unionism has had its advantages for particular groups of workers, advantages now decidedly on the decline because of capitalist concentration. But the objective of Communism is the proletarian revolution, and its concern with all immediate actions of the working class, in the economic as in the political field, is their tendency and potency with regard to the ultimate revolutionary aspects of the class struggle.

The Communist Party is an organisation for revolutionary propaganda. Its immediate business and its ultimate business are one and the same thing—always the propaganda of the proletarian revolution and of the Communist reconstruction. The special mission of the Communist Party is to analyse the class struggle as it develops from day to day, and to put this analysis at the service of the working class for whatever guidance it may give in the immediate struggles. The Communist Party, by its work of education and agitation, trains and inspires for revolutionary leadership and for critical understanding on the part of a considerable group of workers, so that the immediate actions are, perhaps imperceptibly, made to acquire a conscious revolutionary Communist character. What the Communist Party organises, within itself, is proletarian revolutionary consciousness and understanding. Outside itself, the Communist Party aims to give emphasis to those tendencies in the labor movement which appear to lead most directly and surely to the proletarian conquest of the political power, this being the necessary first achievement for the Communist social reconstruction.

There could be no possible confusion between any kind of a labor union and an organisation purely for revolutionary propaganda, except that the I.W.W., by reason of many circumstances which cannot here be reviewed, has been hitherto thwarted in becoming an actual union except in a very limited way in certain particular fields; especially among timbermen, longshoremen, metal miners, and other groups of semi-skilled heavy laborers. The I.W.W. has itself become primarily a propaganda organisation, and has undoubtedly had a profound influence upon the labor movement in this country and elsewhere through its fighting in the important strikes in which it has played a part. Indeed, the I.W.W. propaganda has gone outside the union field, in a sense, into the political field, by its "free speech" fights in the West and by its class challenge as made through the courts.

The propaganda of the I.W.W., outside the advocacy of industrial unionism itself, has been of variegated pattern, and the only reason for any friction between the I.W.W. and the Communist Party is the fact that some of the I.W.W. propaganda has been anti-Communist.

There is nothing about the I.W.W. which should make its general propaganda anything other than the programme of the Communist Party; but even with absolute agreement on propaganda principles the two organisations would go on side by side. The I.W.W. is still a union, in form of organisation and in practical purposes. Its propaganda, after all, is meant to attract workers to the I.W.W. as a union. Indeed there paganda any more seriously than for its advertising value in getting members into the union. But most of the members of the I.W.W. are imbued with the spirit of the class struggle as a revolutionary struggle for working class domination of the social system. We might say that these

members are Communists who are in a favorable position for carrying on revolutionary propaganda within the union field, and this is of the highest value.

But there is always the need for an organisation which concentrates entirely on the revolutionary propaganda, untrammelled by any purposes of immediate gains, economic or legislative. Such an organisation alone can maintain the perspective of the labor movement in its entirety. Such an organisation alone is safe from being diverted to its own immediate organisation advantages, which is not the case with unions, co-operatives, or political organisations built on participation in capitalist democracy for the winning of legislative reforms.

Question No. 2.

It is not the work of the Communist Party to build a new industrial union. Our work is to promote the revolutionary tendencies throughout the labor movement. Our fundamental understanding is that the forces of life, the pressure of imperialistic capitalism, compels the workers to accept new tactics. In a primitive stage of the class struggle one might talk about creating a new kind of union as an example; but in the present advanced stage this would be about the same as the proposition of trying out Communism on a South Sea Island. We must deal with the actual complications of the industrial world and the labor movement as it lives and struggles to-day. We cannot declare by fiat that it shall all begin over again—on correct logical principles. It must go on and on, and it is our task to bring to the front the tendencies in the actual living struggle which appear to us most directly in line with the goal of the social revolution.

The minute the Communist Party begins to build a union of its own it ceases to be a Communist Party, but becomes a union; that is, its chief business becomes the demonstration of actual better union results with its own specially created union.

As to picking out the I.W.W. as "the ideal organisation on the economic field," that is of the same logic. No matter how highly the Communist Party may value the I.W.W. and its work, no matter how closely we may come to co-operate in this work, it would still be a fatal error for the Communist Party to prefer the I.W.W., as an actual union, to other unions which exist or which may come into existence in the same field.

Certainly there is no objection to every member of the Communist Party joining the I.W.W. But that does not mean that Communists should not also belong to other unions. Indeed many members of the I.W.W., either from necessity or by choice, are also members of other unions. So of the Communists. The question of joining a union is to be answered individually according to locality and possibilities of choice. Nor is it a question of "ideal organisations," but a question of the highest individual effectiveness in promoting the Communist propaganda. It might be argued that anything which promotes the I.W.W. as an organisation is of itself effective aid toward the social revolution, but this argument would have to be limited by time and circumstance. The Communist Party cannot create within itself an "or-

ganisation loyalty" as against the labor movement in its totality. It must be ready at every moment to adapt itself to changing circumstances and to work with all organisations, whether "ideally" started or not, which at a given crisis take up the revolutionary challenge of the class struggle. It must strive, above all, to attain a central unity of revolutionary proletarian action surmounting all the organisation boundaries which exist in advance of the revolutionary crisis. The programme of the Communist International points to the council, arising out of the revolutionary struggle itself, as the centralising organisation unit.

The loyalty of the Communist cannot be to any form of organisation but always to the social revolution. Membership in a union, as a Communist, must constantly meet the test of the development of the class struggle. There is no question but that a strong case can be made for Communist membership in the I.W.W. at the present time, and the case would be far stronger if the I.W.W. made its general propaganda that of Communism.

Question No. 3.

Sabotage is a very loose term, but without entering into any extensive definitions and analysis, it is enough to say that the Communist Party believes in the highest practical adaption of tactics to the conditions of struggle. Comrade Katayama favored the use of sabotage by the Japanese workers under conditions where the strike is of itself illegal, and where there is no chance for union organisation with strike funds. But we would not consider that sabotage, in the broadest understanding of the term as representing a general mass action, would ever present a question of what is "legitimate" and what is not "legitimate." The question is entirely one of the most effective generalship under a given set of circumstances.

The working class cannot, in the final analysis, choose its methods of combating the capitalist oppression. The Communists refuse, therefore, to lay down any "principles" by which any forms of action shall be held taboo, under any and all circumstances. It is up to the ruling class to get off the worker's back if they want universal amiability.

The Socialist Party clause against sabotage, adopted by referendum in 1912, was a disgrace to the labor movement in the United States, in that it accepted the capitalist moral valuation of a form of working class action. The Communists have no such moral valuations. The question is one of effectiveness under actual circumstances; of what is actually proposed to be done and of its apparent suitability to get results.

Question No. 4.

Yes.

Question No. 5.

By direct action we understand the opposite to representative, indirect legislative action. The term *direct action* arose as a demand for union action for political aims, contrary to dependence on parliamentarism.

Question No. 6.

The I.W.W. has suffered from a degree of infusion of anarchist doctrines in its general

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propaganda. This is the derivation of the anti-political or non-political theorising of some of the I.W.W. writers. The demand for immediate, direct abolition of the State, in favor of independent, autonomous local associations of workers, industry by industry, is the modern theme of anarchism. Communism demands the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*—the special State of the proletariat—as the central and all-important means for the social reconstruction. The abolition of the State as an organ of class oppression is considered the inevitable result of the Communist suppression of bourgeois exploitation.

Question No. 7.

Mass action has the same derivation as *direct action*, only the term *mass action* is broader, being all-inclusive of working class action, whereas the term *direct action* is particularly descriptive of union action.

A PROLETARIAN LIBRARY

(By G. BARACCHI.)

"VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT." By Karl Marx.

This is the last of those four works of Marx and Engels which form the necessary introduction to the study of scientific communism, the other three, "Wage-Labor and Capital," "The Communist Manifesto," and "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," having been already reviewed in "The Proletarian." "Value, Price and Profit" is, in a partial sense, an epitome of the first volume of "Capital," and must certainly be read before proceeding to that work. Written for working men, for the working men of the First International in particular, this booklet outlines the essential theories of Marxian economics with matchless lucidity. Within the compass of a short review it is impossible to do these theories justice; all we can do is to insist that the book itself be read, and to call attention to a few of its most prominent features.

There is no dogma more fallacious nor more widely held at the present time than the one which asserts that every rise in wages is inevitably followed by a rise in prices which leaves the worker precisely where he was before. In the early part of his book, Marx pulverises this dangerous doctrine. He shows how,

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL.

At the second Congress of the Communist International, Bucharin moved theses providing for Communist participation in parliaments, and recommending that parliamentary action be adopted as part of the Communist program in all countries, subject to strict control of the members by the party, each member to sign a paper to the effect that he will give up his seat at the first request of the party.

The theses were adopted by an overwhelming majority.

under competitive capitalism, a general rise in wages produces a rise in the demand for **necessaries** (which the workers buy), and, therefore, a rise in the market prices of these. The capitalists who produce necessaries are thus compensated for the risen wages by the rising prices of their commodities. On the other hand, so far as the large proportion of capitalists is concerned who produce luxuries (which only the capitalists buy), a general rise in wages produces a decreased demand for, and, consequently, a fall in the prices of, their commodities. To the capitalist producers of luxuries the rise in wages brings a **fall in the rate of profit**, a fall which is in the compound ratio of the general rise of wages, the rise in the prices of necessaries, and the fall in the prices of luxuries.

What would be the consequence of this difference in the rates of profit for capitals employed in the different branches of industry? Marx tells us:—

"Capital and labor would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches; and this process of transfer would go on until the supply in the one department would have risen proportionately to the increased demand, and would have sunk in the other departments according to the decreased demand. This change effected, the general rate of

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profit would be equalised in the different branches. As the whole derangement originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and supply of, different commodities, the cause ceasing, the effect would cease, and prices would return to their normal level and equilibrium."

We see, then, that, other things being equal, a general rise in wages will result in a general fall in profit, but will leave the prices of commodities unchanged.

It is in chapter six that Marx takes up the crucial question of value. The student will do well to read this chapter first of all, and, only after having done this, go through the book from the beginning. In this chapter six Marx gives what is the only scientific and satisfactory answer to the vexed question as to how the value of a commodity is determined:—

"A commodity has a *value*, because it is a *crystallisation of social labor*. The greatness of its value, or its *relative value*, depends upon the greater or less amount of that social substance contained in it; that is to say, on the relative mass of labor necessary for its production. The *relative values of commodities* are, therefore, determined by the *respective quantities or amounts of labor, worked up, realised, fixed in them*. The *correlative quantities of commodities* which can be produced in the *same time of labor are equal*."

Having solved the problem of value, Marx proceeds to show how surplus value or profit is produced, and here again he gives the only satisfactory and scientific explanation. Labor power is, in capitalist society, a commodity. Like other commodities, its value is determined by the quantity of labor socially necessary to produce it. In other words, its value is determined by the value of the necessaries required for its production, development, maintenance and perpetuation. It is this value which, in the form of wages, the capitalist pays when he buys from the workman the commodity, labor power. Having bought this labor power at its value, it is now, like any other commodity he may have purchased, his to consume or use. The capitalist uses labor power in the only way he can, by setting it to work. Of this, Marx says:—

"The *value of the laboring power* is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to maintain or reproduce it, but the *use of that labor-*

ing power is only limited by the active energies and physical strength of the laborer. The daily or weekly *value of the laboring power* is quite distinct from the daily or weekly exercise of that power, the same as the food a horse wants and the time it can carry the horseman are quite distinct."

The use of the labor power bought by him produces for the capitalist a value greater than the value of the labor power itself, which the capitalist paid to the workman in the form of wages. This excess of value or surplus value, the result of surplus or unpaid labor, constitutes the profit of the capitalist.

At the end of his book, Marx proves that the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but to sink, the average standard of wages. He adds:—

"Such being the tendency of *things*, in this system, is this saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation."

Nevertheless, Marx warns the working class not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these every-day struggles. He bids them remember that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; their every-day struggles may retard the downward movement, but cannot change its direction. To accomplish that, only revolution will suffice.

We have succeeded in touching on three or four essential points in the course of our review, but every page of "Value, Price and Profit" is pregnant with economic significance. A careful reading of this book, in addition to the three previously mentioned, will complete the initial stage of that Communist study which alone makes possible efficient service in the interest of the class whose rapidly approaching destiny it is to inherit the earth.

"TO THE I.W.W." A Special Message from the Communist International.

The actual working out of the proletarian revolution in Russia on Marxian lines has provided such an object lesson to all sections of honest revolu-

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tionists that the unification of these upon the basis of the program of the Communist International is coming well within the bounds of practicability. In view of the fact that great, decisive battles between the workers and capitalists are everywhere approaching, the Communist unity of all "left wing" elements is furthermore of the utmost importance for the giving of a clear lead to the proletariat towards revolution. It is for this reason that the Communist International calls upon the I.W.W. to come into line with the Communists of the world, and also to take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for the uniting in one organisation of all unions which accept the class struggle—such as the W.I.I.U., the One Big Union and certain insurgent unions in the American Federation of Labor.

On the respective functions of the Communist Party and the I.W.W., the message of the International says:—

"The special and particular business of the I.W.W. is to train the workers for the seizure and management of industry. The special function of the Communist political party is to train the workers for the capture of political power and the administration of the Proletarian Dictatorship. All workers should, at the same time, be members of the revolutionary industrial union of their industry and of the political party which advocates Communism."

In a foreword, Tom Glynn commends the International's message to the earnest consideration of all ex-I.W.W. men and Industrial Unionists in Australia. We do the same; moreover, we appeal to these men to act on their consideration and do their share in building up in this country the political party of Communism.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP. By N. Lenin.

Among other things, Lenin here gives us a masterly analysis of the international situation in 1919. He also points us to some interesting aspects of the Communist reconstruction. But, from the standpoint of theory, the most important part of this pamphlet is an unanswerable demonstration that in a class society democracy is of necessity class democracy, democracy of and for the ruling class, whether that class be bourgeoisie or proletariat. Let

our pseudo-socialist prattlers about general or "pure" democracy being compatible with the existence of antagonistic classes note that.

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM. By Herman Cahn.

The two overshadowing developments of present-day capitalism are the centralisation of control of capital and the modification of the money system. In a longer work, "Capital To-day," Cahn uses the Marxian method to analyse both these developments. Here, however, he devotes himself entirely to the money aspect, and brings to light a contradiction which he predicts will speedily result in the downfall of capitalism. The contradiction lies in a scarcity of the money commodity being necessary for the performance of its function of measure of value; whereas its function of means of circulation (including means of deferred payment) requires an abundance of this same commodity. It is in the grip of this rapidly developing contradiction that the capitalist system writhes.

POLITICAL PARTIES. By Robert Michels.

Michels gives us an exhaustive study of political parties, a study which leads him to conclude that, by an iron law, all such parties develop into oligarchies. The book is replete with references to the socialist movement, shows a deep appreciation of Marxism, and contains a large number of quotations from the less well-known writings of the great socialists. In this last connection, Engels' disavowal of his 1895 preface to Marx's "Class Struggles in France" is worthy of mention, since, under the caption of "A Retrospect," this preface was lately republished in the "International Socialist," and since some of the statements contained in it are not compatible with revolutionary Marxism.

A MARXIAN DEFINITION OF DICTATORSHIP.

Nicolaï Lenin defines dictatorship and dictatorship of the proletariat as follows:—"Dictatorship is an authority relying directly upon force, and not bound by any laws. The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is an authority maintained by the proletariat by means of force over and against the bourgeoisie, and not bound by any laws.

REVOLUTION.

"A revolution marks a critical transition in the life of the great popular masses. Of course, only a fully matured crisis renders a real revolution possible and necessary. Moreover, even as a transition period in the life of an individual teaches him much, leads with new rich content, so also does a revolution teach a whole nation in a relatively short time highly instructive and valuable lessons."

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BOOKS REVIEWED OR RECOMMENDED IN THIS ISSUE

TO THE I.W.W.—A Special Message from the Communist International (Moscow). A foreword by Tom Glynn. Price, 3d., posted, 4d.

VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT. By Karl Marx. Paper, 1/-, posted, 1/2.

A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM (Criticism of the Gotha Program). By Karl Marx. Paper, 3d., posted, 4d.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

By N. Lenin.
Paper, 6d., posted, 7d.
(In the Press.)

COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM. By H. Cahn. Cloth, 3/6, posted, 3/8.

CAPITAL TO-DAY. By H. Cahn. Cloth, 13/6, posted 14/3.

POLITICAL PARTIES. By R. Michels.—Cloth, 20/-, posted, 21/-.

(In the Press.)

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By John Maclean.
Shows that Britain and America are getting ready as Britain and Germany did. A warning.
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By Jas. Welsh.
Written by an English coal miner, it pictures the struggles incidental to a coal miner's life. Shows the opposition the English miners had to face in forming their union, the organisation which is so well known to-day. Figures Robert Smillie and Keir Hardie. With it all we get a powerful piece of fiction, depicting grim tragedy in the bowels of the earth and heroic sacrifice in the workers' lives. It will figure among working-class novels.
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By Upton Sinclair.
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SOME SPECIALS.

COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL. By N. Lenin.
Price, 1/6; Posted, 1/8.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. By Karl Kautsky.
Price, 3/6; Posted, 3/9.

MILITARISM AND ANTI-MILITARISM. By Karl Liebknecht.
Price, 1/6; Posted, 1/8.

SOVIETS AT WORK. By N. Lenin. 9d., posted, 10d.

BOLSHEVISM AT WORK. By Prof. Goode. 3/6, posted, 3/9.

REPORT OF THE WELCOME SPEECHES TO BRITISH LABOR DELEGATES TO RUSSIA IN PETROGRAD. 6d., posted, 7d.

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By N. Bucharin.
The greatest Socialist Propaganda book produced for many years. Communism simplified for beginners. It smashes with sledge-hammer blows. It gives no quarter to the Mensheviks and Right Socialists of all lands. Declares for the overthrow of Capitalism and Dictatorship of the Proletariat. For those who want to know the program of the Communists, this work is specially valuable.
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THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC.

By Colonel Malone, M.P.
While not the same type as Professor Goode's work, this book, from a member of the House of Commons, presents so many phases of Russian life to-day, and deals with so much of the re-construction work going on there, as to make it a very necessary work to whoever wishes to get a knowledge of internal Russia. It helps in its verification of the facts outlined in Professor Goode's "Bolshevism At Work" and in the "Report of the Euliet Mission," also "Victorious Russia," and similar works.
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RUSSIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION



Tolstoy, preparing his Manifesto on the sufferings of his country.

November 7, 1920.

Proletarian Comment

The Russian Revolution.

JUST prior to the onset of the Russian workers' and peasants' revolution in November, 1917, Nicolai Lenin, surely the most representative figure of this revolution, said that while in countries economically more highly developed than Russia, the first step of the proletarian revolution would be comparatively hard and the subsequent steps easy, in Russia, on the other hand, the first step of the revolution would be easy and the subsequent steps comparatively difficult. On the occasion of the third anniversary of the Russian revolution it is possible for us to realise how truly Lenin spoke. For the Bolsheviki to overthrow the barely established capitalist regime and set up the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat, was, comparatively speaking, a task simple enough. Not so easy has it been for the Russian workers and poorer peasants to maintain the Soviet power against the counter-revolutionary aggression of the world's bourgeoisie; nevertheless, this too they have successfully accomplished, so successfully, indeed, that the political stability of Soviet Russia to-day stands forth unchallengeable. But it is upon economic conditions that political conditions ultimately depend, and it is on the economic field that the Russian workers, inheriting an industrial system backward in the first instance and ruined by the autocracy and bourgeoisie in the second, are having their hardest fight. Tremendous task though the Communist reconstruction of Russian economy be, yet here also the indomitable proletariat is winning out step by step, until so careful an observer as Lenin is now convinced that in the existing conditions and with the encouragement of the proletarian state, the shoots of Communism will not wither, but will wax strong and finally expand into complete Communism. That the social revolution in Russia is far from complete, that very great difficulties still confront

the Russian proletariat, is certain; but that all these difficulties will be finally surmounted, the inexorable progress of the revolution towards Communism during the last three years is sufficient earnest.

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The Third International.

THE operation of the effects of the revolution has not stopped short at the frontiers of Soviet Russia. On the contrary, these effects are now operating throughout the world. For some time previous to the outbreak of the revolution the changed conditions of developed imperialist capitalism and the utter inability of the Second International to adapt itself to these conditions, had urgently called for the formation of a new international organisation of the revolutionary proletariat. But it required the dynamic force of the Russian Revolution to galvanise the Third International into life. This organisation has rescued Marxism, made more concrete by the historical experience of the Russian revolution, from the clutch of the dead hand of the Second International, and put its revolutionary content once more at the disposal of the world's proletariat. It leads this proletariat in the fight for the overthrow of the capitalist class, and the establishment everywhere of the Soviet power. The national sections of the Third International are the Communist parties of every land; these stand in the sharpest contrast to the old outworn opportunist "Socialist" parties of the Second International, and for Marxist education to make the workers class-conscious, industrial unionism as an important factor both in the revolutionary struggle and in the Communist reconstruction of society, parstrating the uselessness of parliaments to the workers, mass action as the means of the conquest of power by the workers.

November 7, 1920.

and Workmen's Councils as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In celebrating the anniversary of the Russian revolution, we cannot but also hail the young and vigorous International which that revolution brought to life. In the Third International and the Communist Parties abides the living hope of the proletariat, just as in the "Socialist" parties of the Second International lies its dead hopelessness.

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The Communist Party of Australia.

AS the conditions of the class struggle in the final phase of capitalism demand, the Australian proletariat also has now its Communist Party. In our last issue we wrote somewhat dubiously of the chances at the present moment of uniting the different Communist elements in this country; on the anniversary of the Russian revolution we can cry triumphantly to the world that Communist unity is a fact accomplished. For the conference called by the Australian Socialist Party in Sydney duly assembled, proceeded unanimously to form itself into a centralised Communist Party based on the principles of the Third International, and elected a provisional secretary and central executive committee, representative

of almost every aspect of the labor movement. The following day the C.E.C. also met and drafted a preliminary Manifesto and Program for the party's acceptance. Practically all the groups and parties represented at the conference have already dissolved their identity in the new organisation, and the work of forming branches in the other States is proceeding. This eminently satisfactory outcome of the conference is due primarily to the fact that the crying need for a united Communist party had evidently impressed itself upon the minds of all the delegates, and, in this connection, the fine spirit in which the A.S.P. met the conference must also be mentioned. Thus the Communist Party of Australia has had an auspicious beginning, and we look forward to its becoming what has not previously been seen in this country, the party which stands true to the teachings of Marxism, yet at the same time establishes contact with the rank and file of the workers everywhere, the veritable party of the proletariat. It will have no room for yellow socialists and opportunists, but the place of every worker who adheres to the revolutionary principles of the Third International and is prepared to work for them, is in the ranks of the Communist Party of Australia.

Sidelights on Historical Materialism.

By M. MURPHY.

No law or principle is so misunderstood by both its advocates and its opponents as the Materialist Conception of History. It is very common, of course, to identify Economic Determinism with Historical Materialism, whereas the latter term, on the contrary, is far the broader one, including not only the powerful economic influences operative in history, but all the other material factors as well, together with all the interacting and reacting causative influences at work in society, which are, in the last analysis, effects of material evolution. Historical Materialism is, in its broadest sense, a whole philosophical

system; it not only explains past history and present conditions, but it makes actual sciences out of History and Sociology and Politics, and even Ethics.

However, the mistake of confusing the whole of Historical Materialism with what is, in modern society, its most significant factor, is after all not a very serious error in comparison to some of the absurd uses of the term. In a recent editorial of a supposed Socialist paper—to take a prize illustration—occurs the following passage:

"The Law of Economic Determinism has never, until the Russian Revolution, been intelligently followed by a united working class,

The class struggles of the past, and the present day strikes, are but partial recognitions of that law. Only the profiteering classes of all ages have been guided by economic determinism in their social acts."

Of course this is nothing but nonsense. The "Law of Economic Determinism" is a natural social law, and doesn't have to be "followed," either intelligently or otherwise, any more than the law of gravitation. It works in society, and has always worked, whether we want it or not. The "profiteering classes" are not the only classes that have been "guided" by it. The business of the working class is not to "intelligently follow" this law, but to understand it—and thus understand why society is divided into classes, and how society can be freed from classes.

That expression, "profiteering classes," is, to digress for a moment, in itself an illustration of "Economic Determinism." It shows the point of view of the petty bourgeois reformer, who opposes "profiteering" (unfair profits), but considers a "fair" profit to be perfectly admissible. It cannot be too often reiterated that the "reform Socialist" is always about one per cent. Socialist and ninety-nine per cent. "reform"—he wants to "re-form" and revive capitalism.

Coming back to the philosophical side of Historical Materialism, it may be well to point out that this is a Deterministic philosophy; it maintains that human actions are really determined, if we trace them back far enough, by forces—material forces—beyond our control. The pleasant conceit of "freedom of the will," has, therefore, in its usual metaphysical significance, no place in such a philosophy. In other words, Historical Materialism teaches that the causal relation holds true in the field of human action just as it does in the physical and chemical world; there is no such thing, metaphysically considered, as freedom or chance. Hence, the only meaning to be correctly ascribed to chance is simply a law or laws not yet understood; and freedom for the individual can only mean that the pre-determined forces within him, rather than the pre-determined external forces, are able to control his actions. As an example of this last point, a man may de-

side to deliver a Communist speech, and be free to do so, but his desire and ability are inner factors determined by his heredity and environment; now while speaking, or after having spoken, he may be arrested and jailed, or perhaps struck by lightning, and the external forces thus acting on his, overpower the internal ones. But these outer forces are no more curtailments of his metaphysical "freedom" than are the inner forces that impelled him to speak; both are pre-determined by their causal antecedents, which likewise were causally produced. Hence, although we strive for "freedom of speech," "emancipation from wage-slavery," and so on, we must bear in mind that this freedom, dialectically considered, means freedom from certain definite external restrictions, not "absolute freedom." We Communists recognise that the class to which we belong is subject to the same determining social laws that every other class in history has been subject to, and in consciously working out our mission we know that we are exercising the only freedom there is, the only freedom worth having.

Herein lies the chief philosophical difference between Communism and Anarchism. This may be seen from the following quotation from an editorial in a publication self-described as a journal of "constructive Anarchism":—

"The individual's direct and inescapable personal responsibility for all his actions is an unavoidable condition of his very existence as an individual. Every action engaged in by an individual must arise within himself; that is, be willed by him. He is, therefore, completely responsible for it. Unless this were so the conception of an individual as a discrete being would be impossible. The basis for this conception is entirely rational."

This is nothing more than the same old bourgeois ideology, as expressed in Christian theology and the American Declaration of Independence. Of course, every action by an individual "must arise within himself,"—but what determines those inner tendencies of his? What moulds his inherited faculties, his thoughts, his will? True, we help to mould our own minds by the way we react to our environment—but what determines our power of reaction? Only

the materialist philosophy of Marx can explain this consistently; Proudhon and Stirner and Bakunin completely fail.

The non-revolutionary character of a doctrine which, like Anarchism, is not based on Historical Materialism, is shown by another paragraph from the same paper. Speaking of Russia, the editor says:—

"With the starvation as described by Minor existing, it is hard to see how things could be very different in Russia, unless the people there were united and conscious in a desire to sacrifice themselves in order to have the revolution spread throughout the world. This is, of course, an unthinkable proposition, and while as Anarchists we deplore and regret the discipline and loss of personal liberty and the consequent curtailment of the creative instinct among the masses, some of us find consolation in the knowledge that the inspiring Anarchic wave that Minor describes will have left its influence behind it and will modify the tyranny of Lenin's Social Democratic State."

To talk about tyranny and the "loss" of liberty in a land just rid of Czarism is something of a joke!

But all of this philosophical matter must not be allowed to obscure what Engels terms the dominant factor, i.e., economic conditions and forces. Even such an academic thinker as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, a professor in the University of Cambridge, recognises its supreme importance. He says:—

"We are used to think of Marathon as a great victory won by a small enlightened Greek race over dense hordes of the obscurantist East; of Thermopylae as a pass held by the free mind of man against its would-be enslavers. But Herodotus does not see it so. Herodotus handles the whole quarrel as started and balanced on a trade dispute . . . Always at the root of the story, as Herodotus tells us, we find commerce, coast-wise trading, the game of marriage by capture; no silly notions about liberty, nationality, religion, or the human intellect. It is open to us, of course, to believe that Troy was besieged for ten years for the sake of a woman, as it is pleasant to read in Homer of Helen watching the battlefield from the tower above the Skaian gates, while the old men of the city marvel at her beauty, saying one to another, 'Small blame is it that for such a woman the Trojans and Achaeans should long suffer hardships.' But if you ask me do I believe that the Trojan war happened so, I am constrained to answer that I do not; I suspect there was money in it somewhere."

Money in it somewhere—yes. And that's the case with the war against

Soviet Russia still proceeding, as well as with certain wars in quite recent history. Still further, in the late strike of the English bank clerks, whose chief grievance was the continued employment of girls, the money question loomed so large as to render invisible the chivalric soul of these clerky gentlemen.

Economic factors most certainly underlie the tremendous social forces now seething under the crust of capitalist society. Economic conditions cause the unrest, and make the workers ready and anxious for the philosophy that expresses their class interests—the philosophy of Communism. And the economic urge impels men already familiar with this philosophy to spread it among their fellows. Working class education is the ripened means of social progress, and working class emancipation, the result.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

In a recent pamphlet, Zinoviev writes as follows:—

"In its controversy with the Mensheviks in 1913, the Bolshevik Party laid down that the workers should be organised in a Union covering the entire industry, not merely a sectional craft trade within the industry."

"The Communist Party declared that the Industrial Unions should conduct the economic fight of the workers, and should constantly collaborate with the workers' political party in the working-class struggle for emancipation, the abolition of wage slavery, and the victory of Socialism."

"For this reason the Bolshevik Party has never considered the Industrial Union as an organisation aspiring only to secure some reforms and ameliorations of working conditions within the limits of capitalist society. On the contrary, the Bolshevik Party, in complete accord with the doctrine of Marx, has always seen that the Industrial Union is one of the most important organisations of the working class; one that has been created for the fight for Socialism in intimate collaboration with the political party, and one that, in consequence, is favourable to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

MARX ON RUSSIA

By T. G. MASARYK.

In all the controversies at present raging upon the historic significance of the Russian Revolution, the controversialists continually seek support for their arguments in the writings of Marx and Engels. It is therefore important to know what were the actual opinions of these writers on the course of social evolution in Russia, and their views on this question are summarised by Masaryk in the following article:—

"In 1877 Mihailovskii defended Marx against a Russian critic (Carl Marx before the Tribunal of I. Zuckovskii). He here mooted the question whether Russia, now enlightened by Marx concerning the capitalist evolution of the West, must necessarily follow the same course. Accepting Marx's description of European evolution, he enquired whether Russia might not take warning by this development. Mihailovskii made a distinction between historic determinism and fatalism. He held, therefore, that a Russian disciple of Marx could not be content to look on quietly at his country's evolution. It was necessary for the onlooker to take a side; he must make up his mind whether he was to rejoice at the capitalisation of the still mediæval economy of Russia, to rejoice despite all the evils attendant on the process, to rejoice in the break up of the mediæval mir and ardel and of the system of common property in the soil and the instruments of production; or whether he would deplore these developments and seek to resist them to his uttermost. Quoting Marx's polemic against Herzen (in the first edition of "Capital"), Mihailovskii defended Herzen's view that Russia could traverse an evolution sui generis, but did not surrender to slavophilism, and did not ascribe to the Russian folk any mystic or sublime qualities peculiar to the Russian national spirit. The Russian, he said, must and will learn from Europe. The man who has studied Marx will reflect upon the evolutionary process to which Russia is subject, and if the Russians must traverse the same route as Europe, they are doing. But since Russian conditions differ from those that obtain in Europe, the development of capitalisation in Russia may prove peculiar to that country. Mihailovskii drew

attention to this possibility in 1872, shortly after the publication of the Russian translation of 'Capital'. Marx wrote an answer to Mihailovskii, but the reply did not appear until 1888, when it was published in the Russian Periodical, 'The Legal Courier,' as a Writing by Carl Marx. Marx explained that he had not formulated his law of evolution as universally valid, but that as soon as a country had entered this specific course of development it became subject to the formulated laws of evolution. In each individual case the matter must be considered in relation to the peculiarities of the historically extant conditions. There was no fatal necessity about the capitalist development of Russia, nor was it essential that in Russia the country folk should be proletarianised in order to become 'free' industrial workers, as had happened in Europe. Mihailovskii referred to Marx's reply as late as 1892, insisting once more that in view of the special character of Russian historical conditions, it was certainly possible that Russian evolution would take a course peculiar to that country.

"Marx and Engels were no less hostile towards absolutist Russia than had been the European liberals of 1848. Marx became personally acquainted with a number of Russians, and the influence of these could not fail to confirm him in his unfavourable views. In the first volume of 'Capital' (1867), Marx engaged in a vigorous polemic against Herzen. In the second edition (1872) this adverse passage was suppressed; Marx commended the Russian translation of 'Capital,' spoke favourably of the works by Ziber, and extolled Cernysevskii for his critique of Mill. As early as 1870, in Marx's letter to the Russian section of the International in Geneva, a word of praise had been given to Cernysevskii and to Flerovskii (Condition of the Working-classes in Russia). In his letter the first volume of 'Capital,' Nikolai-on (Danielsohn), Marx, in 1873, declared himself opposed to Cicerin's theory concerning the origin of the mir. In 1877, Mihailovskii, writing in the 'Otcestvennyia Zapiski,' basing his views on Marx's history of European capitalism, had anticipated a sinister future for Russian economic evolution. Writing, however, that the editor of this periodical, to pursue the path entered in 1861, that country would rob itself of the finest opportunity

that any nation had ever had of eluding all the vicissitudes of capitalistic organisation. Marx further declared in this communication that his history of European capitalism (in the first volume of 'Capital') was not a historico-philosophical theory of the general course of evolution, an evolution which all nations must inevitably follow. In 1882, writing an introduction for the Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto (the translation by Vera Zaslucik), Marx and Engels insisted that the mir ought not to be broken up, as the village community had been in the west, for it might serve as the starting point of a communistic development, but could do so only on condition that the Russian revolution should give the signal for a working-class revolution in the west.

Writing to Nikolai-on in 1892, Engels recalled Marx's words of 1877, and declared that the Russian peasant was already feeling the traditional Russian agrarian conditions (those of the mir) to be a fetter, as in former days the peasant had felt similar conditions to be in Europe. "I am afraid," continued Engels, "that we shall soon have to look upon your mir as no more than a memory of the irrecoverable past, and that in the future we shall have to do with a capitalistic Russia. If this be so, a splendid chance will unquestionably have been lost." Engels anticipated the proletarianisation of the muzik, but anticipated likewise the ruin of the great landed proprietors, who would be compelled by the burden of their debts to alienate their lands. Between the proletarians and the impoverished landed proprietors there was pressing in a new class of landowners, the village usurers and the burghers from the towns, who would perhaps be the ancestry of the coming agrarian aristocracy. In this letter, and in other letters of 1892, Engels admitted that large-scale industry in Russia was being artificially cultivated, but he rightly pointed out that similar artificial methods were being used to promote industrialisation in other lands. As soon as Russia ceased to be a purely agricultural state, she must necessarily adopt artificial methods of industrialisation (protective measures, etc.). Engels pointed out to Nikolai-on the inevitable consequences of the capitalisation of Russia, underlining the analogies with the other countries whose economic development was described in 'Capital'. In 1893 Engels entered into a controversy with Struve, who took a light-hearted view of the evils of capitalisation. Engels believed, with Nikolai-on, that the capitalisation of Russia would, in view of the peculiar institutions of that country, involve an extensive and disastrous social revolution. Nevertheless he did not share Nikolai-on's pessimism. The mir, certainly, was doomed; it's continued existence was impossible as soon as some of its members had become debtors (and in fact slaves) of the others. Capitalism, how-

ever, would open up new perspectives; new hopes would dawn; a great nation such as the Russian would survive any crisis.

We see, then, two things. On the one hand, Marx admitted the possibility of social development taking a different course in Russia from that of Western Europe; on the other hand, the actual course of this development in Russia has confirmed both Engels' fears, and, in a still ampler degree, his hopes.

The Communist International on the S.L.P.

The Socialist Labor Party in Australia, that is to say, Mr. Judd, has recently treated us to its, that is to say his, opinion of Communist Parties. In view of this fact it may not be amiss to give our readers the opinion of the Communist International on Socialist Labor Parties, although in common fairness it must be said that this opinion has no application to the British S.L.P., which, in contrast to the American and Australian bodies, has swung itself in line with the Communist position. In a letter to the American movement, the International writes as follows:—

"A full break with the old Socialist Parties (S.P. and S.L.P.) is the self-evident condition for the creation of a Communist Party in America. This condition does not mean, however, that the Communist Party cannot accept individual comrades, as well as whole organisations that previously belonged to these parties, who have decisively accepted the point of view of the organised class struggle and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Communist Party must be a mass organisation and not a narrow, closed circle. 'Separation' from non-Communist elements must be understood as keeping away from actual social-traitors and from the 'centrist' elements of the old parties, but by no means in the sense of refusing former members of the old parties who have severed all connections with them."

With a change of names, this statement applies to the Victorian Socialist Party with equal force.

November 7, 1920

Is it a Bourgeois Revolution?

By N. LENIN.

As a result of his analysis of the economic conditions of Russia, Karl Kautsky, the foremost theoretician of the second International, concluded that, since the peasantry as a whole was still in the grip of bourgeois social relations, the Russian Revolution was inevitably bourgeois in character. Lenin pulverises this conclusion and elucidates the real nature of the Revolution in the following article:—

The question so hopelessly muddled up by Kautsky, was elucidated by the Bolsheviks so far back as 1905. Yes, our revolution is a bourgeois revolution so long as we go hand in hand with the peasantry as a whole. We were fully aware of this, had repeated it a thousand times from 1905 onwards, and never attempted either to skip over this necessary stage of the historical process, or to "abolish" it by decrees. Kautsky's endeavours to convict us on this point have in fact convicted his own confusion of mind and his own fear to recall what he wrote in 1905, when he was not yet a turncoat.

But in 1917, from April onwards, and long before the November revolution, that is, long before we assumed power, we said and explained publicly to the people: the revolution would no longer be able to stop at this stage, as the country had gone beyond that, as capitalism had advanced and as ruin had attained such gigantic dimensions as to demand, whether one wanted it or not, a further advance towards Socialism. For there was no other way of advancing, of saving the country, worn out by the war, and of relieving the sufferings of the workers and the exploited. It turned the revolution bore out the truth of our arguments. First there was a movement, in conjunction with the entire peasantry, against the monarchy, against the landlords, against mediocrity, and to that extent the revolution remained a bourgeois, a bourgeois-democratic one. Then it became a movement, in conjunction with the poorest peasantry, with the semi-proletariat, with all the exploited, against Capitalism, including the village rich, the village vultures and speculators, and to that extent the revolution became a Socialist one. To tween the two stages, and to separate them by any other factor than the degree of the preparedness of the proletariat and of its unity with the village poor, means completely to pervert and to vulgarise Marxism and to replace it by Liberalism. It means to smuggle through a reactionary defence of the bourgeoisie against the Socialist proletariat, under

the cloak of quasi-learned references to the progressive character of the bourgeoisie as compared with mediocrity.

It is just because the Soviets, by uniting and drawing into political life the masses of workers and peasants, constitute the most sensitive and nearest to the people (in the sense in which Marx spoke in 1871 of a really popular revolution) index of the growth and development of the political maturity and class-consciousness of the masses, that they represent an immeasurably higher form and type of democracy. The Soviet constitution was not drawn up "according to plan." It was not drawn up in a study, and was not imposed upon the labouring masses by bourgeois lawyers. No, this constitution grew up in the course of the development of the class-struggle in proportion as the class antagonisms were becoming more intensive. This is borne out by those very facts which Kautsky himself has to admit. At first the Soviets represented the peasantry as a whole, and the result was that the mental backwardness of the poorer peasants placed the leadership in the hands of the village vultures, of the prosperous peasants, of the petty bourgeois intellectuals. This was the period of the predominance of the petty bourgeois Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, whom only fools or turncoats like Kautsky could regard as Socialists. This petty bourgeoisie necessarily, inevitably, wavered and hesitated between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (Kerensky, Korniloff, Savinkoff) and the dictatorship of the proletariat: since the petty bourgeoisie, in virtue of its fundamental traits of character and its economic position, is incapable of any independent policy. It may be observed in passing, that Kautsky entirely runs away from Marxism by employing, in his analysis of the Russian revolution, the legal and formalistic conception of the bourgeoisie as a screen for its domination over, and as a means of deceiving, "Democracy." "Democracy," forgetting that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and sometimes the impotent reformism of the petty bourgeoisie subject to that dictatorship, etc. At capitalist country bourgeois parties, and there was a proletarian party backed by the majority of the proletariat, but there were no petty bourgeois parties, that is, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries had no class roots, no petty bourgeois origins!

The hesitations and oscillations of the petty bourgeois Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries enlightened the masses and drove the overwhelming majority of them, all the

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"lower depths," the proletarians and semi-proletarians, away from such "leaders." Finally, the Bolsheviks obtained a majority on the Soviets (by November, 1917, so far as Petrograd and Moscow were concerned), while among the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks the scissions became more pronounced.

The victorious Bolshevik revolution meant the end of all hesitations and the complete destruction of the monarchy and landlordism (which had still been in existence till the November revolution). The bourgeois revolution was carried out by us to the end. The peasantry as a whole was supporting us, since its antagonism to the Socialist proletariat could not break out at once. The Soviets included at the time the peasantry as a whole, the class divisions among the latter being still in embryo, still latent.

The process of ripening took place in the summer and autumn of 1918. The Czechoslovak counter-revolutionary mutiny aroused the village vultures, and the wave of well-to-do peasant insurrections passed over the entire territory of Russia. The poorest peasantry was learning from life itself, and not from books or newspapers, the fact of the antagonism of its interests to those of the vultures and the village bourgeoisie in general. Like every other petty bourgeois party, the so-called Left Social-Revolutionaries were reflecting the hesitations of the masses, and in the summer of 1918 split into two. One section made common cause with the Czechoslovaks (insurrection in Moscow, when Proshyan having seized the telegraph office for one hour was informing Russia of the overthrow of the Bolsheviks; then the treachery of Muravioff, commander of the army against the Czechoslovaks, etc.), while another section remained with the Bolsheviks.

The intensification of food distress in the towns was rendering the question about the corn monopoly more and more acute (Kautsky, the theoretician, has, in his "economic analysis" which is a mere repetition of platitudes gleaned from Masloff's writings of ten years previously, quite forgotten about this monopoly). The old landlords' and capitalists' State, and even the democratic and republican one, had been sending into the villages, armed detachments, who were practically at the disposal of the capitalists. Mr. Kautsky knows, of course, nothing about it. He does not see in it the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. God forbid! That is "pure democracy," especially if it is approved by a bourgeois parliament. Nor does Kautsky know or speak about the fact that in the summer and the autumn of 1917, Avksentieff and S. Masloff, in company with Kerensky, Tseretelli and other Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, were arresting the members of the land-committees. The truth is that a bourgeois State, which embodies and exercises the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through a democratic republic,

cannot confess to the people that it serves the interest of the bourgeoisie; it cannot tell them the plain truth, and is compelled to be hypocritical. But a State of the Commune or Soviet type tells the people the truth, proclaims plainly and openly, that it is the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the poorer peasantry, thereby, by that very truth, rallying to itself scores of millions of new citizens, who are of no account under any democratic republic, but who are now drawn by the Soviets into political life, into democracy, into the administration of the State. The Soviet Republic sends into the villages detachments of armed workers (in the first place the most advanced) from the capitals, who carry Socialism into the country-side, rally to their side the poorer elements, organise and enlighten them, and help them to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

All acquainted with the conditions, who have been to the villages, declare that it was not until the summer and autumn of 1918, that our country-side passed through its November (that is, proletarian) revolution. The crisis is now passing. The wave of well-to-do peasant insurrections has given place to the rising of the poor and to the growth of the committees of the poor. In the army, too, the number of Commissaries and officers and commanders of divisions and armies recruited from the ranks of the working-class, is steadily growing. At the very time when Kautsky, frightened by the July (1918) crisis, and the lamentations of the bourgeoisie was hastening to the latter's assistance, and was writing a pamphlet inspired by the conviction that the Bolsheviks were on the eve of their overthrow by the peasantry; at the very time when Kautsky saw in the desertion of the Left-Social Revolutionaries the "contraction" of the circle of those who support the Bolsheviks,—at that very time, the real circle of the supporters of Bolshevism was extending immeasurably, as millions and millions of the village poor were freeing themselves from the tutelage of the village vultures and the village bourgeoisie, and were waking up to an independent political life. We, indeed, have lost hundreds of Left Social-Revolutionaries, hundreds of back-boneless intellectuals, hundreds of village vultures, but we have gained millions of the poorer peasantry. One year after the proletarian revolution in the capitals the turn came, under its influence and with its assistance, of the proletarian revolution in the country-side, which finally consolidated the power of the Soviets and Bolshevism, and finally proved that the latter had no longer to fear any hostile power in the interior. Thus, after completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in alliance with the entire peasantry as a whole, the Russian proletarian revolution has passed definitely to the socialist revolution, having succeeded in splitting up the village, in rallying to its side the village proletariat and semi-proletariat, and in uniting them against the exploiters and the bourgeoisie, including the peasant one.

If the Bolshevik proletariat in the capitals and large industrial centres had not been able to rally to its side the village poor against the peasant rich, this would have proved Russia's unripeness for the socialist revolution. The peasantry would then have remained an undivided whole, that is, under the economic, political, and moral leadership of the village vultures, of the rich and the bourgeoisie, and the revolution would not have passed beyond the bourgeois-democratic limits. (It must be said in parentheses that even so, it would not have meant that the proletariat ought not to have assumed power, since only the proletariat has really carried out the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end, only the proletariat has made a serious contribution towards the advent of the world proletarian revolution, only the proletariat has created the Soviet State, which is, after the Commune, the next step in the direction of a Socialist State.)

On the other hand, if the Bolshevik prole-

ariat had attempted at once, in November, 1917, without waiting or without being able to prepare and to carry through the class cleavage in the village, to decree a civil war or the establishment of Socialism in the villages, had attempted to do without the temporary union with the peasants as a whole, had attempted to do without the necessary concessions to the middle peasantry, it would have been a Blanquist distortion of Marxism, an attempt of the minority to impose its will upon the majority, a theoretical absurdity and a display of ignorance of the fact that a common peasant revolution is still a bourgeois revolution, and could not in a backward country be turned into a Socialist one, without a whole series of transitions and successive stages.

Kautsky has confused everything in this most important theoretical and practical problem, and has, in practice, proved a mere servant of the bourgeoisie screaming against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Necessity of the Communist Party to the O.B.U.

By "SPARTACUS."

A study of some of the recent propaganda and actions of the I.W.W., the foremost representative of industrial unionism throughout the world, enables us clearly to demonstrate the indispensability of the Communist Party to the O.B.U.

In regard to propaganda, recent articles in the "One Big Union Monthly," the official organ of the I.W.W., make highly significant reading. In the November, 1918, number of this journal, the immediate demands of the I.W.W. are published—among others, the following:—

"Complete elimination of unemployment by shortening the working day to 5, 6 or 7 hours per day, as may be found necessary."

The Communist knows that this is an Utopian dream of reform under capitalism. For along with the shortening of hours goes an incentive to speeding up, greater division of labor, scientific appliances, better and more machinery. No reform can abolish unemployment. A reserve army of labor will always be the whip to subdue those who are exploited.

The I.W.W. has another dream of reform in immediate demand number 5:—

"Lowering of prices."

Here we have the bourgeois notion of cheapness to get a cheap working class.

But if the I.W.W. official journal contains reformist propaganda calculated to mislead the workers, its criticisms of the proletarian Revolution in Russia are positively reactionary. In the May, 1919, number we read:—

"Why should we be in such a hurry to imitate the Bolsheviks? . . . They have overthrown autocracy and established political democracy. . . Political democracy has existed in this country for a long time. We do not have to make a revolution to get it. . . It seems that Bolshevism is breaking down on the question of economic reconstruction." (P. 11.)

The March, 1919, number tells us:—

"The plight of the Russian people is a warning to other peoples." (P. 19.)

Again (April, 1919) we come across the following:—

"Russia now is a 'tragic dictatorship.'" (P. 28.)

From statements like these the "One Big Union Monthly" has gone on to assail the men who represent in America the principles which the Bolsheviks represent in Russia. But it is not only some of the propaganda of the I.W.W.

which has been reactionary, and substituted evolutionary "bunk" for the principles of the proletarian revolution. On August 5, of the present year, this propaganda culminated in a definitely counter-revolutionary act. About this date it was discovered by members of the United Communist Party of America that shrapnel shells consigned to General Wrangel for use against Soviet Russia were being loaded at Pigeon Point on Delaware Bay. Investigation disclosed that the shells were being loaded by transport workers who were members of Marine Transport Workers' Local No. 8, the Philadelphia branch of this I.W.W. organisation. When the treasonable conduct of this I.W.W. local, which had been in continuous existence since 1913 and comprised 7000 members, was brought to the attention of the General Executive Board, the latter quickly expelled the local from the I.W.W., and issued a statement bitterly condemning the action of these workers. In the course of this statement, which sounds a new note in the current literature of the I.W.W., and is in refreshing contrast to some of the nonsense published in the "One Big Union Monthly," the G.E.B. says:—

"We look with horror and disgust upon the action of the Phila. longshoreman in loading high explosives on ships for the purpose of butchering our brave Fellow-Workers in Russia who have established the first Working Class Government in the World. . . We appeal to the Working Class in general and the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY (capitals ours) in particular, to take a stand in industry and help build up a Revolutionary Organisation that will make forever impossible a repetition of the dastardly action of the Philadelphia longshoremen."

The long and heroic service of the I.W.W. in the class struggle, of which it has borne the brunt in America, is recognised by every Communist. How, then, are we to explain such propaganda and such an action as that related above? Easily enough. At the first convention of the I.W.W. in 1905, Delegate Klemensic explained both when he said:—

"We must not overlook the fact that we are here as working men, and, as such, we do not recognise the Socialist, the Anarchist, or any other kind of ist." (Report of Convention, p. 232.)

The "Labor Defender" (Dec. 1, 1918) again explained both, when this I.W.W. paper printed the following:—

"Members of the I.W.W. differ as much in political . . . views as do members of any other organisation. As union men, we all agree; but on political . . . questions we may disagree as much as we please."

When that is said, it explains everything. The I.W.W. is a labor union of the best type, and, as such, invaluable for the emancipation of the working class. But as a labor union it organises the whole heterodox mass of workers that come its way, whether these workers be supporters of the Republican Party or of the Communist Party or of no party at all, whether they be class conscious rebels, or, as is said to have been the case with some of the Philadelphia wobblies, bonehead purchasers of Polish Government liberty bonds. According to latest reports, the membership of the I.W.W. now exceeds a million, and it is a certainty that a considerable proportion of this membership consists of boneheads, who will, if uninfluenced in the other direction, act accordingly. Certainly they have not been influenced in a revolutionary direction by the recent reformist rubbish in the "One Big Union Monthly;" rather, this journal itself requires to be influenced in such a direction.

The significance of the appeal of the G.E.B. of the I.W.W. to the United Communist Party of America is now apparent. Since it organises in its ranks not all and sundry, but only all Communists, only all those who fight with clear class-consciousness for the proletarian revolution, the Communist Party is obviously the concentrated revolutionary power, the force par excellence to combat the boneheadedness of large numbers of the workers, in the I.W.W. and elsewhere, and lead these workers to the understanding and action of their emancipation. Nor will the Communist Party fail to answer adequately the appeal of the G.E.B. Communist Party members are even now "taking a stand in industry," and, since they do not underestimate the value of such an organisation to the proletariat, they are also at work within the ranks of the I.W.W. itself. It is they who have set

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afoot an agitation against some of the propaganda in the "One Big Union Monthly;" it is they who put a stopper on the counter-revolutionary activities of the Philadelphia wobblers; it is they who have evoked the appeal of the G.E.B. to their party; it is they who strive to keep the I.W.W. true to its revolutionary traditions and to lead forwards the backward part of its membership; it is they, their numbers ever increasing, who, if not before, then after the revolution, will yet Commune the I.W.W. from top to bottom. And because the Communist Party does this work, and will continue to do it with ever more inspiring results, it is

proven that the Communist Party is indispensable to the I.W.W.

In Australia there is no I.W.W., but there is an O.B.U., and the results of its recent conference in Melbourne show that the O.B.U. is now making good progress. On October 30, in Sydney, there was also formed the Communist Party of Australia. All that we have said about the I.W.W. in America applies with even greater force to the Australian O.B.U. The Communist Party is necessary to the O.B.U. to leaven the mass of bonchedness which will inevitably be found within the cohorts of industrial unionism.

A PROLETARIAN LIBRARY

(By G. BARACCHI.)

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. By N. Lenin.

From the Marxist standpoint, Kautsky's "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which has been already reviewed in these columns, is the only work of any importance so far directed against the theory and practice of Bolshevism. "The Proletarian Revolution" is Lenin's reply to this work of Kautsky's. It is an effective reply. The Socialist Party of Great Britain, however, does not seem to think so. "The Socialist Standard," the S.P.G.B. paper, in a review of the two books published in its July number, plainly enough prefers the argument of the man it admits to be a renegade to that of Lenin. And as this paper reaches a few Marxist students in Australia, it is worth while pointing out some of the more glaring errors its review contains.

J.F., the writer of the review in question, begins by proclaiming Lenin's judgment of Kautsky valueless owing to the fact that in Lenin's estimation, Kautsky was a Marxist until the war broke out in 1914, whereas he really ceased to be a Marxist in 1900, when he drafted, at the International Socialist Congress of that year, the notorious resolution condoning acceptance by a Socialist of a seat in a capitalist ministry. This is a pettifog-

ging objection, but the answer is that Lenin is quite as well aware of this resolution and its significance as J.F.; indeed, in "The State and Revolution" (George Allen & Unwin), p. 108, he investigates the history of Kautsky's 1914 betrayal of Marxism, duly noting and denouncing not only the resolution of 1900, but a number of other pre-war actions of Kautsky's which clearly indicated his systematic gravitation towards opportunism.

The question at issue is, according to Kautsky, one of the "clashing of two fundamentally distinct methods, that of democracy and dictatorship." When Lenin rejects this, and lays it down that the question is one "of the relation between the proletarian State and the bourgeois State, between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy," J.F. retorts that Lenin's statement is an obvious shuffle. This jewel of a Marxian scholar says:—

"For relations to exist between a proletarian State and a bourgeois State both these States must exist at the same moment. Are there two States existing in Russia to-day? If not there can be no question of such a relation there."

If the first sentence of the above quotation is correct, then there is no relation between the present and the past, the capitalist system has no relation to the

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feudal system, and Lenin is not the son of his dead mother. For him to be the son of his mother, his mother would have to be alive!!! And since both cannot exist simultaneously in the same place, Socialism and Capitalism are therefore entirely unrelated! We strongly recommend J.F. to renew his acquaintance with the work of Dietzgen.

As to the last two sentences in the above quotation, the same man who accuses Lenin of "shuffling," grossly perverts the meaning of his statement by dragging in Russia when Lenin is speaking quite generally and theoretically. Since J.F. has done so, however, it may be of interest to him and the Marxian blockheads of the S.P.G.B. to know that between March and November, 1917, two States did exist in Russia at the same time. Speaking of this period, Lenin, in "Towards Soviets" (British Socialist Party), p. 10, says:—

"According to the old idea, after the establishment of the supremacy of the capitalists, there can and must follow the supremacy of the proletariat and peasantry—their dictatorship. But, in real life, it has already turned out differently: there has come about an extraordinarily original, new, unprecedented interlacing of the one with the other. There exist side by side, together, at one and the same time, both the supremacy of the capitalists and the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry which voluntarily gives up power to the capitalist class, voluntarily becomes a mere appendix of it. For we must not forget that in point of fact, in Petrograd, the powers is in the hands of the workers and soldiers; the new Government does not and cannot use violence against them, since there is no police, no army separate from the people, no bureaucracy standing all powerful above the people. This is a fact."

It is no less a fact that Lenin uses the Marxian method to analyse a concrete situation in a masterly fashion beyond the pedants of the S.P.G.B.

Speaking of democracy, J.F. says that Lenin's use of the terms "proletarian" and "bourgeois" democracy merely clouds the issue. We have already had occasion to notice J.F.'s peculiar ideas upon the relationships of phenomena. We are, therefore, no longer surprised when he finds it improper to speak of something which exists in a class society in terms of classes. He seems to think that in such a society democracy bears no relation to

the antagonistic classes, that democracy is something which exists in splendid isolation from everything else. We refer him once more to Dietzgen, and add this: To think of democracy, in a society consisting of bourgeois and proletarians, as anything other than proletarian or bourgeois democracy, is to forget the existence of the class struggle, and to cease to be a Marxist.

Lenin's assertion of the historical limitation and relativity of bourgeois parliamentarism is too much for the equanimity of the parliamentary cretin, to use Marx's phrase, J.F. He furiously describes Lenin's statement, made in connection with his examination of the bourgeois parliaments, that, so far as the proletariat is concerned, "democracy" is in fact tempered with a thousand and one restrictions and limitations, as "a stupid lie." He says that "Lenin does not give one, let alone a thousand and one of these barriers, for the simple reason that they are non-existent outside his imagination." It is this statement of J.F.'s that is a stupid lie. Lenin not only gives several of these restrictions in the present work, he also gives a number of them very succinctly in "The State and Revolution," p. 90:—

"If we look more closely into the mechanism of capitalist democracy, everywhere—in the so-called 'petty' details of the suffrage (the residential qualification, the exclusion of women, etc.), in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of meeting (public buildings are not for the 'poor'), in the purely capitalist organisation of the daily press, etc., etc.—on all sides we shall see restrictions on restrictions of Democracy."

J.F. again hints that Lenin is a liar when the latter says that Marx and Engels in their letters and public writings, spoke repeatedly about the dictatorship of the proletariat. J.F. says that, outside Marx's reference in his criticism of the Gotha Programme and Engel's reference in his preface to "The Civil War in France," instances are not forthcoming. We will give him three more to go on with. Marx used the actual phrase as early as 1850, in his "Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850" (quoted by Eden and Cedar Paul in "Creative Revolution"), and again used it in 1873, in an article against the anarchists written for an Italian Socialist review and republished in the

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"Neue Zeit," 1913-4, year 32, vol. I., p. 40 (quoted in "The State and Revolution," p. 62). Engels used the phrase in 1872, in his work on the Housing Question (quoted in "The State and Revolution," p. 61). That makes five occasions on which Marx and Engels not only spoke about, but repeated the identical phrase, dictatorship of the proletariat.

Both Kautsky and the S.P.G.B. accuse the Russian Revolution of being a Blanquist coup. "In Towards Soviets," which Lenin wrote in 1917 before the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, both are already answered. On p. 13 he says:—

"I absolutely insured myself in my Theses, against any leaping-over an unexhausted peasant, or, generally speaking, lower middle class movement, against any playing at 'the conquest of power' by a Workers' Government, against any form whatsoever of a Blanquist coup. . . . In my Theses, and with the greatest possible definiteness, I reduced the question to one of a struggle for influence within the Councils of Workers', Labourers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. . . . A person who cares to think and learn cannot but know that Blanquism means the seizure of power by a minority, while the Councils of Workmen's, etc., Deputies are avowedly the direct and immediate organisations of the majority of the people. An agitation which is reduced to a struggle for influence within such Councils (Soviets) cannot—simply cannot—lead into the morass of Blanquism."

By November, 1917, the Bolsheviks had won the decisive influence in the Congress of Soviets, 51 per cent. of the delegates being members of their party. Simultaneously they seized power. By July, 1918, 66 per cent. of the delegates were Bolsheviks, who consequently represented the majority of the population. No wonder Lenin has said that the charge of Blanquism is met in Russia with laughter.

Kautsky attempts to use against the Bolsheviks Marx's famous statement in "Capital," that a society "can neither clear by bold leaps nor remove by legal enactments the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development" and to prove thereby that the Bolshevik revolution is bourgeois in character. J.F. says that Lenin deals with this phrase of Marx's by entirely ignoring it. We have already seen that S.F. has failed to understand "The Proletarian Revolution"; we now begin to wonder if he has even read

the book through. For on p. 91 Lenin explicitly says:—

"We . . . never attempted to skip over this necessary [bourgeois] stage of the historical process, or to 'abolish' it by decrees."

And in the following pages he proceeds to show precisely how the movement in Russia passed through this bourgeois stage, and then went beyond it to the Socialist revolution. He does this so brilliantly that we have thought fit to include his demonstration in this number of "The Proletarian," under the title, "Is it a Bourgeois Revolution?" But it is not only Lenin with whom Kautsky and the S.P.G.B. are at variance; they are utterly at variance with Marx himself. For, in his "Letter dealing with the Economic Development of Russia," Marx denies that readers of "Capital" have any right

"to metamorphose my sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into a historico-philosophical theory of the general development of capitalism, a development which all nations must inevitably undergo . . . events striking in their analogy, but taking place in different historic environments, lead to utterly divergent results."

The charge of attempted social over-leaping brought against the Russian proletarian dictatorship is really based on the analogy of the development of capitalism in Western Europe, and Marx's statement directly rebukes the false deduction from his teaching drawn by Kautsky against the Bolsheviks.

Here we must leave the matter. The effectiveness of Lenin's reply to him can now be gauged by the fact that Kautsky's own party, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, has decided to affiliate with the Communist International. As to the S.P.G.B., we might be inclined to agree with the International's dictum that such parties were better dead, were it not that as a real working-class party—as opposed to a self-isolated sect—the S.P.G.B. has never been alive.

As to Politics.—"Do not say," wrote Marx, "that the social movement excludes the political movement. There has never been a political movement which was not at the same time social. It is only in an order of things in which there will be no longer classes or class antagonism that social evolutions will cease to be political revolutions."

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"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!"

Proletarian Comment

The Basic Wage.

ARISING out of the finding of the Basic Wage Commission are several matters which, viewed from the standpoint of Communism, are noteworthy. In the first place, the very concept of the basic wage affords striking confirmation of the Marxian theory of value. For in the face of the pundits' of bourgeois economics solemn declaration that this theory has fallen down before the theory of marginal utility, it definitely rules out the determination of the value of the commodity labor-power by any standard of the utility of this commodity whatever; according to the concept of the basic wage, it is by what it costs to produce labor-power, not at all by what the expenditure of labor-power itself produces, that the value of this commodity must be determined. Thence it is but a single unavoidable step further to the full acceptance of the theory of the determination of the value of commodities by the quantity of labor socially necessary to produce them; in the case of the commodity labor-power, by the quantity of social labor requisite to produce the necessities of life for the worker and his family. This confirmation, by a concept put forward in the interests of the capitalist class, of the economics of that class's deadliest enemy is an instructive instance of the working of the dialectics of capitalism. Instructive also in the manner in which the actual finding of the Basic Wage Commission has been received by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Storey respectively. The one, as the direct representative of the capitalist class, roundly declares that to pay a weekly wage of £5/16/- out of the present proceeds of industry is impossible. The other, as a "Labor" premier, cannot afford to speak so bluntly; he puts his unwillingness to endorse the finding of the Commission in more equivocal terms, contenting himself with the expression of his "doubts" about such a basic wage. This attitude of Mr. Storey's is typical of the "Labor"

Party in office; it gives away nothing deemed of real consequence by the capitalists; at the same time it is of great service to these in calming the indignation of the exploited workers whenever this waxes warmer than usual. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Storey both serve the capitalist class; in the fact that Mr. Storey serves this class more discreetly than Mr. Hughes lies their sole distinction.

The Rate of Exploitation.

WHEN the Melbourne "Argus" cries out that even the payment, as suggested by Mr. Piddington's memorandum, of a weekly wage of £4, plus a tax of 10/9 per employee, would absorb the total sum available "for all other expenditure and profits," it is far too modest about the dimensions of the surplus value accruing to the capitalists. In round figures, the Commonwealth Year Book gives the "value" of the output of Australian manufacturing industries in 1917 as £206 million, the value of the raw materials of these industries as £132 million, the wages and salaries paid as over £36 million. Subtracting the value of the raw materials from the total "value" of the product, we get £74 million as the value added to the raw materials by labor working upon them with machinery. Subtracting from this a further sum representing the value of the wear and tear of machinery, etc., we have left certainly well over £70 million as the value created by labor in the manufacturing industries in 1917. From this it would seem that the factory workers receive as wages about 50 per cent. of the value produced by them, and that about 50 per cent. surplus value is pocketed by the capitalists. Thus the rate of exploitation would seem to be about 100 per cent., and, indeed, it is not to the interest of the higher. But mark well this. Marx has demonstrated that while all value (including surplus value) is created in the sphere

of production, it is realised in the sphere of circulation; the surplus value is there realised piecemeal, and it is realised fully only when the product is finally sold to the consumer. The £206 million really represent, not the value of the product, but merely the price at which the manufacturers sell to the wholesale dealers, a price which is considerably below the product's value. The 50 per cent., therefore, represents, not the total surplus value produced by the factory workers, but merely the share of this surplus value realised by the manufacturers upon the sale of the product to the wholesale dealers. A further share is realised by the wholesale dealers upon the sale of the product to the retailers; these in turn realise their share of the surplus value by selling to the consumers. Cahn, using 1904 American figures, calculates the middlemen's share of the surplus value created by the factory workers as 22 per cent. of the total value these workers produced. He calculates an additional 10 per cent. as direct tribute levied upon these workers in the form of (net) rent. Omitting this altogether, and calculating middlemen's profits at a lower figure than Cahn, we get for Australia, not 50 per cent., but, at the lowest conceivable estimate, 70 per cent. surplus value pocketed by the capitalists. This gives about 235 per cent. as the rate of exploitation, a rate that leaves no room for doubt as to the capacity of industry to return the worker far more than £5/16/- a week—provided only he dare first to smash the predatory power of the exploiter.

The Commercial Crisis.

BUT while they do not so dare, while the proletarian revolution has not destroyed root and branch the state power of the capitalists, the workers will get what is coming to them. And what is immediately coming to them is not the new-found basic wage, but rather no wage at all; not £5/16/- a week, but rather the bread-line. For the incurable contradictions of capitalist economy are about to manifest themselves once more in a commercial crisis pronounced by Mr. Lloyd George to be "inevitable" and

"world-wide," a crisis which, when its full effects are felt, may shake the world of capitalism to its foundations. This coming event has already cast its political shadow before, in the shape of an act of parliament which, while repealing the War Precautions Act in name, in fact proclaims the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This act is upon the statute book, not for fun, but because the capitalist class is threatened with a revolutionary period. Although payment of the new basic wage involves, not the abolition of exploitation, but merely its standardisation, the capitalists have no intention of yielding the workers even this. Their refusal to do so will certainly add fuel to the already existing working-class discontent. This discontent may easily be fanned to a white flame by the widespread cessation of employment the commercial crisis will cause; hence the severely repressive nature of the War Precautions "Repeal" Act. Hence also the necessity for the new Communist Party to be up and doing, in order that the rising discontent may be turned to serve the highest interests of the proletariat. For in the coming crisis, even though it may not herald the immediate downfall of capitalism in Australia, lies a golden opportunity for the Communist Party, amid the deadly chaos of capitalist economy, to unmask to the workers the bourgeois state which is the last buttress of this chaos, to lead them towards throwing down this buttress, and to point them to the weapon of their final emancipation, the shining sword of proletarian dictatorship.

MODERN INDUSTRY.

Modern industry . . . compels society, under penalty of death, to replace the detail-worker of to-day, crippled by life-long repetition of one and the same trivial operation, and thus reduced to the mere fragment of a man, by the fully-developed individual, fit for a variety of labors, ready to face any change of production, and to whom the different social functions he performs are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers.—Marx.

About Justice.

By J.K.

Justice, to unthinking, uninformed persons, plays much the same role in human affairs as do the credited activities of the Heavenly Father of zealous Christians. Justice to them takes the shape of a divine oracle residing somewhere out in space, and rendering its decree in favor of the good, the righteous, the weak, the suffering, the oppressed and the down-trodden. As Proudhon, the proclaimed father of Anarchism, put it,

"Justice is the inviolable yardstick of all human actions. Justice is the central star which governs societies, the pole about which the political world revolves, the principle and rule of all transactions. Nothing is done among men that is not done in the name of right; nothing without invoking justice."

However, it is not alone Proudhon who held fairy fancies concerning justice. Here is another gem (?) provided by one of the most academic sophists of the bourgeois philosophy:

"Justice is invariable and always present, although it arrives only by degrees in human thought and in social facts. The limits of its action are ever extended and never narrowed; no human power can make it leave ground once acquired."

Members of the working class, and even some "Socialists," fall for these fanciful notions about Justice. They base their enslaved condition upon the sentimental basis of wrong and injustice, and cherish the absurd belief that everything will right itself and freedom become theirs, through their supplications to eternal justice. They know nothing whatever of the historical law of causation which places all social systems upon the basis of change, of movement.

However, to the well-informed and analytical mind of the student of historical development, all of this sentimental claptrap about eternal justice assumes its proper proportions. To him justice is not an eternal and immutable

entity residing in a heavenly abode and rendering its decrees through righteousness and compassion, but is an idea conforming itself to the material conditions of a given society at a particular time.

The idea of justice is never any greater and never less than the economic and social conditions from which it springs. For like all other immutable (?) concepts it is chained to moving matter, and like them, undergoes in the course of time a change of form correlating it with the change in the material base from which it springs. And this change in the material base from which it and all other changes spring, is the change in the mode of production and exchange—

"In a word, of the economic conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions, as well as of the religious, philosophical and other ideas of a given historical period."

This theory, called the Materialist Conception of History, and formulated by Marx, stands at the centre of the Communist philosophy. It is the only means of gaining a correct understanding of the historical development of man; all other means of interpreting history are weak, puerile and futile.

With this theory as our guide, let us see if we can discover in the historical conditions of the past, the origin and form of the idea of justice.

Paul Lafargue, in his book, "Social and Philosophical Studies," says,

"Justice, as it exists in our civilised societies flows from two sources; one takes its origin in the very nature of the human being, and the other in the social environment organised on the basis of private property."

And again,

"The human sources of the idea of justice are the passion for vengeance and the sentiment of equality. As the passion for vengeance

and the sentiment of equality are but human manifestations, engendered from the material surroundings, it is in the last analysis from the natural and social environment that the idea of justice flows."

The environment surrounding the life of early man was the life of the jungle; the law of the tooth and claw; the law of might is right; a life of incessant struggle with contending natural forces. Death lurked upon all sides; wild beasts infringed upon his very existence; imaginary dangers continually haunted him; his very surroundings teemed with terrors that ever beset him. It was an unceasing, unrelenting fight for life. Out of this struggle to preserve life grew the passion for vengeance—

"That blind and unreasoning necessity which leads the child and the savage to strike the inanimate object which has wounded them."

Says the maxim of ancient times:

"Evil for evil, blood shed upon the earth demands other blood; the nourishing earth has drunk the blood of murder; it is dried, but its trace remains ineffacable and cries for vengeance."

The passion for vengeance, however, was not confined to single individuals, but extended to the clan, the tribe or family.

"The savage has no individuality; it is the tribe, the clan and later the family which possesses an individuality."

It is the clan or tribe that hunts, fishes and fights in common. Even the women of primitive nations are held in common, the children belonging to the clan or tribe.

"All the members of a tribe consider themselves, descended from a single ancestor. The same blood flows in their veins. To shed the blood of one member is to shed the blood of the whole tribe."

Vengeance rests with the tribe, just as does their hunting, fishing and fighting.

However, the clan or tribe not only takes up the vengeance of its members, it also becomes responsible for their offences. Vengeance works two ways; an injury calls for vengeance, an avenged injury becomes an offence. Carried out

to a conclusion, the passion for vengeance becomes an exterminating force. Murder calls for murder.

It was the danger of wiping out whole clans, that in time led to and brought about the law of retaliation—

"A life for a life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe."

With the birth of the law of retaliation grew the germ of the idea of justice.

It must not be deduced from this that the savage took up the law of retaliation through any ethical consideration or sentimental compunctions because of wholesale murder caused through the passion of vengeance. It was not because the law of retaliation was just and equitable that it was born. The law of retaliation was born because of the environment surrounding the savage, because of his manner and mode of living; it was imposed upon him through external influences. It was the communistic life (the ownership of everything in common and the equal distribution of food, shelter, etc.) that brought about the law of retaliation.

It was impossible for the savage to conceive of any other measurement than the one of equality; for him it was inevitable. Darwin, in his "Voyage of a Naturalist," relates this characteristic story. He saw a Fuegian, to whom a wool coverlet had been given, tear it into rags equal in breadth, in order that each individual of the tribe might receive a piece, since the savage could not admit that one member of his clan should be better endowed than another in anything whatever. The same to each and all; the spirit of equality ruled. The equalitarian spirit of the savage remained his method of measurement just so long as the ownership of everything rested with the clan or tribe.

With the introduction of private property, however, things changed. Says Lafargue:

"Private property once established, blood no longer demands blood, it demands property; the law of retaliation is transformed."

Justice assumes a new guise.

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"Then, instead of life for life, tooth for tooth, beasts, iron or gold are demanded for life, tooth, and other wounds."

A new standard of measurement is born. Property replaces personal worth. Justice entrenches itself 'neath the bulwarks of property. It is no longer a question of "Living by blood and the right of might," but living through the might of property rights. Justice comes to those who own. The ownership of property becomes "The inviolable yardstick of all human actions."

To the propertiless proletarians, Justice can play no part other than the sanctification of their enslavement; a

justification of their social position as wage-slaves. Justice to the working class can never mean more than a hollow mockery as long as the means of life remain in the hands of a master class. It is not justice that the working class needs, but Communism.

To conclude, in the words of Paul Lafargue:

"The Communist Revolution, by suppressing private property and giving 'to all the same things,' will emancipate man and bring to him the equalitarian spirit. Then the ideas of justice, which have haunted human heads since the establishment of private property, will vanish—the most frightful nightmare which ever tortured sad civilised humanity."

Mass Action.

By GEORGE REVERE.

The Communist International lays it down without equivocation that it is by mass action that the workers conquer power. Certain hare-brained revolutionists therefore imagine that it is the duty of Communists here to call upon the Australian proletariat forthwith to hurl itself in open insurrection against the capitalist state. On the other hand, certain "Socialists of the centre" charge the Communists who accept mass action as the process of the proletarian revolution, with adopting an anarchist tactic. Although it deals with America and American conditions, in the hope that it may assist both these sections to a more correct understanding we reprint from an American publication the following article:—

The Communist movement in the United States has recently experienced a valuable discussion of mass action. As this discussion developed and it became a serious attempt to make more definite the vague generalities of the original Communist Party and Communist Labor programmes, there was undoubtedly a sharpening of understanding all around. By this time the thought on mass action has become crystallised in the resolutions of the United Communist and of the Federation conventions, also in many resolutions by district conventions and by other groups. But this is a subject never to be exhausted except by the achievement of the revolution. Mass action, in

the final analysis, is no more subject to right precalculation than the class struggle itself. Indeed, mass action may be said to be both the method and the totality of the proletarian action to conquer power.

What is mass action? What are its forms? What is the relation of our party to mass action? What is the relationship between mass action and parliamentarism; mass action and unionism; mass action and the revolution? These questions are before us. Needless to say, this article does not contemplate a full treatment of any of these questions, but only a general introduction.

Present State of Class Struggle.

A short statement of the present status of capitalism and of the class struggle is a necessary preliminary.

Capitalism is now on its last legs. It is beyond the point when its own processes can end, brought upon humanity. With the surplus seeking re-investment growing to dizzy proportions, there never was a time of more desperate struggle for the less developed fields of tempt to unite and reconcile the national conflicts between the capitalist groups, but the petual. Militarism is intensified. The state instantly and without discussion through the administrative bureaucracies.

Both the external and internal situation create a frantic demand for greater disciplining of the workers, a disciplining in which purposes of military and industrial subterfuge are blended into one. This is undertaken by the state, supported by all of the

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bourgeoisie, the lesser middle class groups seeking reservations against application of rigorous policies to themselves while supporting them against the masses in general. Such is the policy even of those unionists who consider that their contracts and their legal and social status gives them sufficient stake to make them the defenders of the capitalist order. This is the policy of Gompersism, the policy of craft unionism in general. The disciplining of the workers has been typified in the United States by the usual methods of using armies of officials, private detectives and volunteer detectives in an elaborate programme of espionage and the bullying. The recent deportation fiasco, the wholesale arrests of strikers, the efforts to crush any political expression of the revolutionary aims of the proletariat, are examples. Not only is the freedom of the workers curtailed, but there is a frenzied intolerance against old-fashioned trade unionism, as evidenced by the renewed fight for the open shop, led by Judge Gary.

With the more open use of the state functions to suppress the workers and destroy their organisations, we witness frequent and more direct collisions between the workers and the state. The state loses all distinctness from the unified capitalist class. Its interference and control constitute the last barrier against capitalist collapse.

Parliamentary and Union Action.

To the "constitutional" or legalised Socialists the control of a parliamentary majority is the road to control of the state. By means of the golden key of universal suffrage they look to win the parliamentary majority, thus to unlock the sanctuary of Socialism. Thus the conquest of political power is a gentle smooth process, depending entirely upon propaganda and elections.

To rely upon parliamentarism as the means for the proletarian conquest of power is to expect the capitalists to yield themselves to the forms and legality manufactured by themselves. Neither will the forms adapt themselves to such a fulfilment, nor would the capitalists meekly accept it. Parliamentarism, at most, is a means for broadening the latitude of the workers' struggle, for developing understanding and consciousness. This is not done by creating the illusion of the parliamentary process as itself the decisive force against capitalism, but only by a use of the elections and seats in the legislative chambers as means. It is the enlightenment of the working masses. It is a question when, if ever, the Communists of the United States will be permitted to make nominations on a class basis of absolute opposition to the capitalist state and its parliamentary system, but this is only a question of one form of propaganda, nothing else.

The labor union which does not peddle in protocols and agreements, but wages its struggle as part of the class war of labor against capital, is "the great school of organisation and discipline." It teaches class solidarity, the dependence of the individual worker upon the

group, of the group upon the whole class. Aside from the danger of reactionary organisations, unionism pure and simple is no more sufficient than parliamentarism for the class purposes of the proletariat. Whether craft or industrial, the union by itself is mainly a centre of resistance against the encroachment of capital.

That Communism will fall into our laps through the folded-arm strike is a phantasy, though the mass strike of large proportions is of tremendous significance in the struggle. To build a new society within the shell of the old; to organise peacefully all or even a majority of the workers into industrial unions, these to constitute in themselves the administration of the new society, is fully as ingenious as the Socialist idea, that the new society is to be legislated into being through a majority at the ballot box under the auspices of the ruling class. All theorising about a peaceful, automatic, nicely arranged, invisible revolution is simply the theory of no revolution. But this is not to deny the great importance of industrial union organisation and action in the process of the class struggle.

There is no antithesis between mass action, parliamentarism and union action. Only it is clear that neither parliamentarism, nor unionism in any form, nor parliamentarism and unionism together, present a programme of actual revolutionary struggle for proletarian conquest of power. We have seen that it is the capitalist state against which the workers must finally array themselves, and this the workers cannot hope to do under the beneficent protection and within the processes of that state itself. We turn, then, to the action of and in working masses which is independent of and in defiance of the state permission and regulations.

Definition of Mass Action

The Dutch Communist scholar, Pannekoek, gives the following definition of mass action: "When we speak of mass action, we mean an extra-parliamentary political act of the working class, by which it operates directly and not through the medium of political delegates. The through the medium of political delegates. The masses organised labor fights in which the masses have hitherto engaged as soon as they have come to have political significance develop into mass action. In the question of mass action there is, therefore, also involved simply the broadening of the field of action of the proletarian organisation."

The special features of mass action are—(1) an extra-parliamentary medium, (2) a political aim or result, (3) direct mass participation, not the act of a delegate or delegates, and (4) an organised form.

The workers act directly, not by intervention of intermediate persons. Their victories or defeats are forged by themselves, not by any little tin gods in congress. There is no delay, no avoidance of action through reliance upon representatives. The mass acts in direct relation to the goal immediately to be achieved. It does not choose anyone to take care of its interests generally as occasion warrants; it

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acts upon the instant occasion, directly imposing its will by its immediate display of power.

Again, these acts are political, which means that their aim or result is a forced concession from the bourgeois state, a weakening or overturning of the power of the capitalists, strengthening or the complete establishment of the political power of the proletariat. But this does not mean that every mass action is consciously sent out for a political objective. Since, however, virtually every large-scale proletarian action is bound to come into collision with the state in some form or other, even strikes with purely economic demands now tend to take on political significance, as happened in Winnipeg and Seattle.

Mass action does not mean mob action. As the Pannekoek definition indicates, the question is one of broadening the field of organised proletarian action. Indeed, the conception of mass action is absolutely bound up with the fact of the tremendous concentration of the proletarian masses in the capitalist industry. This concentration brings about a certain discipline, as well as the psychology of solidarity. Mob action is the flaring up of a sudden vengefulness, with each member of the mob liable at any moment to go off on his own tangent and perhaps to carry the others with him. A Molly Maguire attack on a factory or the sabotage of a defeated striker is not mass action. However initiated, it is the action of the group, with a fairly definite group purpose, and with a measure of discipline. This is not the arbitrary dictum of a definition; it is involved in the nature of the class conflict to which this conception of action applies, a conflict which militarises the proletariat at the same time that it hurls the proletariat against the citadels of capitalism.

Forms of Mass Action.

Mass action is a process, taking on different forms at different times. One form is the street demonstration. By coming out into the streets and public squares, defying the policemen's clubs and soldiers' bayonets, the masses are able to exert great pressure as a warning against the government. The notable Gary demonstration was in defiance of the police and military orders.

A particularly important form of mass action is the mass strike, which extends to the cripple the workers' power over production to cripple the whole industrial life of the country. Since the Belgian strike of 1893, and especially since the 1905 strike in Russia, the mass strike has been recognised as a most important weapon in the political arsenal of labor.

The mass strike cannot be created by fiat. It grows out of a certain stage of industrial development and proletarian consciousness. Presupposing these, the political organisation of the revolutionary workers can promote, influence and lend character and discipline to such strikes. Even the possibility of such a strike is enough to coerce governmental action, as in the present situation as to Russian intervention, with Italian and English policy

dominated by the threats of the proletariat. In a country like the United States the mass strike is bound to play a very important part in the proletarian struggle. The mass strike is a form of political expression open to all the workers, free from delay and trickery.

The mass strike is especially effective when it is aimed at the union bureaucracy, as has been so much the case in the United States with strikes during the past two years. At a meeting of the recent "outlaw" railway strikers, one of the speakers declared: "This is spontaneous mass action." He was right in the sense that the revolt of the rail hands was an expression of the tendency towards "a broadening of the field of action of the proletarian organisation."

The logical outcome of large-scale, aggressive mass action is open combat with the bourgeois state. But the workers can only engage in the culminating form of mass action, in open insurrection, after they have had the training and after they have developed political consciousness in the earlier forms. Hence, a revolutionary party is vitally concerned with the immediate struggle of the workers. The test of the revolutionary character of a party is, indeed, in its activity in these immediate struggles. Here is generated revolutionary power and fervor among the workers. Here is the opportunity to broaden the workers' struggles, to turn them into revolutionary channels. Such is the activity, for example, of the Socialist Party of Italy.

To some scatter-brained, self-appointed saviours of the chastity of Communism in America mass action is anything that smacks of violence. And, conversely, nothing without violence is of the nature of mass action. To those "Left Bolsheviks" mass action means armed revolt, or some lesser use of arms, first and all the time. They pretend to guard the sacredness of the programme of the Third International, when they have not apparently even read it. For what does it say? "The revolutionary epoch demands the application of such methods of struggle as concentrate the entire strength of the proletariat, namely, the method of mass actions and—their logical outcome—direct collision with the bourgeois state in open combat!"

By which it appears that while mass action culminates in armed uprising, it has preliminary economic and social conditions at hand. It is revolution, but Communists, like Lenin, mass action as a process of revolution. To our sort of guillotine, to be carried in the pocket and set it to use after a "proper decision." A Communist party cannot create mass action, for in its primitive or in its culminating forms, Communists can wield a decisive influence in guiding all mass actions which are "historical phenomena proceeding at a certain moment with historical necessity from social

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conditions." If we are soundly organised, we can take the leadership in any mass action, and through constant and resolute conduct, "give to the masses a feeling of security, self-confidence and joy of battle." Any other conception of mass action and the role of the party is "a pedantic, mechanical, neuropathic conception."

Mass actions are not finely-spun cobwebs found in the dusty brains of loose-mouthed "theoreticians." They are part and parcel of the constant proletarian life struggle under the accentuated conditions of imperialistic exploitation. It is only out of this struggle that the means for the proletarian conquest of power—revolutionary mass action—can be developed.

Force and Revolution.

It is beyond dispute that "force has been the mid-wife of every old society pregnant with a new one." Nor is there any shadow of doubt about the resistance to the last ditch of the capitalist class against surrender of its power, wealth and privileges. But to talk of armed revolt when the mass of workers is not at all class conscious is an evasion of the conditions for struggle through which the conditions for armed revolt are developed. It is necessary systematically to familiarise the workers with the idea of armed revolt. But systematically means with a method, a sequence, a calculation of time and circumstances. To talk of armed revolt at the workers when they are striking against union autocracy is rank betrayal of the revolutionary struggle, a direct service to the capitalist class. To provoke a premature revolt, if this could be done, would be the greatest boon to the forces of reaction. We need but recall Lenin's advice to our Italian comrades.

Revolutions are not manufactured. They are not resolved out of the whole cloth. They develop out of struggles, movements, deeds; develop out of a long historical process. As Pannekoek says: "The revolution will be prepared, only by the small detail work of the word which does not constantly have the word revolution on its lips." Heroic phrase-slinging, heavy cannonading with paper resolutions, coupled with criminal neglect of the immediate struggles, cannot build a revolutionary organisation. Yet in this fashion our self-appointed "revolutionists" propose to sponsor an organisation that will suddenly overturn capitalism by a gigantic attack!

Shouting revolution at the proletariat will not make the working-class in America revolutionary. The demagogic "revolutionist" is a far greater menace to the movement than a score of attorney-generals. We must not run after the masses, but, even more, we must not run away from the masses. An armed revolt against the capitalist state is within the clear anticipation of American history, as recognised in the United Communist Party programme. The idea of armed revolt is one that no person can shrink from and still stand for the proletarian revolution. But our propaganda and efforts in this direc-

tion must not become a matter of bombastic phraseology, of invocation of revolutionary sorcery. Struggle, struggle, struggle—let this be our watchword! It is only through constant, resolute struggle that the necessary force to overthrow the capitalist state can be developed. It is only in relation to the immediate struggles that our propaganda has real vitality; it is only within these struggles that there can be systematic agitation for revolutionary mass action. The tactics of class warfare, when all is said and done, are developed only through class warfare. It is by their impression within this warfare that the Communists give direction and inspiration to the struggle, not by standing aside and philosophically determining the programme of revolution. On with the Communist struggle!

LEGALITY.

The Proletarian Revolution marches by its own light; its acts are to be judged by the code of legality that itself carries in its folds, not by the standard of the existing Law, which is but the reflex of existing usurpation.—De Leon.

SHOP COMMITTEES AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

In its recent letter to the American movement, the Communist International sets out the correct attitude for the Communist Party towards the formation of Shop Committees:

"The party must so far as possible support the formation in the factories, besides Communist Party units, of shop committees, which serve, on the one hand, as a basis for the economic struggle, and on the other, as a school for the preparation of the vanguard of the working class after the administration of the industries after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established. It is understood that these shop committees must work in close contact with the industrial unions."

SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOR.

The distinction between skilled and unskilled labor rests in part on pure illusion, or, to say the least, on distinctions that have long since ceased to be real, and that survive only by virtue of a traditional convention; in part on the helpless condition of some groups of the working class, a condition that prevents them from exacting equality with the rest the value of their labor-power. Accidental circumstances here play so great a part, that these two forms of labor sometimes change places.—Marx.

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Do Increased Wages Mean Increased Prices?

By KARL MARX.

One of the chief arguments used by Mr. Hughes against the general payment of a basic wage of £5/16/- was that "the effect of increasing wages must be to increase prices," and that "the position of the worker will be no better . . . if the prices of commodities are raised." Marx's refutation, in "Value, Price and Profit," of the contention that increased wages must result in higher prices, is well known. Not so well known is the treatment of the same problem in volume two of "Capital," and we have, therefore, thought it timely to give this latter explanation of Marx's below.

In case any of the terms he uses should present difficulty to our readers, we roughly sketch the meaning of a few of these terms as follows: The "Price of production" of a commodity (= cost price + average rate of profit) is the price at which the commodity, under the conditions of developed competitive capitalism, tends on the average to exchange. "Variable capital" is capital which has been advanced in the purchase of labor-power. "Constant capital" is capital which has been advanced in the purchase of means of production. "Fixed capital" is capital whose value is fixed in that portion of the means of production consisting, chiefly, of the instruments of labor (buildings, machinery, etc.), capital which in the productive process transfers its value to the product only gradually and piecemeal. Bearing in mind the meaning of these terms, we can now take up Marx's statement:

If we . . . assume other circumstances as equal—the length, intensity, and productivity of the working day also remaining unchanged—but a different division of the value of the product, between wages and surplus value, so that either the former rise and the latter fall, or vice versa, the mass of the circulating money is not touched thereby. This change can take place without any expansion or contraction of the mass of money in circulation. Let us con-

sider particularly the case in which there would be a general rise in wages, so that under the given assumptions, there would be a general fall in the rate of surplus-value, while there would not be any change, also according to our assumption, in the mass of circulating commodities. In this case, there should be indeed an increase of the money-capital which must be advanced as variable capital in the quantity of money which serves for this purpose. But to the exact extent that the amount of money required for the function of variable capital grows, does the surplus-value decrease, and thus the amount of money required for its realisation. The amount of money required for the realisation of the values of the commodities is not affected thereby, any more than this value itself. The cost price of the commodity rises for the individual capitalist, but its social price of production remains unchanged. That which is changed is the proportion, in which, apart from the constant portion of its value,* the price of production stands to wages and profits.

But, it is argued, a greater outlay of variable capital (the value of the money is, of course, considered the same) means a larger amount of money in the hands of the laborer. This causes a greater demand for commodities on the part of the laborer. This, in turn, leads to a rise in the price of commodities. Or, it is said: If wages rise, the capitalists raise the prices of their commodities. In either case, the general rise in wages causes a rise in the prices of commodities. Hence a greater amount of money is needed for the circulation of commodities, no matter whether the rise in prices is explained in this or that way.

Reply to the first argument: In consequence of a rise in wages, especially the demand of the laborers for the necessities of life will rise. In a lesser degree, their demand for articles of luxury will increase, or the demand will be developed for things which did not generally belong to the scope of their consumption. The sudden and increased demand for the necessities of life will doubtless raise their prices momentarily. As a result, a greater portion of the social capital will be invested in the production of the necessities of life, and a smaller since these fall in price on account of the decrease in surplus-value and the consequent decrease in the demand of the capitalists for these articles. And, to the extent that the laborers themselves buy articles of luxury, the rise in their wages—to this degree—does not

*The constant portion of the value of a commodity is that part of its value which has been transferred to the product from the con-

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promote an increase in the prices of necessities of life, but simply fills the place of the buyers of luxuries. More luxuries than before are consumed by laborers, and relatively fewer by capitalists. That is all. After some fluctuations, the value of the circulating commodities is the same as before. As for the momentary fluctuations, they will not have any other effect than to throw unemployed money-capital into the inland circulation, capital which so far had sought employment in speculative enterprises at the stock exchange or in foreign countries.

Reply to the second argument: If it were in the power of the capitalist producers to raise the prices of their commodities at will, they could and would do so without waiting for a rise in wages. Wages would never rise while the prices of commodities were going down. The capitalist class would never resist the trades unions, since the capitalists could always, and under all circumstances, do what they are now doing exceptionally under definite peculiar, one might say local, circumstances, to wit, avail themselves of every rise in wages to raise prices much higher and thus pocket greater profits.

The claim that the capitalists can raise the prices of articles of luxury, because the demand for them decreases (in consequence of the reduced demand of the capitalists whose spending money has decreased) would be a very unique application of the law of supply and demand. The prices of articles of luxury fall in consequence of reduced demand to the extent that capitalist buyers are not replaced by laboring buyers, and, so far as this replacement takes effect, the demand of the laborers does not result in a rise of the price of necessities, for the laborers cannot spend that portion of their increased wages for necessities which they spend for luxuries. Consequently, capital is withdrawn from the production of luxuries, until their supply in the market is reduced to the measure which corresponds to their altered role in the process of social production. With their production thus reduced, they rise in price, provided their value is otherwise unchanged, to their normal level. So long

†At the time of writing in 1870.

The Color Problem.

By PEARL HANKS.

One of the most urgent problems of the immediate future is that of the world's colored population. The development of capitalism in Oriental and African countries is forcing increasing numbers of colored people into our ranks as proletarians. All civilized countries are now interdependent for the means of life, production having overflowed national boundaries, and we find

as this contraction, or this process of compensation, takes place, there is just as constantly, with rising prices of necessities, a migration of capital into the production of these to the degree that it is withdrawn from the other line of business, until the demand is satisfied. Then the balance is restored, and the end of the whole process is that the social capital, including the money-capital, is divided in a different proportion between the production of necessary means of subsistence and that of luxuries.

The entire objection is a scare-crow set up by the capitalists and their apologists in economics.

The facts, which furnish the material for this scare-crow, are of three kinds:—

(1) It is the general law of the circulation of money that the quantity of circulating money increases if the total price of the circulating commodities increases, other circumstances remaining the same, regardless of whether this increase of the totality of prices applies to the same quantity of commodities, or to a greater quantity. The effect is then taken for the cause. Wages rise (although rarely and only exceptionally in proportion) with the increasing price of the necessities of life. This rise in wages is a result, not a cause, of the rise in the prices of commodities.

(2) In the case of a partial, or local, rise of wages—that is to say, a rise only in some lines of production—a local rise in the prices of the products of this line may follow. But even this depends on many circumstances, for instance, that wages had not been abnormally depressed previously, so that the rate of profits was abnormally high, that the market is not narrowed by a rise in prices (so that a contraction of its supply previous to the raising of its prices will not be necessary), etc.

(3) In the case of a general rise of wages, the price of the produced commodities rises in lines of business where the variable capital preponderates, but falls, on the other hand, in lines where the constant, or eventually the fixed, capital preponderates.

that working-class conditions in any one country, sooner or later affect the working-class of every other country. The Australian worker, however, like the ostrich with its head in the sand, refuses to see that he has to compete with the colored workers even if not one of them ever sets foot in Australia.

The general attitude of our labor organisations is to ignore the existence

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of the colored man while they can, and when that is no longer possible, to meet him with open hostility and join with the exploiting class to prevent him from entering labor unions.

The A.W.U. does not admit Asiatics to its ranks even when they are actually working in the industries it covers.

(The American Federation of Labor does not admit negroes although they form a big section of the working population).

The Perth (W.A.) O.B.U. conference in May last drew up a plan of industrial organisation which excluded Asiatics—a striking commentary, surely, on the mentality of the "advanced" section of the Australian workers, and at the same time, a warning that industrial organisation is not necessarily revolutionary.

The color distinction of the A.W.U. is evidently not made on any "higher" ground, as it admits the negro, while excluding the Asiatic, who is admittedly the superior in intellect and length of civilisation. If we care to look for it, we can find the root of our color prejudice where we found that of our recent hatred of Central European peoples,—in the education which the press and platform, as organs of the exploiting class, instilled into us. The motive in each case was the same,—"Divide the workers, and retain economic supremacy."

The one, however, is deeper and more enduring than the other, because it is the product of long years of careful nurture, to which the labor leaders have given every assistance. So well has the work been done, that at the present time a well boomed "yellow menace" could easily stampee us and kill any attempt at revolutionary action.

It is high time, therefore, that we should look the facts in the face and decide where we stand.

Things have changed very much with the colored working man during the last thirty or forty years. Capitalism has seized him and developed him, apart from any wish of his own. He has been dragged suddenly from a very different social order into advanced capitalism, and needs all the help he can get from the proletariat of the world in finding his footing.

The theory that the colored man is not capable of development, will not stand any honest investigation. "There is no possibility for good in the white man, which does not exist in the black; there is no possibility of degradation in the black man which does not also exist in the white." Already both black and yellow races have shown their willingness and ability to become unionists worthy of the name. In S. Africa, in spite of all opposition, the unions of kaffirs have become a force to be reckoned with, and their demand for education and culture cannot long be ignored. In America the negro, weary of attempts to co-operate with the white worker, is organising separately and must soon force recognition of his rights as a human being.

In Japan, where the rapid development of capitalism has already produced its masses of the proletariat, the fight is commencing in earnest, and a revolutionary section is making itself felt in spite of savage suppression. Even in China the workers are waking, helped at present by Bolshevik propagandists, who, according to a Chinese writer in the September number of the "Esperantista Laboristo" (Esperanto Worker) have the help of many Chinese students and professors.

The same writer records that many working class organisations have sprung up within the last year, and May-day was celebrated in spite of the authorities. In Peking the "Labor students" group paraded the streets in two automobiles, carrying red flags, bearing inscriptions such as, "Long live the workers;" "Down with capitalism." A manifesto was issued in which was the following—"From this day, he who works has the right to eat, but the idlers: rulers, politicians, capitalists, and clergy, let them be driven out, and let the workers seize the means of production." As a result of this demonstration, all who took part in it were imprisoned for three weeks. In Japan the workers also celebrated May-day, although it brought them into sharp conflict with the police. Such happenings are typical of the growing feeling among the oriental prole-

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tariat; proving the truth of Marx's statement that capitalism (by its creation of such a class) contains within itself the germs of its inevitable destruction.

Driven by the lash of sharpened conditions in the struggle for existence, the colored man will soon be in line with the white, indeed it is quite possible that he will forge ahead, while we are resting on our sense of superiority. The future may see the Japanese instituting working class dictatorship and offering assistance to the backward wage-workers of Australia.

Even if the Asiatic were showing no signs of class consciousness, we could not afford to ignore him, because our future depends very largely on his. A dream of Communism for white races only is the height of folly, because, as has been pointed out by the Indian writer, Shapurji Saklatvala, the industries in England cannot be taken over by the workers while the sources of raw material remain in the hands of the capitalists. Imagine, for instance, the Lancashire cotton factories without the cotton fields of Egypt and India, the Yorkshire woollen factories without the Indian wool, the Bristol cocoa works without the West African cocoa plantations, and so on. The examples could be multiplied and applied to every country which has developed to even the smallest extent. We are thus forced to

the conclusion that we must give up either our color prejudice or our hopes of Communism. The former should not be difficult if we bring an unbiassed mind to its consideration.

Looked at from the ethical viewpoint, there is no justification for the color bar, because a civilisation which excluded the colored races would benefit only a comparative handful of the world's inhabitants—a fact we frequently overlook.

On the other hand, we find that the problem for the working man has had its parallel in the woman problem of the past.

When capitalism forced the woman out of the home into the factory, men regarded her coming as an added menace and wasted a good deal of time in the attempt to bar her way. They are now realising that she came as the result of the extension of the productive forces of capitalism, and that she cannot be forced back because her home industries have gone. The only course open is to co-operate.

The same holds good of the colored laborer. He is in industry whether we like it or not, and the question for us to decide is:—Shall we co-operate and organise for our mutual benefit? Or shall we allow the color prejudice to be used by the exploiters as a means of keeping us apart, for their benefit?

A Proletarian Library.

By G. BARACCHI.

"THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY." By Frederick Engels.

At the first opportunity the student of Communism should acquaint himself with the contents of this popular book of Engels, and also, if he can find the time, with Lewis Morgan's monumental work, "Ancient Society." Morgan rediscovered by another route the materialist conception of history, and Engels' book is largely based upon his work. "The Origin of the Family," however,

also supplements that work, since Morgan was not exactly a Communist.

For the ordinary man, who has never known anything other than the relations of bourgeois society, it is hard to vision the possibility of Communism, of a social order very different from the world of exploitation and oppression in which he lives. But let him once understand the colossal changes which have occurred in the past, the vast social revolutions which have inaugurated new epochs of human development, and it is but a step

for such a man to become a Communist. For he realises now that, if there have been such changes in the past, it is not unreasonable to expect equally momentous changes in the future; he realises that the "there-has-been-history-but-there-is-no-longer-any" attitude is supremely ridiculous.

It is from this aspect, among others, that "The Origin of the Family" is so important for the Communist. When Engels, accepting Morgan's classification of human progress into stages of savagery, barbarism and civilisation, has outlined for us the totally different forms of the family existing in these stages, forms ranging from the communal family typical of savagery to the monogamic family and its concomitant prostitution typical of civilisation—when Engels has led us thus far, our minds are quite prepared for the acceptance of the conclusion of his great co-worker Marx, that—

"Modern industry, by assigning, as it does, an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes."

As with the family, so it is with property. It is easier to grasp the impending transformation of private into common property after we have become aware that the early societies of men were also Communist. And when Engels has shown us, at the other end of the epoch of civilisation, the conditions which gave rise to the predominance of private property, we are surely helped towards a realisation of the presence, at this end, of the conditions for its abolition.

If the growth of private property split the old Communist societies into hostile classes, the antagonisms of these classes, irreconcilable as they were, produced the State. The dependence of the State upon classes is shown by the fact that the form of the State has altered with every change in the ruling class, the ancient State differing as widely from the feudal State as the feudal State dif-

fered from the modern State. This dependence is further demonstrated by the fact that both classes and the State were unknown to primitive Communism. Here too Engels' book leads us by easy stages to the understanding that the State is not eternal.

"We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. Hence, these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state must irrevocably fall with them. The society that is to reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe."

Private property, exploiting and exploited classes, the State which crushes the exploited, these are the essential evils that oppress the mass of mankind to-day. From Engels' book we learn the conditions of their origin and development, and so to understand them thoroughly. But by understanding their remote beginnings we come also to realise that their end is near. Far from being immutable, private property, classes and the State are soon to be dissolved entirely in full-fledged Communism. As for the monogamic family, its complete prostitution will likewise disappear, and the family itself undergo a humane development, the fulness whereof is beyond our present knowledge. Such are the invaluable lessons "The Origin of the Family" teaches.

TOWARDS SOVIETS. By N. Lenin.

In connection with this most illuminating pamphlet, we make the following point. We have noticed recently a tendency of a few Socialists to depreciate the importance of the national, and to exalt, at the expense of these, 1917 Revolutions. The strictures contained in this pamphlet upon those who called themselves "old Bolsheviks" in 1917 demonstrate clearly. It is the actual experience of the Revolution and its interpretation by the International, which is of supreme importance.

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Editor—G. Baracchi.

ETC. ETC.

Publisher—P. Laidler.



Lenin Laying the Cornerstone of a Memorial to Karl Marx (Moscow).

January 7, 1921.

Proletarian Comment

Two Communist Triumphs.

TWO recent European events provide illustrations on a large scale of what

Communists can do by persistent work within labor organisations which are dominated by reactionary leaders. In 1919 a call was sent out from Moscow for the formation of the Third International. This call included proposals for the winning of the rank and file of the "centre" parties of Socialism away from the counter-revolutionary influence of their leaders and to the acceptance of Communism. Within eighteen months the end sought by these proposals has been practically accomplished in the case of the great Independent Socialist Party of Germany. Journeying to the recent congress of this party at Halle, Zinoviev, thanks to devoted Communist work which preceded his visit, had little difficulty in persuading the majority of the delegates to renounce their allegiance to such traitors as Crispian, Hilferding, and Kautsky in favor of adhesion to the Communist International. Still more striking is the signal victory gained by the Third International at the congress of the powerful but hitherto reformist French Socialist Party at Tours, where the "centrist" leader, Louguet, was confronted by the renowned German Communist, Clara Zetkin. Achievements like this obtrude sharply upon Australian Communists the following question: If such a result is possible in the case of a thoroughly non-revolutionary organisation like the French Socialist Party, what practical line of action shall Communists pursue in relation to the Australian Labor Party? It is high time to grapple seriously with this problem.

✻ ✻ ✻ ✻

Job Control.

JOB-control is being prominently featured by the capitalist press in connection with the present industrial hold-up. G. Moate, of the Stewards' Union, also says that every ship is going to have its board of control henceforth. What is

the attitude of Communists on this question? On the one hand, they are fully alive to the fact that, in the way of positive results, job-control will not yield much to the workers this side of the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, Communists must take the lead in the economic as well as in the political struggle of the workers, both in order to win the confidence of the mass of these, and because, with the ripening of revolutionary conditions, the economic struggle itself becomes political; further, because, after the revolution, the political struggle becomes in its turn economic, a struggle no longer between bourgeois and proletarian, but now solely between man and nature. Job committees or control boards make for the more efficient conduct of the everyday struggle, serve "as a school for the preparation of the vanguard of the working class for the administration of the industries after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established," and, in the hour of revolution, help to develop the Soviets. Communists, therefore, must lend their assistance to the organisation of these committees and energetically participate in their activities.

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Australian Communist Disunity.

IN some other countries the Communist movement is split into sections because these have failed to agree on some minor aspects of their programme; it has remained for the movement in Australia to introduce an ingenious variation of this procedure by first reaching complete agreement in the matter of its programme and then splitting. The A.S.P. brought the different Communist elements together; having done so, the A.S.P. has now left them. Its defection from the Communist Party is most decidedly a loss; a loss, however, which only necessitates that the Communist Party proceed to its work with redoubled vigour. We have no intention of en-

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tering any discussion of the merits or otherwise of the A.S.P.'s action; on that score quite sufficient has already been written. We simply accept the fact that at a moment when the present epidemic of strikes, the trade depression, and the growing amount of unemployment, make it increasingly plain to the workers that the property relations within which the forces of production operate have turned from forms of development of these forces into their fetters, when a united Communist Party is urgently required to drive home the lesson that these fetters must be snapped by the proletariat—at this precise moment a section of the Communist Party of Australia has split off from the body which itself called into being. But, accepting this fact, we say also that we shall lose no opportunity to work for the reunion of this section with the rest of the Communists.

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To "Proletarian" Readers.

THIS magazine has been operating over a wide area of Australia for a period of eight months, during which time it has consistently expounded the theory of revolutionary Marxism or Communism. Scattered about the land, and as yet un-

attached to any revolutionary organisation, are an appreciable number of its readers; these must by now have gained at least a rudimentary knowledge of Marxism, and, with the new year, we venture to approach them with a suggestion. We suggest that readers of "The Proletarian" should get in touch with other readers of "The Proletarian" resident in the same locality. If they cannot do this in any other way, they can do so through the man from whom they buy the magazine. Those in any locality having come together, they will then be in a position to discuss the concerns of their class from a Marxist standpoint, and with an eye to their own practical activity in a revolutionary direction. The obvious thing for them to do is to form a Communist group and link up with the Communist Party of Australia. In our initial number, we stressed the fact that clear understanding is the indispensable preliminary to correct action on the part of the working class. We now wish to add that "philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, but the point is to change it." Readers of "The Proletarian" should, therefore, get together with a view to the formation of Communist Party groups.

Political Economy and the Workers

By John Keracher.

Those whose conception of Communism is a beautiful ideal, similar to that so charmingly portrayed by William Morris in "News From Nowhere," cannot understand why it is considered essential that Communists should study economics. To persons who are actuated solely by idealism all that is necessary for the emancipation of labor is to enlist the sympathy of the majority of the people by portraying the misery and degradation existing in our midst, and to point out the desirability of a change in the social order. Why should we spend in study time which might better be used in propagating our cause; what is there in the ponderous tomes of political

economy to help the workers in the struggle for emancipation?

Thomas Carlyle, "that sour old Victorian," called political economy "the dismal science"; and to a great extent it deserves that name. Like every other science it is only classified knowledge, ordered and arranged; and as such it has no aim or purpose. This, however, does not prevent those familiar with its teachings from using it to their own advantage. This is the great drawback to the advancement of economic science. Throughout its history it has been used by individuals and classes to advance their own particular interests.

As a child of the capitalist class, po-

litical economy has served faithfully to advance the interests of that class. In this short article, I will endeavour to show how this has been accomplished.

At the beginning of the machine era the working class of England was undergoing the frightful misery and degradation which marks the early stages of capitalism. The means of livelihood which had served the working people for centuries were torn from them; they were forced into factories to work almost unbelievably long hours. The country people, too, were driven from the soil by the most violent means and herded into the newly built cities. It was a time of great social turmoil. The French revolution had greatly shaken the confidence of the ruling class, who adopted the most repressive measures to keep the workers in subjection. Out of this world came Malthus' "Essay on Population." (Malthus is often linked with Adam Smith and Ricardo, men who made real contributions to the science of political economy, which Malthus never did.) This book served a definite purpose: it advanced the theory that the population increased more rapidly than the means of livelihood and that, consequently, the ghastly poverty which enveloped the majority of the people was inevitable. The fallacy of this theory is to-day apparent; the enormous increase in the population of England since that time alone disproves it. Nevertheless, at the time of its appearance the book created a tremendous sensation. Here was a justification of the misery and degradation of the people by the laws of nature. As Edmund Burke said: "The laws of commerce are the laws of nature and, therefore, of God." This was the reason for the ovation accorded Malthus' work, a reception surprising no one more than himself.

"The Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith's greatest work, and one of the monumental contributions to economic science, appeared in 1776. At this time modern industry was just making its appearance; the rising manufacturing class was still hampered by the traditions and laws of an outgrown system. Adam Smith should not be placed in the same

category as Malthus, yet he, too, faithfully reflects the spirit of his age. Smith's position is clearly shown by his persistent advocacy of Free Trade, the shibboleth of the early bourgeois; his criticism and attacks upon the Mercantilists, the representatives of the Merchant Capitalists; his insistence upon the right of the laborer to sell his labor (he means labor-power) wherever he desired, unhampered by laws which held him to a particular locality or by apprenticeship rules; his category of "unproductive laborers" as he calls the retainers of the feudal lords—these and many other instances show clearly that he was an advocate of the interests of the manufacturers.

Lord Lauderdale, known to fame in economic literature for the concise manner in which he formulated the Demand and Supply theory, used his economic knowledge as a club over the working class. In his position in the legislative halls he was the author of the most repressive of labor laws (such as the infamous Combination Laws), all of which he justified by the laws of political economy.

Despite its many faults, inevitable in its historic situation, the old school did much to advance economic knowledge; many ingenious theories were advanced and much can be learned from them. It is to what is known as the classical school that we owe the beginnings of the labor theory of value—that theory without which a scientific understanding of capitalism is impossible.

In the early days of capitalism the master himself worked, as opposed to the feudal lord and his retainers, who, as Adam Smith says, "everywhere uselessly filled hall and castle." The capitalist and his workmen appeared the acme of virtue. But to-day all this is changed. The capitalist no longer performs a useful function in production. The direction of industry is in the hands of salaried employees. As a result of this changed condition in industry, certain changes manifest themselves in the domain of political economy.

The labor theory of value appeared first in the writings of Benjamin Frank-

lin; it was used by Adam Smith and more especially by David Ricardo, but it remained for Karl Marx to give it final form. The labor theory of value and the theory of surplus value as formulated by Marx explain the true nature of capitalist production; the method whereby capitalist profits are derived through the exploitation of the workers. These theories form the basis upon which the Socialist movement of modern times rests.

With the rise of the Socialist movement and the teaching of these principles to the working class the labor theory became taboo in the halls of learning. The capitalist now requires a less awkward theory to explain the source of his profits and the obliging political economists soon discover it. Not the labor embodied in commodities, but the demand of the consumer, the utility, the last portion of value embodied in a commodity that a person would pay for rather than go without, the "Marginal Utility" was found to be the factor which determined the value.

The working class might believe this if they could see automobiles and banquets descend from heaven on the demand of the consumer. As it is, they know that it is their labor which creates commodities, their flesh and blood, their bone and muscle; their life-force is required to turn raw materials into articles of use.

The frankly antagonistic attitude of the exponents of this "science" toward the working class is shown by the attacks upon "Capital" by such writers as Boehm-Bawerk, Masaryk and others. The followers of Jevons and the so-called "Austrian School" were not long left in peace to enjoy their abstractions, such as their algebraic demonstrations of the "Curve of final utility" and the "psychological factor underlying the value of commodities," etc. The crushing refutation of Jevons by H. M. Hyndman in his "Socialist Economics"; the brilliant criticism of Boehm-Bawerk, Masaryk and others by L. B. Boudin in "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx," and a host of other Socialist writers have exposed the absurdity of these attacks

upon the impregnable position of Marx.

When the political economist is not engaged in "refuting" Marx or searching for the cause of panics in sun spots, as did the redoubtable Jevons, or showing how the capitalist creates value by consuming as much as he can, he is busy collecting statistics and data which will be of use to his master. No wonder economics is a dismal science.

Enough has been said to show that political economy has ever been used to further the interest of a particular class. In the springtime of its youth, the capitalist class, representing the onward march of society, endeavored to understand and encouraged the investigation of its system. The early economists thought that the laws of commerce were the laws of nature, which had to be understood in order that society might conform to them, but, with the intensification of class distinctions the scientific investigation of capitalism became dangerous to the ruling class. It is no longer a question of whether this or that theory is correct, but whether it is useful or harmful to the master class, whether it is expedient or inexpedient, politically dangerous, or otherwise.

It is now up to the working class to study and understand the system under which they live. Communists, above all, require a knowledge of economics. One cannot understand society, its complex organization, the forces responsible for the bewildering changes which are taking place before our very eyes, without understanding the basis of that society. You cannot explain to your fellow-slave how he is exploited, and where; the reason for panics; why it requires the agility of a Machiavelli to make his wages meet the high cost of living, unless you understand these things yourself. The problems which confront working class organizations, the trades union question, the strike, the advisability of joining their forces, all this requires knowledge—knowledge, above all, of economics, "the anatomy of civil society." The founders of scientific Communism have furnished us the information—let us use it.

January 7, 1921.

Red Trade Union International.

Communists should endeavour to get the following circular, issued by G. Zinoviev, President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, discussed in their union meetings, more particularly as the Red Trade Union International is now an accomplished fact. The translation of this circular, given below, is from a French text published in "La Vie Ouvrière," August 20th, 1920. The latter was based upon the Russian original in No. 10 of "L'Internationale Communiste":—

To the Trade Unions of All Countries!

The day after August 2nd, 1914, at the beginning of the imperialist slaughter, the trade unions numbered 10 million members. Yet nowhere did they offer even a mild resistance to the imperialist carnage.

On the contrary, in the majority of cases, the leaders of the old trade union movement placed themselves and their organisations at the disposal of the bourgeois governments. The whole of the apparatus of the old trade unions was placed at the service of the high imperialist command. All laws for the protection of labor were abolished by the bourgeoisie with the full consent of the trade union leaders. Extremely severe compulsory labor imposed even on women of 60 years of age was instituted by the bourgeoisie with the approbation of these same leaders.

The leaders of the old trade unions went even further, and subjugated their organisations to the bourgeoisie in the intellectual domain also. Reviews and newspapers published by the old trade unions gave their blessing to the workers who were going to their death; this Labor Press blessed them in the name of capital, repeated the bourgeois lie about "defence of one's country," and became everywhere the protagonist of bourgeois ideals which it endeavored to spread to the very heart of the proletariat to workers. The old trade unions, organised by the gangrene of opportunism, consumed by their leaders, reared in the hot-house atmosphere of pacifist reform, had not the strength to raise the smallest protest against the imperialist butchery.

The unions called "free," led by Legien, in reality united with the yellow traitor unions, the feeders of foxes.

The war is now over. The imperialist peace, concluded at the expense of the peoples, shows even the blind in what name it was waged.

The armies are demobilised and the work-

ers are returning to their organisations. What is going to happen to the trade unions? What path are they about to enter?

Their old leaders would like to spur them once again into the bourgeois path. The worst executioners of the working classes—such as Noske, in Germany, and Seidl, in Hungary, sprang from the ranks of the old trade union movement.

To-morrow, if circumstances favor them, Messrs. Jouhaux, in France, and Gompers, in America, etc., will, in their turn become Noskes, executioners of the working classes, as has been the case with those of their kind in more than one country.

The Characteristics of the Old Movement.

What are the characteristic traits of the old trade union movement which led it to capitulate to the bourgeoisie? Their strictly sectional spirit, their scattered organisation, their respect for bourgeois laws, their custom of relying on a working-class aristocracy and of disregarding unskilled workers; their too heavy contributions, which are beyond the ordinary worker; the concentration of the whole of the management of the unions in the hands of individuals at the top of the Labor ladder, officials who were tending more and more to form a bureaucratic trade union caste; the propaganda in favor of neutrality with regard to political questions coming before the proletariat, which was really equivalent to the support of the bourgeois policy; the sabotage of collective contracts which really resulted in the conclusion of these contracts by the trade union bureaucracy and in the subjection by capitalists of the workers in any given profession for a number of years. Further characteristics are the over-estimate of insignificant improvements (such as the purely nominal increase of wages) which the unions succeeded in obtaining from the employers by means of peaceful agreement; the placing of questions of mutual aid in the foreground to the detriment of the unions, and the custom of looking upon the trade unions as organisations whose sole mission was to improve conditions of labor within the framework of the capitalist regime, and which in no way considered the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system to be their aim.

Such was the old professional "free" movement, the old trade unionism. It was an environment of this type which permitted Gompers in America to sell the trade union votes during the Presidential elections, and the Legiens of all countries to make the trade unions the tools of the bourgeoisie.

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Are the trade unions going to follow in the old way of reformism, which really means the way of the bourgeoisie? That is the most important question before the international labor movement.

The New Characteristics.

We are fully persuaded that it will not be so.

A fresh wind is now blowing through the edifices of the old trade unions. The "Shop Stewards" in England, the "Works Councils" in Germany, the new points of crystallisation in the French trade unions, the big unions such as the "Triple Alliance" in England, the new currents in the American professional movement—these are all so many symptoms showing that an alteration in values is taking place in the trade union movement throughout the world.

A new trade union movement is being formed under our very eyes. What are to be its characteristics?

It must renounce all survivals of corporatist narrowness. It must place on the order of the day—in agreement with the Communist Party—the immediate struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Soviet rule. It must refuse to patch up the old garments of capitalism in the reformist fashion. The new trade union movement must place the general strike in the foreground and prepare a combination of general strike and armed insurrection. The new trade unions must embrace the whole of the working masses and no longer only the aristocracy of Labor. They must apply the principle of a strict centralisation and of organisation by industry and not by trades. They must aim at obtaining genuine Labor control over production and then participate energetically in the organisation of industry by the working classes which have overcome the bourgeoisie. They must enter upon a revolutionary struggle for the immediate socialisation of the principal branches of economic life, never forgetting that no serious organisation is possible before the proletariat has acquired Soviet power. They must expel systematically from their midst all bureaucrats infected with bourgeois opinions and incapable of directing the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat masses. They must carry out within themselves the cleansing process which the Russian trade unions effected some years ago and which the trade unions of Germany and other countries are now beginning.

The lesson taught by the war is not lost. The proletariat masses will make their voice heard. The trade unions can no longer reduce their task to a struggle for absurd increases of wages. The incredible cost of the necessary articles of life, a cost which is increasing the world over, renders those "conquests" of which trade unionists of the old school were so proud more illusory than ever. The trade unions must either transform themselves into really fighting organisations or they will disappear.

A New Generation.

The powerful strike wave which is shaking Europe, America, and other parts of the world is a proof that the trade unions are not rotting where they lie, but will quickly become regenerated. They will not stand aside from the tremendous problems which are occupying the attention of the whole world and dividing the whole world into two camps, the Whites and the Reds. Each trade union is now obliged to interest itself in the question of direct or indirect taxation, in the problem of the payment of war loans, in the nationalisation of railways, mints, and the principal branches of industry, etc.

Every trade unionist should realise more clearly every day that the neutrality preached in the unions by the bourgeoisie and by the opportunists is only a bourgeois trick, that it is impossible to remain neither hot nor cold in the decisive struggle now embarked upon between the two classes.

A movement of disintegration has begun in the trade unions. In a few years we shall no longer recognise them. The old bureaucrats of the trade union movement will be generals without armies. The new era will bring forth a new generation of proletarian leaders of the regenerated trade union movement.

The Amsterdam and Washington Conferences

But the prudent bourgeoisie is on its guard. Through the medium of its tried servants, the instrumentality of the old leaders, it is endeavoring once again to conquer the movement. A Congress met at Amsterdam, the "International Trade Union Congress." Legien, Jouhaux, Gompers, and other agents of the bourgeoisie attempted to lead the professional movement back into the old way. The League of Nations, which is in reality only an association of imperial malefactors, convened in Washington, and subsequently in Paris, a ridiculous conference on the "International Protection of Labor," where two-thirds of the votes belonged to the bourgeoisie and one-third to its agents (Messrs. Legien, Jouhaux and Co.), who still have the audacity to style themselves "Labor representatives." These conferences of representatives selected by the bourgeoisie attempted to put a strait-waistcoat on the regenerate Labor movement. The united forces of bourgeois ministers and trade union bureaucracy wish to stretch it on the Procrustean bed of petit-bourgeois reformism.

The Communist International addresses this appeal to the organised proletariat throughout the world: Comrades, put an end to these bourgeois jests, unmask the infamous comedy which the plutocrats are playing at your expense; say to the world that you have nothing in common with the tools of Clemenceau and Wilson.

The Trade Unions' Place of Honor.

The best elements of the world proletariat are everywhere demanding the establishment of Soviet power. The time is not far distant

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when the whole of the human race will assume the Soviet, that is to say, the proletarian, form of government. The trade unions will then continue to play a role of vast importance in the task of transforming capitalist economic life on the basis of communism. They will take their place of honor side by side with the Soviets, as they now do in Soviet Russia.

The Communist International considers the opinions of the minority of the German Communists, who are against the necessity of trade unions in general, to be mistaken. The Industrial Soviets (Shop Stewards' movement) which are being formed in several countries, not only do not render the trade unions useless, but, on the contrary, should be themselves, as in Soviet Russia, the principal centres of the industrial trade unions.

The Communist International considers that the hour has come when the trade unions, freed from bourgeois and social-chauvinist influence, should, without delay, form their international organisation by industries and on a world-wide scale.

In Opposition to a Yellow International Let Us Set Up a Red International.

We must set up in opposition to the Yellow Trade Union International, which the agents of the bourgeoisie are endeavoring to re-establish at Amsterdam, Washington, and Paris, the Red, really proletarian, Trade Union International, which will work in agreement with the Third Communist International.

In several countries the trade unions are passing through a marked crisis. The tares are being separated from the wheat. Germany, which was the bulwark of the yellow bourgeois professional movement, managed by Legiens and Noskes, now sees union after union turn away from the yellow Social Democrats and pass over to the proletarian revolution. Several trade unions have already expelled their old leaders, who not long since delivered the professional movement over to the capitalists. The Italian trade unionists are adopting almost entirely the platform of Soviet power. The revolutionary proletarian movement is revealing itself more and more strongly in the Scandinavian trade unions. The working masses of the French, British, American, Dutch, and Spanish trade unions are abjuring the old bourgeois tactics and demanding new revolutionary methods. In Russia three and a half million trade unionists are giving their unreserved and devoted support to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Balkan States most of the trade unions are forming close relationships with the Communist parties and taking their place under the glorious Communist flag.

The Third International Desires to Follow in the Footsteps of the First.

The First International (the Working Men's International Association), led by Marx and

Engels, aimed at embracing all Labor organisations, trade unions among others.

The Second International (at present dissolved) invited the trade unions to its congresses, but had no solid bond of organisation with them.

The Third International intends in this respect to follow in the footsteps of the First. Every real militant proletarian trade union which faces the problems outlined above will itself aim at a close union with the vanguard of the international proletariat organised within the Communist International.

The task of emancipating the working classes demands the concentration of all the organised forces of the proletariat. We need arms of every kind in order to attack capitalism successfully. On every side the Communist International must face the struggle for the emancipation of the international proletariat. For this purpose it aims at the closest union with the revolutionary trade unions which realise all the problems of our time.

The Communist International desires to unify not only political labor organisations, but also all labor organisations which recognise the revolutionary struggle, not only in word, but in deed, and which aim at the conquest of proletarian dictatorship. The Executive of the Communist International considers that not only the political Communist parties should take part in the congresses of the Communist International, but also those trade unions which adopt the revolutionary platform. The Red Trade Unions should unite internationally and become an integral part (section) of the Communist International.

We make this proposal to the organised workers throughout the world. The evolution and disintegration which are showing themselves within the political parties cannot fail to show themselves within the trade union movement. All the great Labor Parties have left the Second International; similarly, all honest trade unions should break with the Yellow Trade Union International.

We ask the organised workers throughout the world to discuss this appeal in their general meetings, and we are profoundly convinced that the honest proletarians of all hands held out to them by the Communist International.

Long live the new trade union movement, purified of all opportunist infection!

Long live the Red Trade Union International!

The President of the Executive
of the Communist International,

G. ZINOVIEV.

January 7, 1921.

Gleanings from Dietzgen—Morality

Morality is the aggregate of the most contradictory ethical laws which serve the common purpose of regulating the conduct of man toward himself and others in such a way that the future is considered as well as the present, the individual as well as the race. The individual man finds himself lacking, inadequate, limited in many ways. He requires for his complement other people, society, and must, therefore, live and let live. The mutual concessions which arise out of these relative needs are called morality.

The inadequacy of the single individual, the need of association, is the basis and cause of man's consideration for his neighbor, of morality.

Different stages of human evolution have different moral laws, and even so contradictory ones that what is virtue in one place is vice in another. The ethical or moral codes disagree as much as the religious denominations. Each of them claims to be the only true and genuine one.

The phenomena of the outside world are the standard of physical truths, and man, with his many wants, is the standard of moral truth. The actions of man are determined by his wants. Thirst teaches him to drink and ignorance to pray. Wants are regulated in the South by southern conditions, in the North by northern conditions. Wants rule time and space, nations and individuals. They induce the savage to hunt and the gourmand to indulge. Human wants give to reason a standard for judging what is good, right, bad, reasonable, etc. Whatever satisfies our need is good, the opposite is bad. The physical feeling of man is the object of moral standards, the object of "practical reason." The contradictory variety of human needs is the basis for the contradictory variety of moral standards. If the intellect of some

person attempts to define by mere introspection the standard of morality as a general thing, this person makes himself or herself the standard for humanity.

The various ethical codes are all at one in calling that moral which is conducive to harmonious social conduct. Now, everybody knows that people do not stand still like mountains, but meet each other and move ahead with one another. They also progress in their social relations. Society grows in volume and interdependence. The social sense is also a product of evolution. The power and development of men grows in the same degree as their social relations become more intimate, as their sense of solidarity gains in strength and the more they consciously advance their personal well-being by furthering that of the whole community.

The principle of morality is the principle of human association—and the principle of human association is progress. Social Democracy is nothing else but social and co-operative progress, and that is the true moral perfection, based on the common ownership and democratic control of the resources of production and distribution. In view of that great purpose, art, science and morality are simply helpmates.

The mere knowledge of the moral law is not sufficient to be able to make use of it in practice; the general conditions must be ripe for it. Theoretically, we may easily grasp the highest degree of morality; in practice, however, things go through their historic stages.

Morality belongs to the same category with all other worldly things. It is a natural quality inherent in man. Human beings without any moral sense are rare exceptions, who, when met with are to be contemplated with the same judicious mental attitude as some other anthropological or physiological abnor-

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malities. According to recent researches in the domain of natural science, "The Image of God" is a product which, with its hair, with its body and soul, with its religion, and morality, descended from the animal kingdom. "As far as I am concerned," says Darwin, "I am as willing to derive my descent from that heroic little ape who defies its dangerous foe in order to save the life of its guardian, or from that old baboon which, coming down from the hills, victoriously takes away its young comrades from the amazed dogs—as from a savage who finds pleasure in torturing his enemies, offers up sanguinary sacrifices, commits child-murder without any compunction, treats his wives as slaves, knows no decency and is controlled by the grossest superstition."

It is more praiseworthy to work oneself up from brutality to the Socialist ideal than to sink from a heaven-born Adam to the Christian worm, who, conscious of his sinful nonentity, creeps in the dust of humility.

Christian irrationality, which separates the soul from the body, separates also moral from physical progress. It removes morality from the sphere of life and action into the narrow closet of feeling, into the secret chamber of the heart. No doubt, a good heart is one of the conditions of sociability, but that is formed in society, in human intercourse, and not in a monastery. Although nowadays one does not go to the solitude of the forest to live on roots and herbs in order to get a moral education, the monastic principle of morality is still prevalent. Where the universe is believed to have sprung from God's head, and truth from pure reason, or kindness and justice from the inner voice of the heart, there the wrong path of ideological deduction is still trodden.

The undue separation of the moral from the corporeal, and of mental culture from material well-being, is a theory which appears to be especially made for the benefit of the exploiters of the working class. The bitter toil of the workers is to be sweetened by moral sugar. The ruling class, while praising misery, sorrow and pain as a moral crucible for the spiritual development of the working

class, employs science and art and the products of all climates for the glorification of the body, clothing it sumptuously, feeding it luxuriously, caring for it tenderly and resting it on soft cushions.

The greatest teachers of ethical culture and leaders in thought finished by clogging the wheels of progress which they had once accelerated. Moses, Aristotle, Christ, Luther, Kant and Hegel had a most beneficial effect on the course of history until they became saints. Then all their celebrated systems turned into so many stumbling blocks. Of course, our wise-acres have a ready answer to that. They assert that those men of light and leading have been misunderstood by humanity which corrupted their teachings. Those moral law-givers could not have a permanent influence because they had not penetrated to the true principle of morality. They mistook the particular for the general; subjective impressions for objective events; individual responsibility for social responsibility. Historical materialism illuminates their teachings and systems by showing that the supernatural wonders "the thing in itself and eternal truths" are but necessary phenomena and companions of tendencies which are conditioned on particular processes of social life. Ethical ideas—all ideas—have a flexible meaning in proportion to the scope, inter-relation, time and place of the things they are based on. All ethical prescriptions are good, in a relative and limited sense. To lay down regulations for all times and conditions, as our system-makers claimed to have done, is in the highest degree immoral.

An absolute right is, like an absolute truth, theological or metaphysical moonshine. The moral world has one commandment: Permanent social progress, limitless social evolution.

Morality in human evolution is similar to matter in natural evolution: The essence is abiding—the forms are fleeting.

RELIGION AND CAPITALISM.

As, in religion, man is governed by the products of his own brain, so in capitalistic production, he is governed by the products of his own hand.—Marx.

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Two Aspects of Communist Tactics.

By "Spartacus."

1.—Diverging Revolutionary Elements.

The Communist League, which succeeded the League of the Just, and on behalf of which Marx and Engels laid well and truly the foundations of Scientific Communism in their Manifesto of 1848, contained at the same time an admixture of Utopian elements divergent from this doctrine. The Utopian doctrine of Anarchism subsequently placed itself at the head of these elements, and, the divergence hardening, the First International became the ring for the open fight between Marx and Bakunin, the great protagonists of Communism and Anarchism respectively. The method of dealing with the Anarchists adopted by Marx, Engels and their followers is well known. It was to add to a mercilessly hostile criticism of the false doctrine of Anarchism the most venomous and not over-scrupulous attacks upon the often quite genuine Anarchists, and, in practice, to expel them from the International. The reason for such tactics is obvious enough. The foundations of Scientific Communism had barely been securely laid, its influence among the proletariat had but begun to make itself felt, when the sapping of this influence was threatened by a retrograde Utopia in the guise of Anarchism. It was not as if the Anarchists had been approximating to the Communist position; on the contrary, having made some headway in countries economically backward, their divergence from the Communists, whose doctrine was alone in line with economic development, became daily more pronounced. The Bakuninists thus constituted a very real menace to the proletariat, just awakening to a sense of its historic importance, and stern measures were necessary if this proletariat was to be saved from the danger of a diversion, in the wake of the Anarchists, from that path to which, after costly and terrible mistakes, it must ultimately return, the path of Scientific Communism. Marx and Engels fought the diverging Anarchists with unparalleled ferocity, and they were wise in their generation.

The Social-Democratic parties of the Second International, as the inheritors of Marxism, assumed the traditional Marxist attitude towards the Anarchists of their day. As a result, however, of the conditions of capitalism prevailing at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the latter were no longer the only important revolutionary element which diverged from the proletarian line of march marked out by Communism. The Social-Democratic parties became themselves great offenders in this respect, substituting the revolutionary spirit of Marxism with a new incompatible ingredient, to wit, opportunism. This opportunism which came to pervade the Second International was a contributing cause of the rise of still another revolutionary element divergent from Marxism, that represented by the syndicalist movement in Europe and the I.W.W. in America. These movements were in part a protest against the growing revolutionary dishonor of the Second International; in particular they were a reaction from the disgusting habits of parliamentary prostitution which, in the name of Socialism, the social-democrats were practising. On the other hand, the Anarchists, whose older doctrine had with the general advance of economic conditions fallen upon evil days, sought new fields for the resuscitation of essential features of this doctrine in the syndicalist movement. Syndicalism, then, so far as it repudiated the opportunism of the social-democrats and corrected their over-stressing of a perverted parliamentarism by its emphasis on the general proletarian struggle outside Parliament, was a step in advance of the position occupied by the Second International. But, to the extent that, in its aversion to the latter, it allowed itself to be influenced by Anarchist precepts, syndicalism represented a step backwards from scientific Communism. The syndicalists were certainly right in their antagonism to that divergence from Communism represented by the opportunism of the social-democrats.

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The social-democrats were also right in their opposition to that other divergence from Communism clearly discernible in the anarchist aspects of syndicalism. Since all the circumstances of the time only tended to confirm both elements in these divergences, their bitter criticism of each other and strongly-marked hostility were incidents of the life-process of Communism as salutary as they were inevitable.

Of all the revolutionary elements of the period preceding the world war, those Socialists who formed the extreme left wing and a small minority of the whole Social-Democracy, stuck closest to the tenets of Marxism. Even among Left Wing Socialists, however, there were those who deviated somewhat from the Marxist track—by adopting a sectarian policy, by failing to appreciate the precise significance of new currents making themselves felt in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, by neglecting to adapt their tactics to the exigencies of twentieth century imperialism, whereas Marxism required them to take exact account of the objective facts of existing reality. But so far as they attacked unsparingly both the opportunism of the social-democracy and the anarchistic errors of the syndicalists, the Left Wing Socialists remained true to the service of Scientific Communism.

From all of the above there emerges unmistakably a twofold fact. When revolutionary elements are in process of diverging from Scientific Communism, it is ever the practice of Communists, in unmasking them as misleaders of the workers, to spare these elements absolutely nothing. This practice, moreover, is invariably in the best interests of the proletariat and Communism. Having established so much, we turn now to the consideration of a different question.

II.—Converging Revolutionary Elements.

The First International expelled the Anarchists from its ranks. The Third International, founded less than two years ago in Moscow, holds out to Anarchistic and Syndicalistic elements "the hand of brotherhood." How comes it that Lenin, the foremost Marxist of today, adopts towards cognate elements an attitude precisely contrary to the attitude of Marx to the Bakuninists? The

answer to this question is to be found in the fact that things exist only in their interconnections with other things, and that, with changing conditions, the same things become different.

To-day, growing numbers of Anarcho-syndicalists no longer continue to diverge from Communism. They are now learning, more or less rapidly, as the result of a tremendous social experience, the experience of the world war and the ensuing world-situation, the experience of the European revolutions and, in particular, the Russian revolution. The main divergence of Anarcho-Syndicalism from Communism arose out of the former's misconception of the nature of politics and the State; the cumulative effect of the above experiences upon Anarcho-syndicalists has been to lead large numbers of them towards the abandonment of this misconception. These are now coming to understand the necessity both of the political struggle of the workers to destroy the capitalist state, and of the temporary State of the workers, the Soviet power, to crush the capitalist resistance to the introduction of Communism. In minor matters, they may still cling, though with decreasing obstinacy, to their ancient errors; but so far as these two cardinal principles of the proletarian revolution are concerned, they are coming to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Communists. In other words, Anarcho-syndicalists are, in ever-increasing numbers, beginning to converge upon the ground of Scientific Communism occupied by the Third International.

It is quite naturally the policy of Lenin and his comrades to encourage to the utmost the converging movement of these revolutionary elements, just as it is their policy to lash unmercifully the diverging movement of those Socialists who have become infected with the virus of opportunism. The Communist International gives due appreciation to the true spirit of the proletarian revolution animating the converging elements; their remaining errors are pointed out only in fashion. This is as it should and must be. Only a fool or an egotist would rewon over to his own way of thinking. Since he is neither of these, the true

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Communist will do nothing to hinder the progress of Anarchists, Syndicalists, or other revolutionary elements who are beginning to move towards his own position. On the contrary, he will, by every sympathetic inducement, assist them to cover the distance they still fall short of Communism, and will even put up with a good deal from them in the process.

A second double fact is hereby established. When revolutionary elements formerly divergent begin to converge

upon Communism, it is the actual practice of the best Communists and correct tactics for all Communists to reverse completely their previous methods of criticism and approach to these elements. For uncompromising hostility they must substitute the spirit of helpful comradeship.

In the next issue we shall try to apply the two aspects of Communist tactics discussed above to the conditions of the movement in Australia.

A Proletarian Library.

By G. BARACCHI.

"REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION." By Karl Marx.

Marx has left us three monographs on the revolutionary drama whose enactment on the European continent began in 1848—"Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850" (with a rather notorious preface by Engels), "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," and "Revolution and Counter-Revolution." Of these, the first is only now being translated into English, but, since the revolutionary lessons of the period of '48 are of considerable moment to Communists, the two latter works will amply repay careful study. We shall review "The Eighteenth Brumaire" next month; in this issue let us briefly consider "Revolution and Counter-Revolution."

When we consider that the articles which compose this work were written in 1851-1852, the genius of Marx for extracting the historical kernel from events passing before his very eyes becomes plainly apparent. The writings of Lenin display a similar quality of their author, but some of these writings also show what Lenin owes to the very works of Marx we are considering. But, perhaps, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" is not Marx's work at all, for, although it has been long attributed to him and bears his name upon its cover, Karl Dannenburg asserts that it is Frederick Engels who is now admitted to have been in fact its author. In which

case, we must, on this occasion, transfer our praises to Engels.

The book has for subject-matter the revolutions which convulsed the German States in 1848, and which were overthrown by the reaction of 1849. The general and individual situations of these States at the outbreak of the Revolution are briefly sketched, and, since the author is a dialectician to his fingertips, their interconnections with the surrounding foreign States are also indicated. The whole political aspect of Germany at this time is faithfully dealt with from the standpoint of classes based upon economic interests.

The various insurrections, the Vienna and Berlin insurrections in particular, are interestingly portrayed, and the lessons to be learnt from them brilliantly set forth. Compare with Lenin's warning against dilettante uprisings, issued after the failure of the Munich Soviet Revolution, the following passage:—

"Insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. . . . Firstly, never play with insurrection, unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organisation, discipline and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed up-

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rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily, keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given to you; rally those vacillating elements to your side, which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!*

With reference to the above-mentioned vacillating elements, the impotence of the petty bourgeoisie for resolute action, which Lenin has also stressed, is already proclaimed by Marx (or Engels) in 1852:—

"The German petty bourgeoisie is capable of nothing but ruining any movement that entrusts itself to its hands. The *mesquin* character of its commercial transactions and its credit operations is eminently apt to stamp its character with a want of energy and enterprise; it is, then, to be expected that similar qualities will mark its political career."

In the case of the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks have been bitterly upbraided by the Mensheviks of all countries for not surrendering power to the Constituent Assembly, in which there was an anti-Bolshevik majority. How remote from the standpoint of Marx and Engels is this attitude of the Mensheviks, the following sentence from "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" bears witness:—

"In a revolution he who commands a decisive position and surrenders it, instead of sault, invariably deserves to be treated as a traitor."

The proceedings of the National Assembly which sat at Frankfurt in 1848-1849 are mercilessly satirised in this book. One passage in particular may be heartily recommended to all who are inclined to exaggerate the importance of parliamentary activities, a passage in which the author speaks of

"that incurable malady *Parliamentary cretinism*, a disorder which penetrates its unfortunate victims with the solemn conviction that the whole world, its history and future, are governed and determined by a majority of votes in that particular representative body, which has the honor to count them among its members, and that all and everything going on outside the walls of their house—wars, revolutions, railway constructing, colonising of whole new continents, California gold discover-

ies, Central American canals, Russian armies, and whatever may have some little claim to influence upon the destinies of mankind—is nothing compared with the incommensurable events hinging upon the important question, whatever it may be, just at that moment occupying the attention of their honorable house."

These words, of course, do not, in the manner of the anarchists, deny all significance to Parliaments, but they certainly strongly mark the relativity of their significance.

The mention of anarchists calls to mind the high praise accorded in this book to Bakunin, with whom Marx subsequently quarrelled so violently. In connection with the Dresden insurrection of May, 1849, our author says that the insurgents

"found an able and cool-headed commander in the Russian refugee, Michael Bakunin, who afterwards was taken prisoner, and now is confined in the dungeons of Munkacs, Hungary."

The book closes with an account of the triumph of the counter-revolution and the ensuing situation as typified by the circumstances of the Communist Trial at Cologne. The bearing of this, as well as of the other subjects herein treated, upon the problems of the Australian proletariat in 1921, may appear sufficiently remote. We assure our readers, however, that such remoteness is a matter of appearance only. For the Australian Communist, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" contains a lesson in proletarian politics of the first importance.

COMMUNISTS AND THE INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT.

In the thesis on the subject of Trade Unionism, presented by Karl Radek and adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International, the following passage occurs:—

"All voluntary withdrawal from industrial movement, every artificial attempt to orthodox special unions, without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy, the expulsions of separate revolutionary localities or by their narrow-minded aristocratic policy, which prohibits the unskilled workers from entering the organisation, represents a most advanced, the most conscious workers, to the opportunists leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie."

January 7, 1921.

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Editor—G. Baracchi. ETC. ETC. Publisher—P. Laidler.



CAPITAL AND LABOR GETTING TOGETHER! (The recipe of the Governor-General and others for the avoidance of industrial strife.)

February 7, 1921.

Proletarian Comment

The Ship-Owners' Lock Out.

HIGHLY instructive for the working class is the present industrial situation. A section of the marine transport workers, the stewards, struck against their conditions during a period of trade depression. This afforded the capitalists an opportunity to shuffle off upon the strikers the "responsibility" for the great amount of unemployment existing quite apart from the strike. Moreover, business being slack, it suited the purpose of the ship-owners, and indeed of the whole capitalist class, to resist the demand for even such insignificant reforms as those claimed by the stewards. In these conditions the cause of the strikers was hopeless, and they were compelled to accept defeat. But the stewards' strike had, owing to the interdependence of modern industry, of necessity added to the ranks of the unemployed a large number of shore, as well as sea, workers. Business, however, being slack, the capitalists were in no desperate hurry for these to resume work, and the ship-owners accordingly locked out another section of the marine transport workers, the seamen. The ship-owners will now graciously permit part of the great mass of unemployed to work the means of production created by their class but appropriated by the capitalists, only after the seamen have been taught a "lesson," only after they have dropped all idea of "controlling" their jobs, only after they have submitted to an actual reduction of the numbers previously employed as crews. The rehiring begun by the workers that, are now compelled to move in the direction of class or political action, and call generalisations. We do not know upon what particular line of action this conference will decide; but we do know that, in a period of trade depression no mere withdrawal of labor-power, be it from the key industries or even in general, is sufficient to bring the capitalists to terms. The capitalists can simply sit back and let the workers starve.

And should these, in desperation, attempt to rape from the possession of those who did not produce them, the stores of food, they will meet directly what is the final answer of the capitalist class to the revolted workers—the naked force of the bourgeois State.

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The Robber Burg of Capitalism.

THE development of the present economic struggle with the ship-owners is an unmistakable illustration of the necessity for general political action on the part of the working class. Adam Smith showed long ago that in wage-conflicts, taken on the whole, the master is always master; Marx also has pointed out that in its merely economic action capital is the stronger side. When trade is brisk, clear realisation of this is apt to be blurred, since, in order to end as quickly as possible a strike in such conditions, the capitalists may at an early stage call the State-power to their assistance, or, on the other hand, it may pay them to yield some slight concessions to the strikers. But when trade is slack, as at present, then is the economic position of the capitalists as against the workers disclosed in its full strength, then it becomes painfully apparent that they can wait at ease until the striking or locked-out workers come crawling back to them on empty stomachs, then it is manifest that they require the assistance of the State-power only as a last resort. Yet, in the last resort, when the workers have been goaded beyond endurance, the capitalists do need this power, it is this power which finally imposes the will of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, and if the proletariat would alter that, it is this power which it must take into account. In connection with the existing dispute, E. J. Holloway is reported to have said: "In my opinion the industrial movement has remained on the defensive long enough, and the time has arrived when we have to consider the question of adopting a similar attitude to that of the ship-owners." We may generalise these words. Facing bad times, the capitalist class the world over is

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launching an offensive against the already pitiful economic position of the workers. There can be but one reply for these: To prepare a counter-offensive without delay. But in order that this may succeed, the preparation for it must aim steadily at the destruction of the bourgeois State, at razing to the ground the robber burg of capitalism and erecting in its stead the citadel of the workers' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when the political power of the workers is established will their economic liberation begin. That is the undoubted lesson of the present dispute, and it is the message of the Communists to the workers as a whole.

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Left Communist Infantile Sickness.

IN our last issue we made the comment that the Communist movement in Australia had not been able to avoid the example of some other countries in the matter of splits; we make the comment in this issue that the movement here, as elsewhere, also shows signs of developing a disorder termed by Lenin the "infantile sickness of Left Communism." This is a distemper intimately connected with and at the same time precisely contrary to the "senile decay of social democracy," a disease of vigorous early life and not of withered old age, nevertheless a disease, a deviation from the normal life of Communism, and, as such, to be duly diagnosed and corrected. Two forms of this disorder manifest themselves in the anti-Parliamentarist attitude of Left Communists and in their refusal to work in the conservative Trades Unions. We have dealt at length with the question of Communist Parliamentarism in previous issues, and we shall return to this subject in the future. As to the voluntary withdrawal of Communists from Trades Unions, we publish this month a severe criticism by Lenin of this procedure. In the next issue we propose to publish an article demonstrating that Communists must be prepared, when they have cultivated a following and wield an influence in the Trades Unions, to accept the further responsibility of executive positions in the interest of the proletarian revolution. An immediate practical task for Communists in the Trades Unions is to persuade these organisations to affi-

liate with Labor Colleges at the head of whose classes are Communist instructors. In this way the Communist education of the economic movement will be advanced. Communists in the Trades Unions must also work for Industrial Unionism. This more efficient form of organisation will shorten and lessen the birth-pangs of the Communist society. Further, the Trades Unions automatically take control of every strike, lock-out and industrial dispute, and, particularly at a time when dispute is following dispute with almost breathless rapidity, it is rank treason to the working class for Communists to remain inactive in these bodies. Our left Communists are fond of saying: "Wait until Bucharin replies to Lenin!" Well, the Theses on Parliamentarism and Trades Unionism adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International were prepared by Zinoviev, Radek and—Bucharin!

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Is the Tasiff International Superfluous?

WE hope that we shall not be accused of "wantonly pandering" to the A.S.P. Communist Party when we say that it will be doing a considerable service to us all in immediately republishing a booklet by Lenin, of which it is in possession of probably the only copy obtainable in Australia. This booklet, which is in our opinion the most valuable of Lenin's writings since "The State and Revolution," was written last year, and covers various aspects of the infantile sickness of Left Communism. But however many of these it may cover, Lenin's notice seems at least to have been spared one Left Communist phantasy to which we have recently been treated in Melbourne. This is nothing other than the argument that there is no need for a Workers' International at all! We are not yet aware of the detailed "reasoning" of this very brilliant and powerful idea, but it is plainly in antagonism to the international character of capitalist economy and to the political necessities of the proletariat to which this economy gives rise. Only a lack of appreciation of the tremendous results organisation is capable of achieving, could lead a Left Commun-

ist, above all at a time when in the final stage of capitalist development we are approaching the world revolution, to deny the efficacy of working class organisation in the international sphere. The whole idea of "no International" is surely an anarchic conception to which we may well apply some words once used against Bakunin by Marx: "It proclaims anarchy in the ranks of the proletariat as the most infallible means of defeating the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. On this pretext it requires the International at the moment when the old world seeks to crush it, to replace its organisation by

The A.B.C. of Communism.

A POPULAR EXPOSITION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA (THE BOLSHEVIKI).

By N. BUCHARIN and E. PREOBRASCHENSKY.
(Translated by P. Lavin.)

To the embodiment of the greatness and power of the proletarian class, to its heroism, to the clearness of its class-consciousness, to its deadly enmity to Capitalism, to its mighty impulse towards the creation of a new society, and to the great Communist Party, we dedicate this book.

We dedicate it to the party which commands an army numbering millions, which governs a large and powerful State, which works on its "Saturdays" in order to prepare the day of the resurrection of mankind.

We dedicate it to the Old Guard of the party seasoned by fighting and victories, and to the younger members of the party who are destined to bring our task to a successful conclusion.

To the warriors and martyrs of the party, to those who fell on the various fronts, to those who were killed in prison, to those who were tortured to death, to those who were hanged, and those who were shot by the enemy for their fidelity to the principles of the party—to them we dedicate this book.

anarchy. The international police asks no more." On their part, the more enlightened leaders of the bourgeoisie understand very well the importance of international organisation, political and economic, to the preservation of their system from disintegrating effects. And if the League of Nations and other recent results of their efforts in this direction are in a rather decrepit condition, whereas the condition of the Third International appears, on the other hand, thriving and full of life, that is only because, as even Kautsky admits, we are confronting the world revolution, and because the future is in the hands of the world proletariat.

FOREWORD.

The "A B C of Communism" is designed as an elementary manual of Communist teaching. The daily experience of propagandists and agitators has shown that a work of this kind has become a pressing necessity. More and more recruits are joining our ranks, but there is a scarcity of instructors and of textbooks, even in the schools of the party.

The old Marxist literature—the "Erfurt Programme," for example—is obviously no longer serviceable; and answers to new questions are very difficult to find, scattered as they are throughout newspapers, books and pamphlets.

This want we mean to supply. We look upon the "A B C" as an elementary course which will be used in the party schools. We have taken care, however, to write it in such a way that it can be read independently by any worker or peasant who desires to understand the programme of our party.

Every comrade who picks up this book must read it to the end in order to gain a clear idea of the task and the goal of Communism. The book is so written that its matter and the text of the programme correspond. For the convenience of the reader this text, which is divided into paragraphs, is also given at the end. To every paragraph of the programme several explanatory paragraphs of this book correspond, and these are marked accordingly.

Fundamental important deductions are in heavy type; detailed explanations, illustrations, etc., are in ordinary type. The latter are specially intended for those comrades—particularly workers—who desire to know the subject, but who have neither the time nor the opportunity to study the necessary materials at first hand.

For those who wish to go more deeply into the subject, a list of books is given at the end.

The authors are well aware that the book leaves much to be desired. It was written in snatches and at odd moments. The Communists are everywhere compelled to do their literary work under conditions which can scarcely be called normal. In this respect this book is an interesting example. The manuscript, together with its authors, was almost destroyed by the explosion in the Moscow Committee Rooms. . . . Still, in spite of its faults, we consider that it should be published as soon as possible, but desire to ask our comrades to bring their practical experience to our knowledge.

The whole theoretical (the first part, the beginning of the second, as well as the chapters on the Soviet Power, the Organisation of Industry, and the Protection of Public Health, were written by Bucharin; the rest by Preobraschensky. Each of us, of course, accepts full responsibility for statements of the other.

The title of our book ("A B C") is vindicated throughout. If the book proves to be of service to beginners and to working-class propagandists, we shall know that our work has not been in vain.

N. BUCHARIN.
E. PREOBRASCHENSKY.

Moscow, October 15th, 1919.

PART I. DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF CAPITALISM.

Introduction. OUR PROGRAMME.

1.—What is a Programme? 2.—What was our Former Programme. 3.—

Why must a New Programme be drawn up? 4.—The Meaning of our Programme. 5.—The Scientific Character of our Programme.

1.—What is a Programme? Every party pursues a definite end. Be it a party of landlords or capitalists, be it a party of workers or peasants—the same thing holds. Every party must have its aims, otherwise it is not a party. If it is a party which represents the interests of landlords, it will pursue the aims of the landlords: how to maintain their ownership of the land, how to keep the peasants in check, how to sell the grain of the owners at increased prices, how to obtain higher rents, and how to secure cheap agricultural workers. If it is a party of capitalists or manufacturers, it will likewise have its own ends in view—to get cheap labour, to bridle the factory workers, to discover ways by which goods can be sold at the highest possible price, and, above all, to so arrange matters that the idea of establishing a new society will not occur to the workers; that they will believe that there have always been masters, and that there always will be. That is the aim of the employers. It is evident that the workers and peasants must have a wholly different aim, because their interests are different. "What is good for Russians is bad for Germans."* This can be more truly rendered, "What is good for workers is bad for landlords and capitalists." That means that the workers have one end in view, the capitalists another, the landlords still another. Not every landlord, however, thinks of how he can, with the least exertion, override his peasants. Many of them drink uninterruptedly, and do not even know what their managers do. So is it with the workers and peasants. There are some who say, "We will fight our way through somehow; why should we trouble? Our forefathers lived thus from time immemorial; so shall we live." Such people fail to understand their own interests. There are others, on the other hand, who consider the question how their interests can best be advanced, and who organise themselves in

* Russian proverb.

a party. The whole working class, therefore, does not belong to the party, but its best and most energetic members do. These members lead the others. To the workers' party (the Bolsheviks) the best workers and peasants attach themselves; to the party of the landlords and capitalists ("Cadets," "Party of People's Freedom"), the most energetic landlords, capitalists and their servants, lawyers, professors, officers, etc., belong. Consequently every party represents the most thoughtful members of its class. Therefore, a landlord or capitalist, who is in an organised party, can better fight workers and peasants than one who is not. Similarly, organised workers can more successfully fight capitalists and landlords than those who are unorganised. The former have reflected upon the aims and the interests of the working class; they know how these interests can best be served; and they know the shortest way to their goal.

All those aims which a party strives to realise, while representing the interests of its class, constitute a party programme. In the programme is therefore shown what a certain class aspires to. In the programme of the Communist Party is consequently shown what the workers and poor peasants strive for. A programme is a most important thing for a party. From a programme we can always ascertain whose interests are represented by the party to which the programme belongs.

2.—What was the nature of our old programme? Our present programme was adopted at the eighth Congress of the party at the end of March, 1919. Until that time we had no definite written programme. There was only the old programme which was worked out at the second Congress of the party in 1903. When this programme was written Bolsheviks and Mensheviks formed one party with one programme. At that time the working class first began to organise. Large works were few in number. It was still a disputed question whether the working class would grow much more numerous. The "Narodniki" (the fathers of the present Socialist-Revolutionary Party) believed that the

working class could not be developed in Russia, and that factories and workshops would not be multiplied. The Marxists (Social Democrats) as well as the future Bolsheviks, and also, later, the Mensheviks, maintained, on the other hand, that in Russia, as in all other lands, the working class would increase and that it would form the principal revolutionary power. Events have shown how the views of the "Narodniki" were wrong and those of the Social Democrats right.

But when the Social Democrats drew up their programme at the second Congress of the party (in the drawing up of which programme Lenin as well as Plechanov took part) the working class was not yet very powerful. Therefore, no one thought at that time that it would be possible to immediately proceed to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. At that time all were agreed that it would be well to break the back of Czarism, to fight for the union of workers and peasants, to win an eight-hour day, and to strike at the landlords wherever possible. No one thought of aiming at the immediate expropriation of the bourgeoisie from their factories and workshops by the workers. This, then, was our old programme of the year 1903.

3.—Why must we have a new programme? From that time till the year of the revolution (1917) is a long time, and in that period conditions altered very much. Great industry in Russia took a mighty stride forward, and with it advanced the working class. As early as 1905 the working class revealed itself as a powerful force. At the time of the second revolution it was clear that it could only succeed if the working class succeeded. The working class would not now be contented with what would have satisfied it in 1905. It was now so powerful that it demanded the unconditional taking over of the factories and workshops, workers' control, and the curbing of the capitalists. Since the formulation of the first programme internal conditions had fundamentally altered. Also (and still more important), external conditions had changed. In 1905 "quiet and peace" reigned in the whole of Europe. In

1917 every thinking person could see that in the world-war the world-revolution would have its origin. In 1905 the Russian Revolution was followed merely by an insignificant movement of the Austrian workers and by revolutions in the backward countries of the East—Persia, Turkey and China. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was followed by revolutions not only in the East, but also in the West, where the working classes gathered under the flag of the downfall of Capitalism. External and internal conditions are therefore wholly different from those of 1903. Consequently, it would be absurd for the workers' party to have had one and the same programme for 1903 and 1917-19. When the Mensheviks reproach us with having broken away from our old programme, and, therefore, with having thrown over the teaching of Karl Marx, we reply that the teaching of Marx consists not from the inner consciousness, but must be created from the conditions of life. In winter people wear furs; in summer only fools would do so. Similarly in politics. Marx taught us to observe the conditions of life, and to act accordingly. This does not mean that we must change our convictions as a lady changes her gloves. The great aim of the working class is the realisation of the Communist order of society. And that aim is the permanent aim of the workers' movement. But it is evident that, according to its distance from its goal, the demands it makes must be different. During the autocracy the working class had to work in secret. Its party was prosecuted as a criminal party. Now the workers are in power, and their party is the ruling party. Only an unintelligent person can maintain that one and the same programme can serve for 1903 and for our own times. Changes in the internal conditions of Russia and changes in the whole international situation have rendered necessary changes in our programme.

4.—The meaning of our programme. Our new (Moscow) programme is the first programme of a workers' party which has been a long time in power. Therefore, our party must turn to ac-

count all the experience which the working class has gained in governing and in the building up of the new life. This is important not only for us, the Russian workers and poor peasants, but also for foreign comrades, because in our successes and failures not only we ourselves learn, but the whole international proletariat. Therefore, our programme includes not only that which our party has actually realised, but also that which it has partly realised. Our programme must be known in all its details by every member of the party. It is the most important guide in the activity of every party group and of every individual comrade. Only those who "recognise" the programme (that is, those who believe it to be right) can be members of the party. It can be considered to be right only by those who understand it. There are, naturally, many people who have never seen the programme, but who nevertheless insinuate themselves into the ranks of the Communists, and who swear by Communism, but who are, at the same time, animated only by a desire to acquire wealth or to secure comfortable positions. We do not want such members; they only injure our cause. Without a knowledge of the programme no one can be a real Communist-Bolshevik. Every (class-) conscious Russian worker and poor peasant must know the programme of our party. Every foreign proletarian must study it in order to turn to account the experiences of the Russian Revolution.

(To be Continued.)

THE STATE.

The State is nothing else than a machine for the oppression of one class by another class, and that no less so in the democratic republic than under the monarchy. At the very best, it is an inheritance of evil, bound to be transmitted to the proletariat when it has become victorious in its struggle for class supremacy, and the worst features of which it will have to lop off at once, until a new race, grown up under new, free social conditions, will be in a position to shake off from itself this State rubbish in its entirety.—Engels.

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Russian barbarians, applied to the Czarina for promotion, Fichte, as the legatee of the French Revolution, appealed in Berlin in fiery speeches to the German nation to arouse itself out of its state of moral and intellectual decadence.

Kant, in consequence, repudiated this pupil at an early date; in return for which Fichte called his master a "Dreivertelskopf" (chump), who was unable to continue the work he had begun. Fichte also opposed, with the same undiminished sharpness, the one-sided esthetic culture as developed by Goethe and Schiller. Thereupon Schiller rebuked him as the "unesthetic Fichte," also ridiculing him as a world reformer. However, Fichte propounded the question in his *Speeches to the German Nation*: what value the literature of a people, not possessing political independence, could have. Furthermore, he pointedly asks to what greater ideal a sensible writer could aspire than to participate in the general public life, in order to form and mold it according to his ideal; concluding that, if he did not desire that, all his talk were nothing but empty phrasemongery expended to "tickle indolent ears."

In consequence, it is fully senseless, absolutely devoid of historic facts, when the bourgeois historians speak about an idealism of Schiller and Fichte. Of course, the philosophy of Fichte was idealistic to the degree that it placed the capacity to think over general conditions of existence. However, the idealism of Fichte was different from the one of Schiller, the same as the political revolution is different from the development of esthetic culture. Of course, these elements need not necessarily manifest and exclude themselves as contradictions, this they do where they have been once separated, it is not a general catch-word, especially if a fearful controversy with Schiller, Fichte evolves the perishing himself as the revolutionary thinker, who attempted that colossal feat of seeking to remold the whole nation with the power of his intellect.

Taking the above as a criterion, we can, nevertheless, as a Socialist, say with certainty that Fichte never life quite a few of his adherents sought to credit him with, and their claim is largely based upon his work dealing with the closed or protected commercial state (*Der Geschlossene Handelsstaat*). The just cited essay traces the development of the old Prussian state as it ought to have been organised according to the demands of bourgeois reason—quite a credible task, we assert, but which has nothing to do with Socialism. However, with reference to the actual necessities of modern bourgeois society, Fichte cannot comprehend them, and takes an unscientific and truly inadequate position towards them in this book.

As Fichte followed Kant, so Fichte has again been followed by the third of our classic philosophers, namely Geo. Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1779-1831). As his more or less technical philosophical language has become incomprehensible for us, it suffices, therefore, that we appreciate the historic weight of his philosophy. If Kant has introduced through his theory of the

heavens, or the nebular theory, evolution to nature, then Hegel introduced it to history. If Fichte utilised the dialectical method of the Greek philosophy, then Hegel made this matter his life. In other words, with the concept of given; and out of the struggle of both evolves a higher concept of creation. Everything is and is not at the same time, because everything flows and finds itself in a perpetual state of change, i.e., everything finally dissolves itself to the primal stages of eternal existence and non-existence.

Hegel conceived the history of humanity as a process of steady movement, change and readjustments from a lower to a higher social state; he sought, through the aid of immense intellectual labors, to follow the gradual steps and various phases of this process through all its seeming labyrinths and chances. As he conceived social manifestations to be the reflex of concepts, so he naturally came to very arbitrary historic interpretations; however, as such obstinate things as historic propositions are not so easily pressed into a yoke, he, therefore, at times also arrived at very genial conclusions in relation to social development.

Far more modest than Kant, or even as Kant's admirer, Hegel did not claim to be a thinker standing outside of the pale of time; his philosophy was to him only an expression of his period, as conceived in thoughts. From this, already flows the eminent character of his teachings. With his historic dialectics, Hegel also conquered innumerable premises of the intellect, and fructified with this principle of development the sciences and history in a degree which Kant's philosophy was absolutely incompetent of.

From 1815 up to Hegel's death in 1831, and even far beyond that period, his philosophy dominated the intellectual life of Germany. As this was also a period of political and social reaction, logically, the conservative side of his philosophy predominated. The idea of the Legal State (*Rechtsstaates*), which Hegel erected in his philosophy of law, was reflected in the Prussian State, from 1821; the same as Fichte's Closed Commercial State but reflected the Prussian State from 1801; with the easily conceivable difference, that Hegel, under the pressure of the decisions of Karlsbad, was far less inclined to realise his ideal than Fichte, who, under the enthralling effects of the French Revolution, was only too prone to idealise his. Hegel's philosophy of jurisprudence (*Rechtsphilosophie*) did not exceed or differ from that of the Prussian State of the twenties in much more than that it demanded publicity for the practice of law and the higher courts.

That is why this particular phase of Hegel's system was, to a degree, elevated to and declared to be the Prussian State philosophy; primarily, because the Prussian bureaucracy did not conceive the revolutionary character inherent in its dialectical basis. However, this character had to manifest itself, when the French July Revolution called forth and actuated new life in Germany. And when this revolution, for the first power upon the great stage of historic development—scientific Communism sprouted out of He-

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Syndicalist Flaws.

By JOHN O'GROATS.

"Why do you constantly harp on origins and fundamentals?" complained a speaker at a recent meeting. Adroit questioning had shattered a beautiful house of cards which he had constructed. And so it is in many instances. As Huxley once remarked: "The destruction of a beautiful theory by an ugly fact is one of the tragedies of science." It is this very insistence upon facts to the exclusion of air castles and fancy that marks the chasm between the dreamer and the thinker.

The problem that is uppermost in the mind of every class conscious worker is: How can the ownership and control of the economic resources be transferred from the present ruling class to the whole people? It is apparent that economic control is based in the possession of private property. That there is no disagreement on this point is proved by the fact of the demand for the "abolition of private property" by all organisations of revolutionary workers; even the mild-mannered radical will usually agree to this. The difference of opinion, and the resulting differences in tactics and organisation, arise almost entirely over questions dealing with the manner in which this change of control is to be accomplished.

The particular question for discussion in this article is the proposition that "No class ever gained political supremacy without having first gained economic supremacy." The same idea is expressed, in modified form, by the statement, "Political power is the reflex of economic power." In actual practice these concepts are the basis for the contention that the most effective method for the emancipation of the working class is through "economic organisation," "industrial organisation," "organising the economic power of the workers," and so on. Usually, those who hold such ideas also labor under the mistaken notion that political power is expressed only in elections. This view is narrow and erroneous. Political activity assumes

many and varied forms, ranging from propaganda and education to open civil war.

The statement that "No class ever gained political supremacy without first having gained economic supremacy" implies that political activities are of secondary importance, and not necessarily essential to the success of the working class movement. More than that, when carried to its logical conclusion, it means that economic power is ALONE sufficient. For, if economic control is the object to be attained, and this can be accomplished by economic means, of what value or use would be the ensuing political supremacy?

This is the theoretical basis of the various syndicalist and semi-syndicalist organisations. That many labor unions hold similar views (including Mr. Gompers with his slogan of "No politics in the union") is evidence that the principle is not necessarily revolutionary. Syndicalist organisations in Europe have on more than one occasion proved to be decidedly reactionary.

Although these theories of the syndicalists, followers of Proudhon, have many times been repudiated, they continue to exist under various disguises—such as "building the new society within the shell of the old," "direct action on the job," "political power is the reflex of economic power," and so forth.

The literature of socialism is replete with evidence refuting these contentions; without going into detail, a few illustrations from history will suffice to show the manner in which ruling classes establish themselves.

In the first centuries of the Christian era the Roman Empire reached the highest point in its political and economic power. Then came the onslaughts of the vast hordes of barbarians from the north. With practically no economic organisation, and with only a few days' supply of food as the totality of their economic resources, they destroyed the vast economic organisation of a world empire. Out of the resulting chaos arose

the feudal system, merging what remained of Roman civilisation with the tribal customs of the Huns, the Vandals, the Goths and other barbarians.

From this time on till the twelfth century Europe was ruled by the sword.

At about this period the commercial cities became strong enough to demand and obtain their freedom from feudal restrictions. Leagues of commercial cities were formed for the purpose of protecting the wealth of the rising merchant class; under the protection of their own military and naval forces the cities rose to greater wealth and power. Gradually, centralised government and written laws supplanted the rule of force based upon "right and custom." This resulted from the alliance of the merchants of the cities with the kings as against the clergy and lesser nobility. Feudal restrictions continuing to hamper the development of the new social class, a period of violent revolution ensued. The political dominance of the nobility was destroyed. "The hitherto unassailable stone castles of the nobles submitted to the cannon of the burghers, the fire of their guns pierced the mail-armor of the knights. The supremacy of the nobility fell with the heavy armed cavalry of the nobility." (Engels). The political revolutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gave to the bourgeois political dominance, and this BEFORE they had risen to the position of the dominant economic class.

Later developments were along the same line. "The industrial capitalists, these new potentates, had on their part not only to displace the guild masters of handicraft, but also the feudal lords, the possessors of the sources of wealth." (Marx). The capitalist class did not attain full control of the economic resources until AFTER it had attained political supremacy, and had by force displaced the class which was actually in possession of the "economic power." In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, plays the great part." (Marx). Recent history bears out this view, as in the case of the Civil War in America. In Russia, the Soviets gained political supremacy at a time when the economic supremacy was yet in the

hands of the exploiting classes; the Hungarian revolution was political, not economic. And the threatened revolutions in other countries will take the same form.

The contention that "No class ever obtained political supremacy without having first secured economic supremacy" is true to some extent of previous classes. Both the merchant class and the capitalist class possessed a certain amount of economic power, arising from their wealth, previous to obtaining political control. But it must be remembered that the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords was a struggle between two propertied classes, while the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalists is a struggle between a propertied and a non-propertied class. The rising capitalist class sought and obtained political power for the purpose of protecting their already acquired property. The working class seeks political power, not to protect its property, but to abolish all forms of property. Ponder carefully the following enlightening passage from the Communist Manifesto:

"All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their ALREADY ACQUIRED [ECONOMIC] STATUS by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletariat cannot become masters of the producing system, except by ABOLISHING THEIR OWN PREVIOUS MODE OF APPROPRIATION [wages] and, therefore, also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property."

The class struggle is not a struggle between two groups, each possessing certain economic powers, it is a struggle FOR economic power; a struggle for the possession, control and ownership of the economic resources. The possession and control of the present owners, the capitalists, is maintained and guaranteed by the state, through the use of its coercive powers—the army, the police, the judiciary, etc. The first step, then, for the non-possessing class is to obtain control of these powers and to use them for the purpose of evicting the present owners; transferring the ownership to society at large.

In modern capitalistic countries the tendency is for the economic power to concentrate into ever fewer hands, the

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economic position of the workers becoming constantly more precarious. In such circumstances it is an idle dream to contend that without having gained

control of the powers of the political state the workers can secure control of the industries, the mines and mills and shops.

A Proletarian Library.

By G. BARACCHI.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE. By Karl Marx.

De Leon says of this work, which was written at the beginning of 1852, that it is one of Marx' most profound and brilliant monographs, and that it may be considered the best work extant on the philosophy of history. In it Marx uses the method, of which he was the discoverer, to illuminate the period of French history extending from the Revolution of February 24, 1848, to Louis Bonaparte's "coup d'etat" of December 2, 1851. In the space at our disposal we can do no more than point out a few of the high-lights in this general illumination, but to do so much is probably the most effective way of recommending the whole book to the study of our readers.

The first chapter carries us up to the June days of 1848, to the crushing of the insurrection of the Paris proletariat against the bourgeois republic, an event described by Marx as the most colossal in the history of European civil wars. With this defeat, the proletariat steps, for the time being, to the background of the revolutionary stage, and Marx describes its subsequent conduct in the following highly significant words:—

"It partly throws itself upon doctrinaire experiments, 'co-operative banking,' and 'labor exchange' schemes; in other words, it goes into movements, in which it gives up the task of revolutionising the old world with its own large collective weapons and on the contrary seeks to bring about its emancipation, behind the back of society, in private ways, within the narrow bounds of its own class conditions, and, consequently, inevitably fails."

We recommend this passage to the careful attention of all those the beginning and end of whose social wisdom is to "build the new society within the shell of the old."

Chapter two deals with the history of the Constitutional National Assembly from the June days until its dissolution, and with the election of Bonaparte as President of France on December 10, 1848—all this invariably from the standpoint of the

struggles of social classes. Chapter three opens with the convening on May 29, 1849, of the legislative National Assembly, in which the Party of Order, a combination of Bourbon and Orleanist representatives, predominated as the political party of the mass of the bourgeoisie. It is in this chapter that the futility of the petty bourgeois "uprising" of June 13, 1849, is exposed, and some useful advice on the subject of mass action is given:—

"If the Mountain wished to win in parliament it should not appeal to arms; if it called to arms in parliament, it should not conduct itself parliamentarily on the street, if the friendly demonstration was meant seriously, it was silly not to foresee that it would meet with a warlike reception; if it was intended for actual war, it was rather original to lay aside the weapons with which war had to be conducted."

The peculiar character of petty bourgeois democracy is also summed up thus:—

"Democratic-republican institutions are demanded as the means, not to remove the two extremes—Capital and Wage-slavery—but in order to weaken their antagonism and transform them into a harmonious whole. However different the methods may be that are proposed for the accomplishment of this object, however much the object itself may be festooned with more or less revolutionary fancies, the substance remains the same. This substance is the transformation of society upon democratic lines, but a transformation within the boundaries of the small traders' class."

Almost word for word, Marx might have been speaking of the Australian Labor Party.

Marx, however, does not, in the manner of some proletarians, imagine that bourgeois democracy is absolutely useless to the proletariat. Even the bourgeoisie knows better than that. In chapter four we are told:

"The bourgeoisie perceives correctly that all the weapons, which it forged against feudalism, turn their edges against itself; that all the means of education, which it brought forth, rebel against its own civilisation; that all the gods, which it made, have fallen away from it. It understands that all its so-called

citizens' rights and progressive organs assail and menace its class rule, both in its social foundations and its political superstructure."

Bourgeois democracy is neither absolutely useful nor absolutely useless to the workers, but it is relatively both of these.

At the beginning of 1850, the small traders' democracy made, in its futile way, another bid for power. The reply of Bonaparte and the majority of the National Assembly (the Party of Order) was the abolition of universal suffrage on May 31. Immediately after, renewed strife broke out between the National Assembly and Bonaparte. Throughout the book the role of the army in class struggles is most instructively portrayed, and in chapter five, Marx shows how Bonaparte finally succeeded in wresting control of this out of the hands of the National Assembly. But Bonaparte not only came to control the public army, he controlled also a private "army," the slum proletariat of Paris, organised under the pretext of founding a benevolent association, and named the "Society of December 10." The role of this society was to impersonate the French people to the greater glory of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Marx shows how, in control of the executive and these two armies, Bonaparte fought a winning battle against the National Assembly:

"An old and crafty rone, he looks upon the historic life of nations, upon their great and public acts, as comedies in the ordinary sense, as a carnival, where the great costumes, words and postures serve only as masks for the pettiest chicaneries. . . . At a period when the bourgeoisie itself is playing the sheerest comedy, but in the most solemn manner in the world, without doing violence to any of the pedantic requirements of French dramatic etiquette, and is itself partly deceived by, partly convinced of, the solemnity of its own public acts, the adventurer, who took the comedy for simple comedy, was bound to win."

Only after he has removed his solemn opponent and takes seriously his own role of emperor, does he become the victim of his peculiar conception of history—the serious clown who no longer takes history for a comedy but a comedy for history.

Particularly interesting at the present time is the explanation given by Marx in chapter six of the seeming commercial crisis of 1851. He says that, some special circumstances apart, this was nothing but the halt that over-production and speculation make regularly in the course of the industrial cycle, before pulling all their forces together in order to rush feverishly over the

last stretch, and arrive again at their point of departure—the General Commercial Crisis. In the same chapter Bonaparte's "coup d'etat" of December 2, 1851, is described and compared with those of his uncle and of Cromwell.

"Cromwell, when he dissolved the Long Parliament, walked alone into its midst, pulled out his watch in order that the body should not continue to exist one minute beyond the term fixed for it by him; and drove out each individual member with gay and humorous invective. Napoleon, smaller than his prototype, at last went on the 18th Brumaire into the legislature, and though in a tremulous voice, read to it its sentence of death. The second Bonaparte, who, moreover, found himself in possession of an executive power very different from that of either Cromwell or Napoleon, did not look for his model in the annals of universal history, but in the annals of the 'Society of December 10,' in the annals of criminal jurisprudence."

Truly, as Hegel says, all great historic facts and personages recur twice—once as tragedy and again as farce.

The Napoleonic government did not float in the air. In the final chapter of "The Eighteenth Brumaire" Marx shows us that Bonaparte represents an economic class, and that the most numerous in France—the allotment farmer. The economic basis of the Napoleonic empire is the allotment farm, created when the first French Revolution distributed in small patches among the cultivators of the soil the territory held formerly by the feudal lords. But the empire of the first Napoleon stood upon the allotment farm in its virile youth, the second empire stands upon it in its senile decay, and is hence likewise degenerate. Thus Marx can say:

"The revolution is thorough going. It still is on its passage through purgatory. It does its work methodically. Down to December 2, 1851, it had fulfilled one-half of its programme, it now fulfils the other half. It first ripens the power of the Legislature into fullest maturity in order to be able to overthrow it. Now that it has accomplished that, the revolution proceeds to ripen the power of the Executive into equal maturity; it reduces this power to its purest expression; it isolates it; places it before itself as the sole subject for reproof in order to concentrate against it all the revolutionary forces of destruction. When the reprobation shall have accomplished this second part of its preliminary programme, Europe will jump up from her seat to exclaim: 'Well hast thou grabbed, old mole!'"

We make an end here. But if proletarians would better apprehend the conditions of their own revolution, they will certainly read this book.

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Proletarian Comment

The Paris Commune.

ON the morning of March 18, fifty years ago, Paris arose to the thunder burst of "Vive La Commune!" The Parisian workers, understanding that it was "their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power" inaugurated the first dictatorship of the proletariat, and, in the teeth of the embattled forces of the counter-revolution, maintained their rule for two full months. The first proletarian dictatorship has produced a powerful effect on the fight for emancipation in all countries, an effect which has been confirmed and supplemented by the second and third proletarian dictatorships, the Russian and the Hungarian. Since, however, in the Paris of 1871, "the small workshop of the patriarchal master" was still the rule and the large factory of the industrial capitalist the exception, the Commune could only make tentative approaches to the question of the Socialist organisation of industry. Yet even from this negative aspect of the Commune we may learn much. In his work on the Commune, Debreuilh, that great revolutionist, says: "The policy of methodic expropriation, quite apart from the opposition of the other classes, was impossible, for the reason that the day laborers in the mass had no idea of the constitution of society other than the traditional one, and because they had not developed any institutions or trade guilds, which are absolutely necessary to ensure the normal working of production and exchange after all capitalistic organisation has been removed. It is impossible to improvise a new regime, especially a Socialist regime, by means of decrees. Decrees and laws should rather make secure the relations already existing. If in this matter the Commune had attempted to act prematurely, probably the sole result would have been to cause a section of its own best powers

to turn against it, without causing among the daily workers any appreciable disposition in their favour. They could not do otherwise than prepare the way for a general social provision, under the pretence of democratising the political machinery then in existence; and that is what they did." Since 1871, half a century of the most powerful capitalist development has elapsed, and socialisation could proceed at a very different tempo to-day. Nevertheless, the lesson of the Commune holds: that in all our social life the economic conditions are decisive, that every act which would fly in the face of those conditions is foredoomed to failure. Let us therefore be constant in our study of economic development, that, everywhere and always, we may wage the class struggle in its light, neither leaping ahead of nor, particularly at the present day, lagging behind it.

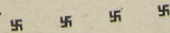


The Politics of the Commune.

IN the determination of social development the economic factor is paramount. This factor Blanqui and his followers disregarded, and, in despite of the immaturity of the general social conditions, concluded, by the desperate dictatorship of a small minority, to remake the world. On the other hand, Proudhon and his successors, right down to the "pure and simple" industrialists of to-day, drew from a realisation of the fundamental importance of the economic factor the conclusion that for the exploited classes politics were superfluous. The Marxist conception overcomes the one-sidedness of the theories of both the one and the other. For the Marxist the relation between economics and politics consists in studying the economic conditions and tendencies, and attempting to make political aims and methods fit in with them. "Marx recognised that the economic relations were of the first importance, that

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without some alteration of these relations no political change of whatever kind could emancipate the proletariat. But, none the less, he recognised that the possession of State power and authority was absolutely necessary in order to break the domination of capital, and in order to carry out the emancipation of the proletariat by economic changes." For the Marxist economics make politics not superfluous, but necessary. History, in the guise of the Paris Commune, confirms this concept. For the Commune demonstrated in what the first step of the social revolution in fact consists, namely, in the conquest of political power by the proletariat. But the Commune did more than this. It not only showed that the workers must conquer political power, it also indicated the form that the political power of the workers, when conquered, must take. And that form is not the form of the bourgeois State. The Commune proceeded to the destruction of the executive and judicial arms of this State. As to the legislature—well, the Commune was to have been "not a parliamentary, but a working body." In Russia, long before 1917, the Bolsheviks understood that they could not use the bourgeois forms of State to express proletarian power, but that they must destroy these and substitute proletarian forms. This knowledge, which they owed to the Commune, led them in 1917 to the establishment of the Soviet as its twentieth century and Russian equivalent. When the Australian workers also have learnt this lesson of the Commune, they will turn away from the Labor Party, which, using the bourgeois State machine, functions inevitably in the interest of the bourgeoisie, to an acceptance of the Communist program. And then they in their turn will have a successful revolution.



The Council of Action.

THE result of the all-Australian conference of labor organisations held to consider the serious predicament in which the workers of this country found themselves, has been to produce a plan

for the immediate organisation of councils of action. These councils are to be based upon the unions, grouped in twelve divisions, whence a council is to be elected in every State; the State councils, in their turn, are to elect a Commonwealth council of action with power to order a general strike "or any action deemed necessary." The significance of such workers' councils is not hard to fathom. Conceived at a time of stress, they are the first reaching out in this country towards that form of organisation which ultimately will supply the mechanism of the dictatorship of the Australian proletariat. The Soviets developed in Russia and elsewhere present a strong analogy to the Paris Commune; a strong analogy to the Paris Commune; the proposed Australian councils of action, though based upon the union rather than upon the place of work, bear a still more striking resemblance to the Soviets. From the experience of a number of European countries, however, Communists have learnt that, save in a revolutionary situation, Soviets cannot flourish. In a non-revolutionary situation, they either decline rapidly or, what is worse, have their revolutionary significance perverted by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. Revolutionary situations without doubt produce Soviets; Soviets, on the other hand, cannot produce revolutionary situations. The situation in Australia at present is not exactly revolutionary, and the most urgent need of the Australian proletariat is not workers' councils but a strong Communist party. Is that to say that Communists should hold themselves aloof from the proposed councils of action? By no means. The constitution of these councils in any event proceeds. Communists should use their appearance on the Australian political stage to make propaganda among the workers for the Soviet idea, for the workers' council as the historically elaborated form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, Communists elected to the councils of action have an opportunity to work therein ready to hand. If the Commonwealth council is to have the power to order a cessation

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of work, let them induce this council to call a one day's general strike for the first of May.



Red Union International Congress.

A T Moscow, on May 1, opens the Red International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions. In connection therewith, the first direct communication to them from the Communist International has reached the workers of Australia. It comes in the form of a Manifesto (signed by Tomsy, Rossmer and Murphy, of Russia, France and England respectively) from the Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions at Moscow to the Trade and Industrial Unions of Australia, together with a covering letter addressed to Comrade P. Lamb, of Broken Hill. The Provisional Council sends out an urgent call to the unions here to despatch delegates immediately to Moscow, in order that they may participate in the Red Union International Congress. Every militant worker must realise the importance of this Congress. The time has come for the union movement here to decide whether it will continue to allow the capitalist class to walk upon its neck. If so, if it would continue in the old way, then it will follow in the wake of the fakirs who lead it ever deeper into the morass of exploitation, and it will adhere to the Yel-

low International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam. If, on the contrary, it would march out of the capitalist morass, if it would begin at length a whole-hearted struggle for its emancipation, then it will break with the Yellow Red International and link up with the Red International at Moscow. In that case, it is essential that its delegates should participate in the forthcoming Congress, and, if they are to do so, the matter must be brought before the unions without delay. Failure to despatch a delegation will not only mean the loss of a golden opportunity to serve the cause of the international proletariat, it will involve a positive disgrace upon the labor movement of Australia. This disgrace the militants in the unions must at all costs strive to avert. It may interest them to know that the man entrusted by the Provisional Council with writing the letter which contains the invitation to attend the Congress, regrets his inability to carry this invitation to Australia in person, and that, by the irony of history, the man is Paul Freeman. When the Australian Government deported Freeman, it imagined it was serving the capitalist class. What it has actually done is to enable Freeman, who is now in Moscow, to put the Australian workers in communication with their Russian brothers, and thereby drive a nail in the capitalist class's coffin.

The A.B.C. of Communism

By N. BUCHARIN and E. PREOBRASCHENSKY

INTRODUCTION.

OUR PROGRAMME (Continued).
5.—The scientific character of our programme. We have already said that a programme must be constructed from the actual conditions of life, and not merely thought out in the study. Before Marx those who represented the interests of the working people often drew wonderful pictures of the future Paradise, but did not ask themselves how this Paradise was to be achieved or which road thereto should be taken by

the workers and peasants. Marx introduced wholly different methods. He took the unjust and barbarous system of society which obtained over the whole world, and inquired how it had been created. Just as we should take a machine and examine it, so Marx examined the capitalist system of society—a system in which manufacturers and landlords rule and in which workers and peasants are oppressed. If we see that two wheels of the machine impinge upon each other, and that with every revolution they catch each other more

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and more, we can say with certainty that the machine will break and come to a standstill. Marx examined, not a machine, but the capitalist system of society; he studied it, observed its life, and saw how it was dominated by Capital. From this study he perceived clearly that Capitalism was digging its own grave, that the machine would break, and that it would break in consequence of the inevitable rising of the workers, who would re-arrange the whole world according to their own desires. Marx bade all his followers, above all, to study life as it is. Only by doing this can we draw up a correct programme. It is therefore self-evident that our programme must begin with a description of the rule of Capital.

The rule of Capital in Russia is now overthrown. That which Marx foretold unfolds itself before our eyes. The old order crashes. Crowns fall from the heads of kings and kaisers. Everywhere the workers are marching to revolution and the setting up of the Soviet power. In order to understand exactly how all this has come about we must know the nature of capitalist society. Then we shall see that it must inevitably break up. When we have recognised that there can be no going back to the old regime, and that the victory of the workers is certain, we shall prosecute with more strength and determination the fight for the new order of society.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.

- 6.—Commodity Production.
- 7.—Monopoly of the Means of Production by the Capitalist Class.
- 8.—Wage-Labour.
- 9.—Conditions of Capitalist Production.
- 10.—Exploitation of the Workers.
- 11.—Capital.
- 12.—The Capitalist State.
- 13.—The Contradictions of the Capitalist System.

6.—Commodity Production. If we examine closely the manner in which production has developed under Capitalism, we see that in that system commodities are produced. Well, what is there remarkable in that? someone will say. The

remarkable thing about it is that the article is not merely a product of labour, but is a product which is produced for the market.

An article is not a commodity when it is produced for the use of the maker. When a farmer sows corn, reaps, threshes, and grinds it, and then makes it into bread to be eaten by himself, that bread is not a commodity; it is simply bread.

An article becomes a commodity only when it is bought and sold; that is, when it is produced for the market.

In the capitalist system of society all articles are produced for the market; they are all commodities. Every factory, every workshop usually produces only a certain few commodities, and one can easily see that in cases of this kind the wares are not produced for personal use. When a funeral undertaker carries

on a business for the manufacture of coffins, it is clear that these coffins are not produced for himself and his family, but for the market. When a manufacturer produces castor oil, it is evident that, even if he took some every day in his desire to guard against indigestion, he could use only the very smallest portion of the castor oil his factory produces. Under Capitalism, it is exactly the same with other products.

In a button factory countless buttons are made, but these buttons are not made to be sewn on the clothes of the manufacturer. They are made for sale. Everything that is produced in capitalist society is intended for the market: to the market come gloves and sausages, books and boot polish, machinery and spirits, bread, stockings and guns—in short, everything.

Commodity production presupposes private property. The handicraftsman and tradesman who produced commodities owned their own workshops and tools; the manufacturer and works proprietor own the factory and the works, with all buildings, machinery, and other property. As soon as private property and commodity production appear there is a struggle for purchasers, or competition amongst the sellers. When there were no manufacturers or great capitalists, but only handicraftsmen, there was

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also a struggle for customers. He who was strongest and most skilful, he who possessed the best tools, and, above all, he who had gathered together a little money, always succeeded in securing the customers and outdistancing his rivals. The small private property of the handicraftsman, therefore, contained the germ of the great private property of to-day.

The first remarkable characteristic of the capitalist system of society is, therefore, commodity production; that is, production for the market.

7.—Monopoly of the Means of Production by the Capitalist Class. To realise the nature of Capitalism, it is not sufficient merely to cite one of its characteristics. There can be a system of commodity production which is not necessarily Capitalism: for example, the handicraft system. The handicraftsmen work for the market and sell their produce. Those products are, therefore, commodities, and the whole system is a commodity-producing system. In spite of this, however, the system is not a capitalist one, but a mere simple system of commodity production. Before this simple system can become capitalistic the means of production (tools, machines, buildings, land, etc.) must first pass into the possession of a small class of rich capitalists, and, on the other hand, the numerous independent handicraftsmen and peasants must be degraded to the position of workers.

The Program of the Blanquist Fugitives from the Paris Commune

By FREDERICK ENGELS

A certain recrudescence of Blanquism, lately observable, makes the following article, despite its praise of the German Workers' Party, well worth reprinting:—

After the failure of every revolution or velleus among the fugitives who have escaped to foreign countries. The parties of different shades form groups, accuse each other of one another with treason and every conceivable sin.

At the same time they remain in close touch with the home country, organise, edit, print leaflets and newspapers, swear that the trouble will start afresh in twenty-

We have already seen that the simple system of commodity production contains within itself the germ of its own destruction and that of the birth of another system. That has actually come to pass. In all countries the handicraftsman and the small master have for the most part disappeared. The poorer amongst them sold their tools, and from being masters became men who possessed nothing but a pair of hands. Those who were somewhat better off became still richer. They rebuilt their workshops, extended them, introduced better fittings, and, later, machinery; began to engage workers, and became manufacturers.

Gradually they acquired possession of everything necessary for production: factory buildings, raw materials, warehouses, shops, houses, works, mines, railways, steamships—in short, everything indispensable to production. All these instruments of production became the exclusive property of the capitalist class (or, as it is usually put, the monopoly of the capitalist class). A small handful of rich men possess everything; the majority of the poor possess only their power to labour. This monopoly possessed by the capitalistic class of the means of production is the second characteristic of the capitalist system of society.

(To be continued.)

four hours, that victory is certain, and distribute the various government offices beforehand on the strength of this anticipation.

Of course disappointment follows appointment, and since this is not attributed to the inevitable historical conditions, which they refuse to understand, but rather to accidental mistakes of individuals, the mutual accusations multiply, and the whole business winds up with a grand row. This is the history of all groups of fugitives from the royalist emigrants of 1792 until the present day. Those fugitives who have any sense and understanding, retire from the fruitless squabble as soon as they can do so with propriety, and devote themselves to better things.

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The French emigrants after the Commune did not escape this disagreeable fate. Owing to the European campaign of slander, which attacked everybody without distinction, and being compelled, particularly in London, where they had a common centre in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, for the time being, to suppress their internal troubles before the world, they had not been able, during the last two years, to conceal the signs of advancing disintegration. The open fight broke out everywhere. In Switzerland a part of them joined the Bakounists mainly under the influence of Malou, who was himself one of the founders of the secret alliance. Then the so-called Blanquists in London withdrew from the International and formed a group of their own under the title of "The Revolutionary Commune." Outside of them numerous other groups arose later, which continue in a state of ceaseless transformation and modulation and have not put out anything essential in the way of manifestos. But the Blanquists are just making their programme known to the world by a proclamation to the "Communeux."

These Blanquists are not called by this name, because they are a group founded by Blanqui. Only a few of the thirty-three signers of this programme have ever spoken personally to Blanqui. They rather wish to express the fact they intend to be active in his spirit and according to his traditions.

Blanqui is essentially a political revolutionist. He is a Socialist only through sentiment, through his sympathy with the sufferings of the people, but he has neither a socialist theory nor any definite practical suggestions for social remedies. In his political activity he was mainly a "man of action," believing that a small and well organised stroke of force at the opportune moment, could carry the mass of the people with them by a victorious revolution. Of course, he could organise such a group under Louis Philippe's reign only as a secret society. Then the case of conspiracies generally happens in the empty promises naturally took place. His men, tired of being held off all the time by the empty promises that the outbreak should soon begin, finally lost all patience, became rebellious, and only the alternative remained of either letting the conspiracy fall to pieces or of breaking loose without any apparent provocation. They made a revolution on May 12th, 1839, and were promptly squelched. By the way, this Blanquist conspiracy was the only one in which the police could never get a foothold. The blow fell out of a clear sky.

From Blanqui's assumption that any revolution may be made by the outbreak of itself the revolutionary minority, follows of itself the necessity of a dictatorship after the dictatorship of the venture. This is, of course, a dictatorship, not of the entire revolutionary class, but of the small minority that

has made the revolution, and who are themselves previously organised under the dictatorship of one or several individuals.

We see, then, that Blanqui is a revolutionary of another generation.

These conceptions of the march of revolutionary events have long become obsolete, at least for the German Workingmen's Party, and will not find much sympathy in France, except among the less mature or the more impatient laborers. We shall also note that they are placed under certain restrictions in the present programme. Nevertheless our London Blanquists agree with the principle that revolutions do not make themselves but are made; that they are made by a relatively small minority and after a previously conceived plan; and finally that they may be made at any time, and that "soon."

It is a matter of course that such principles will deliver a man hopelessly into the hands of all the self-deceptions of a fugitive's life of all the self-deceptions of another. He and drive him from one folly to another. He wants above all to play the role of Blanqui, "the man of action." But little can be accomplished by mere good will. Not every one has the revolutionary instinct and quick decision of Blanqui. Hamlet may talk ever so much of energy, he men of action cannot find anything at all to do upon what they call the field of action, then these thirty-three Brutuses come into a more comical than tragic conflict with themselves. The tragic of their situation is by no means increased by the dark mein which they assume, as though they were so many slayers of tyrants with stilettos in their bosoms, which they are not.

What can they do? They prepare the next "outbreak" by drawing up lists of proscription for the future, in order that the line of man, who took part in the Commune, may be purified. For this reason they are called "The Pure" by the fugitives. Whether they themselves assume this title I cannot say. It would fit some of them rather badly. Their meetings are secret, and their resolutions are supposed to be kept secret, although this does not prevent the whole French quarter from always happens to men of action, quarrel with a nothing to do, they become involved first in a personal, then in a literary, quarrel with a foe worthy of themselves, one of the most doubtful of the minor Parisian journalists, a certain Vermeersch, who published during the Commune the "Pere Duchene," a miserable caricature of the paper published by Hebert in 1793. This noble creature replies to their moral indignation by calling all of them thieves or accomplices of thieves with a flood of leaflet, and smothering them with a flood of Billingsgate that smells of itself.

Every word is an excrement. And it is with such opponents that our thirty-three Brutuses wrestle before the public!

If anything is evident it is the fact that the Parisian proletariat, after the exhausting

war, after the famine in Paris, and especially after the fearful massacres of May, 1871, will require a good deal of time to rest, in order to gather new strength, and that every premature attempt at a revolution would bring on merely a new and still more crushing defeat. Our Blanquists are of a different opinion.

The rout of the Royalist majority on Versailles forbodes to them "the fall of Versailles, the revenge of the Commune. For we are approaching one of those great historical moments, one of those great crises, in which the people, while seemingly sunk in misery and doomed to death, resume their revolutionary advance with new strength."

In other words, another outbreak will "soon" come. This hope for an "immediate revenge of the Commune" is not a mere article of faith with men who have set their minds upon being "men of action" at a time when there is absolutely nothing to be done in the sense which they represent, that of an immediate outbreak.

Never mind. Since a start will be made soon, they hold that "the time has come when every fugitive who still has any life in him should declare himself."

And so the thirty-three declare that they are: (1) atheists; (2) communists; (3) revolutionaries.

Our Blanquists have this in common with the Bakounists, that they wish to represent the most advanced, most extreme line. For this reason they often chose the same means as the Bakounists, although they differ from them, to be more radical in the matter of atheism than all others. Fortunately it requires no great heroism to be an atheist nowadays. Atheism is practically accepted by the European working men's parties, although in certain countries it may be of the same calibre as that of a certain Bakounist who declares that it was contrary to all Socialism to believe in God, but that it was different with the Virgin Mary, in whom every good Socialist ought to believe. Of the vast majority of the German Socialist working men it may even be said that mere atheism has been outgrown by them. This purely negative term does not apply to them any more, for they maintain no longer merely a theoretical, but a practical opposition to the belief they live and think in the real world, for they are materialists. This will probably be the case in France also. But if it were not, then that the splendid French materialist literature of the preceding century is widely distributed among the laborers, that literature in which the French mind has so far accomplished its due allowance for the condition of the science of their day, still stands infinitely high in ed since.

But this cannot suit our Blanquists. In order to show that they are the most radical,

God is abolished by them by decree, as in 1793: "May the Commune for ever free humanity from this ghost of past misery (God), from this cause of its present misery." (The non-existing, God a cause!) "There is religious demonstration, every religious organization, must be forbidden."

And this demand for a transformation of people into atheists by order of the star-chamber is signed by two members of the Commune, in the first place, that a multitude of things may be ordered on paper without being carried out, and in the second place, that persecutions are the best means of promoting disliked convictions. So much is certain, that the only service which may still be rendered to God to-day, is that of declaring atheism an article of faith to be enforced and of outdoing even Bismarck's anti-Catholic laws by forbidding religion altogether.

The second point of the programme is Communism.

Here we are more at home, for the ship in which we sail here is called "The Manifesto of the Communist Party, published in Feb. 1848." Already in the fall of 1872 the five Blanquists who withdrew from the International had adopted a Socialist programme, which was in all essential points that of the German Communism. They had justified their withdrawal by the fact that the International had refused to play at revolution making after the manner of these five. Now this council of thirty-three adopts this programme with its entire materialist conception of history, although its translation into Blanquist French leaves a good deal to desire, in parts where the "Manifesto" has not been almost literally adopted, as it has, for instance, in the following passage: "As the last expression of all forms of servitude, the bourgeoisie has lifted the mystic veil from the exploitation of labor, by which it was formerly obscured: Governments, religions, family laws, institutions of the past and the present, finally revealed themselves in this society, reduced to the simple antagonism between capitalist and wage workers, as instruments of oppression, by the help of which the bourgeoisie maintains its rule and holds the proletariat down."

Compare with this "The Communist Manifesto," Section I: "In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. The bourgeoisie has honored of its halo every occupation hitherto disdained and looked up to with reverence: the priest, the poet, the physician, the lawyer, its paid wage laborers. The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation, etc."

But as soon as we descend from theory to practice, the peculiarity of the thirty-three case we want to reach our goal without stopping at any intermediate stations, and prolong the slavery."

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The German Communists are Communists because they clearly see the final goal and work towards it through all intermediate stations and compromises, which are created, not by them, but by historical development. And their goal is the society in which no private property in land and means of production shall exist any longer. The thirty-three, on the other hand, are Communists because they imagine that they can skip intermediate stations and compromises at their sweet will, and if only the trouble begins, as it will soon, according to them, and they get in hold of affairs, then Communism will be introduced the day after to-morrow. If this is not immediately possible, then they are not Communists.

What a simple-hearted childishness which shows impatience as a convincing argument in support of a theory?

Finally the thirty-three are "revolutionaries."

In this line, so far as big words are concerned, we know that the Bakounists have reached the limit; but the Blanquists feel that it is their duty to excel them in this. And how do they do this? It is well-known that the entire Socialist proletariat, from Lisbon to New York and Budapest to Belgrade, has assumed the responsibility for the actions of the Paris Commune without hesitation. But that is not enough for the Blanquists. "As for us, we claim our part of the responsibility for the executions of the enemies of the people" (by the Commune), whose part are then enumerated; "we claim our part of the responsibility for those fires, which destroyed the instruments of royal, of bourgeois, oppression or protected our fighters." In every revolution some follies are inevitably committed, just as they are at any other time, and when quiet is finally re-

stored and calm reasoning comes, people necessarily conclude: We have done many things that had better been left undone, and we have neglected many things which we should have done, and for this reason things went wrong.

But what a lack of judgment it requires to declare the Commune sacred, to proclaim it infallible, to claim that every burnt house, every executed hostage, received their just dues to the dot over the *!* Is not that equivalent to saying that during that week in May the people shot just as many opponents as was necessary and no more? Does not that repeat the saying about the First French Revolution: Every beheaded victim received justice, first those beheaded by order of Robespierre, and then Robespierre himself? To such follies are people driven when they give free rein to the desire to appear formidable, although they are at bottom quite good natured.

Enough. In spite of all follies of the fugitives, and in spite of all comical efforts to appear terrible, this first manifesto in which progress. It is the first manifesto in which French workingmen endorse the present German Communism. And these are moreover the workingmen of that calibre who consider the French as the chosen people of the revolution and Paris as the revolutionary Jerusalem. To have carried them to this point is no small merit of Vaillant, who is one of the signers of the manifesto, and who is well known to be thoroughly familiar with the German language and the German Socialist literature. The German Socialist workingmen, on the other hand, who proved in 1870 that they were completely free from jingoism, may regard it as a good sign that French workingmen adopt correct theoretical principles, even when they come from Germany.

Modern Industry

By KARL MARX

Modern industry, as we have seen, sweeps away by technical means the manufacturing* division of labor, under which each man is bound hand and foot for life to a single department operation. At the same time, the capitalist form of that industry reproduces this division of labor in a still more monstrous shape; in the factory proper, by converting the workman into a living appendage of the machine; and everywhere outside the factory and partly by re-establishing machine workers, partly by re-establishing the divisions of labor on a fresh basis by the general introduction of the labor of women and children, and of cheap unskilled labor.

The antagonism between the manufacturing division of labor and the methods of Modern Industry makes itself forcibly felt. It manifests itself, amongst other ways, in the frightful fact that a great part of the children employed in modern factories and manufactures are from their earliest years riveted to the most simple manipulations, and exploited for years, without being taught a single sort of work that would afterwards make them of use, even in the same manufacturing or factory. In the English letterpress printing trade, for example, there existed formerly a system, corresponding to that of the old manufactures and handicrafts, of advancing the apprentices from easy to more and more difficult work. They went through a course of teaching till they were finished

*Marx uses the word "manufacture" in its strict sense to mean that form of production which was typical for the period extending from the middle of the 16th to the first third of the 18th century. Manufacture is done by hand, as of old, but the special character is done in the division of labor. Modern industry, as carried on in the factory proper, is based not upon handicraft, but upon machinery.

printers. To be able to read and write was for every one of them a requirement of their trade. All this was changed by the printing machine. It employs two sorts of laborers, one grown up, tenters; the other, boys mostly from 11 to 17 years of age, whose sole business is either to spread the sheets of paper under the machine, or to take from it the printed sheets. They perform this weary task, in London especially, for 14, 15 and 16 hours at a stretch, during several days in the week, and frequently for 36 hours, with only two hours' rest for meals and sleep!* A great part of them cannot read, and they are, as a rule, utter savages and very extraordinary creatures. "To qualify them for the work which they have to do, they require no intellectual training; there is little room in it for skill, and less for judgment; their wages, though rather high for boys, do not increase proportionately as they grow up, and the majority of them cannot look for advancement to the better paid and more responsible post of machine minder, because while each machine has but one minder, it has at least two, and often four boys attached to it." As soon as they get too old for such child's work, that is about 17 at the latest, they are discharged from the printing establishments. They become recruits of crime. Several attempts to procure them employment elsewhere, were rendered of no avail by their ignorance and brutality, and by their mental and bodily degradation.

As with the division of labor in the interior of the manufacturing workshops, so it is with the division of labor in the interior of society. So long as handicraft and manufacture form the general ground-work of social production, the subjection of the producer to one branch exclusively, the breaking up of the multifariousness of his employment, is a necessary step in the development. On that ground-work each separate branch of production acquires empirically the form that is technically suited to it, slowly perfects it, and, so soon as a given degree of maturity has been reached, rapidly crystallises that form. The only thing that here and there causes a change, besides new raw material supplied by commerce, is the gradual alteration of the instruments of labor. But their perience, petrifies, as is proved by their being in many cases handed down in the same form by one generation to another during thousands of years. A characteristic feature is, that, even down into the eighteenth century, the different trades were called "mysteries" (mystères); into their secrets none but those duly initiated could penetrate. Modern industry rent the veil that concealed from men their own social process of production, and branches of production into so many riddles, not only to outsiders, but even to the initiated. The principle which it pursued, of resolving each process into its constituent movements, without any regard to their possible execution by the hand of man, created

*This was written in 1867.

the new modern science of technology. The varied, apparently unconnected, and petrified forms of the industrial processes now resolved themselves into so many conscious and systematic applications of natural science to the attainment of given useful effects. Technology also discovered the few main fundamental forms of motion, which, despite the diversity of the instruments used, are necessarily taken by every productive action of the human body; just as the science of mechanics sees in the most complicated machinery nothing but the continual repetition of the simple mechanical powers.

Modern Industry never looks upon and treats the existing form of a process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative. By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the laborer, and in the social combinations of the labor-process. At the same time, it thereby also revolutionises the division of labor within the society, and incessantly launches masses of capital and of work-people from one branch of production to another. But if Modern Industry, by its very nature, therefore necessitates variation of labor, fluency of function, universal mobility of the laborer; on the other hand, in its capitalistic form, it reproduces the old division of labor with its ossified particularisations. We have seen how this absolute contradiction between the technical necessities of Modern Industry, and the social character inherent in its capitalistic form, dispels all fixity and security in the situation of the laborer; how it constantly threatens, by taking away the instruments of labor, to snatch from his hands the means of subsistence, and, by suppressing his detail-function, to make him superfluous. We have seen, too, how this antagonism vents its rage in the creation of that monstrosity, an industrial reserve army, kept in misery in order to be always at the disposal of capital; in the incessant human sacrifices from among the working class, in the most reckless squandering of labor-power, and in the devastation caused by a social anarchy which turns every economical progress into a social calamity. This is the negative side. But if, on the one hand, variation of work at present imposes itself after the manner of a blindly destructive action of a natural law that meets with resistance at all points, Modern Industry, on the other hand, through its catastrophes imposes the necessity of recognising as a fundamental law of fitness of the laborer of work, consequently sequently the greatest possible development of his varied aptitudes. It becomes a question of life and death for society to adapt the mode of production to the normal functioning of this law. Modern Industry, indeed, compels society, under penalty of

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death, to replace the detail worker of to-day, crippled by life-long repetition and the same trivial operation, and thus reduced to the mere fragment of a man, by the fully developed individual, fit for a variety of labors, ready to face any change of production, and to whom the different social functions he performs, are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers.

Revolutionary Tactics in Trade Unions

By "Spartacus"

The two latest numbers of "The Proletarian" have contained authoritative Communist articles upon the question of Trade Unionism. One of these has established the necessity of building up a Red Trade Union International in opposition to the Yellow Trade Union International at Amsterdam; the other has demonstrated the importance of Communists working within the reactionary unions wherever possible. But there yet remains to be answered a third question, and it is over the correct answer to this question that some otherwise excellent revolutionists have still just sufficient "infantile sickness of Left Communism" to boggle. The question we refer to is as to whether Communists should accept official positions in Trade Unions.

We have thought that perhaps the best way to impress upon Australian Communists the correct answer to this question would be to show them what is the Communist attitude towards acceptance of Trade Union official positions in other lands. For bad and all as our own trade unions without doubt are, it is nevertheless possible, in the case of certain other countries, to point to Trade Union movements which are still more reactionary. If, then, we could show that even in the case of what is probably the most conservative Trade Union organisation in the world, the American Federation of Labor, acceptance of official positions is firmly counselled by American Communists, such a demonstration should go far to prove to Australian Communists how little justification they would have for refusing to accept official positions to which they might be elected in Trade Unions here. By good fortune, we are in a position to demonstrate just what is the Communist attitude to the acceptance of official positions by revolutionists in the ultra-conservative A.F. of L. For we have be-

fore us the letter of a member of that organisation to the American Communist Party paper "The Toiler," as well as the reply of the Editor of this paper thereto. This reply throws a strong light upon the question we are discussing.

In the course of his letter, this member of the A.F. of L. says:—"My object, however, in writing to you is to ask you a question, the answer to which is bothering a few of us in this mining district. The question is: Should revolutionists accept executive positions in conservative labor unions? I am asking this not to establish a theoretical formula, but from a standpoint of practicality. I will explain. In this mining district we have a man who stands very high in the estimation of the rank and file; his radicalism cannot be questioned. It is quite possible for us to elect him to a high executive position, where his influence for the good of the workers would be very great. He is rather dubious about accepting this office, fearing that to do so would be a violation of revolutionary principles. Being a true revolutionist, should he take this position offered him by his fellows?" To all of which the Editor of "The Toiler" answers:—

The Communist Answer.

"Yes, he should accept the position. "Considering the heretofore erroneous concept of revolutionists as to their duty in respect to conservative labor unions, it is natural that those who are as yet unlearned in the newer tactics which have been developed by THE REVOLUTION should hesitate in making a decision of this nature.

"As pointed out in a former article, revolutionists have committed the folly of voluntary withdrawal from the trade unions, viewing the situation as hopeless for any good they might do therein. They failed to see that when they did

this they severed their connections with the MEMBERSHIP at the same time, and lost contact with them. In short, by cutting the bond between themselves and their fellows they played directly into the hands of the reactionaries. A true revolutionary tactic would have been to remain in the unions in close contact with the workers at all costs.

"The thesis on Trade Unionism adopted by the Second Congress of the Third International is based upon the necessity of revolutionists maintaining a direct contact with the masses of workers. Unless they do this no progress can be made. Revolutionists can have no influence with the workers if they segregate themselves from them. It is absolutely necessary that they learn this fundamental truth, for upon it depends their value to the workers and future progress.

Revolutionary Responsibility.

"Maintaining a close contact with the masses in order to teach and direct them in the struggle with the employers is not the whole sum of our revolutionary responsibilities. Just as necessary is it that when we have cultivated a following and wield an influence among them, we should also accept the further responsibility of executive positions in order to place ourselves at strategic points so that in the time of revolutionary crisis we may seize the control of the organisation and turn the activities of the union into political channels for the purpose of taking over industry. As time passes, purely economic strikes will tend to become political in nature, will, in fact, become strikes against the State power. The case of the crumbling of the morale of the leaders in the coal strike a few months ago when faced with a government threat of jail is a significant one where executive office could have been used in the workers' interests to a tremendous degree had held this.

"As the Left Wing of the trade union movement develops, responsible executive positions will be tendered the leaders of this militant section. Consider the situation should they settle upon a policy of declining these offices. Loss of faith in them by the rebellious

workers would be the first result. Great confusion would result and the disintegration of the Left organisation would ensue. The workers would become disheartened, and a tendency toward setting up other new Left unions outside the old ones would develop—a condition directly in opposition to our aims. These executive positions will be forced upon revolutionary leaders by their following. If the leaders refuse the offices it will amount to a betrayal of the workers. They must not refuse.

"An argument often made against revolutionists accepting such offices is that they become conservative and in the end are as bad as the old line job hunters. But there have been few REVOLUTIONISTS placed in such positions. And they are not to be confused with mere radicals of various colors who have gained such positions. Revolutionists have found methods whereby to control every act of their representatives. And as far as that goes it is very necessary that revolutionists should be constantly put to the test so that the chaff may be separated from the grain."

That is the case for the acceptance of office by Communists in the A.F. of L. If what the Editor of "The Toiler" says is true, it is truer still that Communists cannot shirk the responsibility of office to which they may be elected in the Australian unions. If it is right for Communists to work at all in the conservative unions, it follows with unescapable logic that they must be prepared to reap where they have sown, and accept the leadership of masses whose confidence they have won. Traitors to their class will, of course, be expelled ignominiously by the Communist party from its ranks. But, on the whole, a Communist party worth the name will know how to control its members who are elected to union office in the same way as it will know how to control its members who are elected to Parliament. There will certainly be no Communist revolution until it can at the least do so much. For a party which is unable to command the allegiance of its own membership in the most trying conditions, will assuredly never be able to command the allegiance of the proletariat as a whole.

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A Proletarian Library

By G. BARACCHI

THE PARIS COMMUNE. By Karl Marx.

There is no better way in which working men may celebrate the anniversary of the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the Paris Commune of 1871, than by a study of this book. It consists of an introduction by Engels and two manifestos and an essay on the Civil War in France from the pen of Marx, both the manifestos and the essay being originally issued by the General Council of the First International in 1870 and 1871. "The Paris Commune" is equally as important for the enlightenment of the workers as "The Eighteenth Brumaire," to which it is in some sort the sequel; the one illuminating the revolutionary events of '71 as the other illuminates those of '48; the one closing with the establishment of Louis Bonaparte's supremacy, the other opening with the consummation of his downfall.

In his introduction Engels points us to a noteworthy occurrence. The members of the Commune were divided into a majority of Blanquists and a minority of Proudhonists, and Engels tells us that

"Of course, the Proudhonists are responsible for the economic decrees of the Commune, for those that are praiseworthy as well as those that are not, while the Blanquists are responsible for the political acts of commission and omission. And in both cases the mission and omission. And in both cases the irony of history would have it—as is usual when doctrinaires take the helm of State—that both the ones and the others did the reverse of that which the doctrines of their school prescribed."

Proudhon, the petty bourgeois "socialist," heartily hated association; his followers in the Commune introduced a decree having for its object the organisation of great industry and manufacture, Blanqui, the conspiratorial "socialist," held fast to the doctrine of minority action; his followers in the Commune called for a free federation of all French communes with Paris, for a national organisation which was the real creation of the nation. The Commune had to make its history not out of conditions chosen by itself, but out of such as it

found close at hand; the result was the discrediting of Proudhonism and Blanquism, and the complete vindication of scientific Communism.

The manifesto on the declaration of the Franco-Prussian war opens with a definition of the foreign policy aimed at by the International:

"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? . . . Vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the laws paramount of the intercourse of nations."

The duty of the working classes to master for themselves the mysteries of international statecraft, in order to keep an eye on the diplomatic proceedings of their Governments, has been done hitherto in a very imperfect way. The recent war, with its dreadful consequences, points the working classes more sternly than ever to the fulfilment of this duty.

The manifesto issued after Sedan, upon the supersession of the Napoleonic empire by the bourgeois republic, reveals the fact that it was not part of the policy of the International to urge the French proletariat to insurrection against this republic just then. The following passage sets out Marx's conception of what was the correct course for the French workers to pursue in the conditions prevailing towards the close of the year 1870:

"The French working class moves under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Any attempt at upsetting the new Government in the present crisis, when the enemy is knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly. The French workmen must perform their duties as citizens; but, at the same time they must not allow themselves to be swayed by the national souvenirs of 1792, as the French peasants allowed themselves to be deluded by the national souvenirs of the First Empire. They have not to recapitulate the past, but to build up the future. Let them calmly and resolutely improve the opportunities of republican liberty, for the work of their own class organisation. It will

gift them with fresh Herculean powers for the regeneration of France, and our common task—the emancipation of labor.”

This passage is important as showing the high store which Marx set upon bourgeois “liberties” in building up the strength of the weak proletariat. Even to-day the proletariat must utilise to the utmost every legal means at its disposal. To say that, however, is by no means to subscribe to the view of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, that “only by constitutional methods” can the proletarian revolution proceed.

In the first chapter of “The Civil War in France,” Marx shows how the bourgeois government of National Defense turned into a government of National Defection. Of his merciless exposure of the character of the leaders of this government we give one example:

“A master in small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury and treason, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices and base perfidies of Parliamentary warfare; never scrupling, when out of office, to fan a revolution, and to stife it in blood when at the helm of the State; with class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of a heart; his private life as infamous as his public life is odious—even now, when playing the part of a French Sulla, he cannot help setting off the abomination of his deeds by the ridicule of his ostentation.”

Students of French history will have little difficulty in fitting this description upon Thiers, the story of whose public life is, over a period of more than half a century, the record of the misfortunes of France.

From the events which led up to the establishment of the Commune, vividly recounted in the second chapter of “The Civil War,” we pass at once to the chapter on the Commune’s historic significance. It is from this we learn that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes; that the first decree of the Commune suppressed the standing army, and substituted for it the armed people; that all the public servants were only to receive workmen’s wages, and were to be elective, responsible and revocable; that the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the “parson-power”; that the Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body,

executive and legislative at the same time; that universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business. Marx tells us that the true secret of the Commune was this:

“It was essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor. Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot co-exist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economic foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule. With labor emancipated, every man becomes a working man and productive labor ceases to be a class attribute.”

The historic experience of the Commune makes it impossible any longer to mistake the line of march to Communism: education of the workers to class consciousness, organisation of the class conscious workers for the conquest of political power, establishment of the workers’ State and, under this, working out the economic emancipation of labor.

The final chapter is taken up with the bloody repression of the Commune. Over one hundred thousand victims was the fearful price exacted by the French bourgeoisie for two months of workers’ rule. Yet, although it was drowned in blood, the memory of the Commune lives forever.

“Workmen’s Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators, history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to save them.

But merely to celebrate unthinkingly the Paris Commune is not enough. It is necessary that the workers should thoroughly understand it. In order that its martyrs may not have died in vain, the workers of to-day must learn its lessons, lessons which stand out clear as noon-day and are of vast moment to their class. In brief compass, these lessons are strikingly portrayed in the present book.

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Andrade's Bookshop

201 BOURKE ST. :: MELBOURNE
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During the last few months of his life Monty Miller, the veteran working-class agitator, wrote a book which has since his death been published under the title of “Labor’s Road to Freedom.” Those who knew the author need no telling that the book makes a strong appeal for militant unionism as against Parliamentary Laborism, and those who wish a propaganda work on these lines will value this work. In addition, it contains some interesting Australian Labor History. Price, 1/6 (posted, 1/8).

Jas. Connolly’s “Labor in Ireland” has been reprinted and is now obtainable at 6/- (posted, 6/3). It contains two of his works, one of which, “Labor in Irish History,” had considerable circulation in Australia. The other, “The Re-conquest of Ireland,” is very interesting at this period when such special efforts are being made to re-conquer Ireland. The author states in a foreword to “The Re-Conquest of Ireland” that the underlying idea of the work is that the Labor Movement in Ireland must set itself the re-conquest of Ireland as its final aim, that that re-conquest involves taking possession of the entire country, all its powers of wealth, etc. A fine book all students will appreciate.

No. 1 of Vol. 2 of “The Movement,” a journal published by the Workers’ School of Social Science, Trades Hall Brisbane, contains a prize-winning essay on “What is Internationalism?” The writer, E. G. Hart, is a Melbourne Marxist student, now resident in Sydney, and shows he has dipped deeply into the fountain heads of Socialist literature. The essay alone makes the magazine well worth having. Price, 3d. (posted, 4d.)

New supplies have arrived of “The Collapse of the Second International,” by N. Lenin. It is a trenchant exposure of the opportunism and jingoism of the Socialist party leaders of the Second International. Also a contribution to the noted debate which has been proceeding between Kautsky and Lenin since the Russian Revolution. Price, 1/6 (posted, 1/8).

New supplies also have arrived of “Two Pages From Roman History,” by Daniel De Leon. Cheap paperback edition, price 6d.; posted 7d. One of the author’s works, in which he illustrates certain phases of Roman history, and drawing present-day parallels, shows certain weaknesses of and dangers to the contemporary Labor Movement.

Word comes from New Zealand of the raiding of certain bookshops and parties and the prosecution and fining of individuals selling “The Communist Program of World Revolution,” by N. Buchanan. The 1st edition of this work was regarded over there as the finest cheap propaganda working class book of the day. For simplicity and drawing the greater difficulties necessary to the work, this equals Blatchford’s books.

Two big R.P.A. works of a popular nature are “World’s Wonder Stories,” by Sam Gowans Whyte, 13/6 (posted, 14/6), and “Picture Book of Evolution,” by Denis Hird, 15/- (posted, 16/-). Both deal with their subject in a style easily understood by children, and both works are profusely illustrated.

R. W. Postgate, an English writer, bids fair to become a working-class historian of note. His work, “Bolshevik Theory,” price, 10/-; posted, 10/9, is a valuable

book containing much interesting matter and documents, such as “The Manifesto of the Communist International” and the “Message to the I.W.W.,” and numerous others of great value. The author’s remarks on the attitude of Kautsky are specially interesting. Two others by the same author, just published and of which supplies have not yet arrived, are “The Workers’ International” and “Revolution.” Advance copies of these show them to be valuable additions to working class literature.

One of the most popular light books selling recently in Melbourne is “Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven,” by the great American humorist, Mark Twain. Price, 4/6 (postage, 4/10).

Novels of a Sociological or Historical character are always popular, and among the recent ones “King Coal,” by Upton Sinclair, price, 2/6 (posted, 2/8), and “The Harbour,” by Ernest Poole, price, 2/9 (posted, 3/-), are specially recommended for their sociological interest, both being fine propaganda novels throbbing with events of the class struggle. “The Underworld,” by Jas. Welsh, price, 3/6 (posted, 3/9), is another novel of absorbing interest. While “King Coal” is set among the American coal miners, “The Underworld’s” characters are English coal miners.

As a story set in the period and surrounding the incidents of the English Chartist movement, “Sybil,” by Benjamin Disraeli, makes very good reading. Price, 2/6 (posted, 2/8).

In January “Liberator” just to hand, price, 1/9 posted. The American P.O. censor has apparently been posted. The advertisements of “The State and Revolution,” by Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution,” by Lenin, and “Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist,” by A. Berkman, are blackened out. The issue contains the usual array of interesting cartoons and articles.

“The Communist Tactics of Revolution” is the title of a new pamphlet published by the Communist Party (Goulburn street). It contains documents of the Communist International dealing with the role of the Communist Party in the time for Soviets. Much mis-Parliamentarism and the time for Soviets, which understanding is cleared away by this pamphlet, which should get a wide circulation. Price, 6d. (posted, 7d.)

Other books of which new supplies arrived this month were—

- “Fifty Points About Capitalism,” by Chiozza Money. Price, 10d. posted.
- “For Liberty,” a collection of quotations from world writers on Liberty. Price, 1/2 posted.
- “Hindle Wakes,” a world-famed social play. Price, 3/6, paper cover; 4/8 cloth cover.
- “Magazines” and “papers,” of which supplies are now arriving from abroad, are—
- “The Glasgow Socialist” (S.L.P.), 4d. posted.
- “The Socialist Standard” (S.P., G.B.), 4d. posted.
- “The Communist” (B.C.P.), 6d. posted.
- “The Toiler” (an American journal), 1/8.
- “The Socialist Review” (quarterly), (I.L.P.), 1/8 posted.
- “The Weekly People” (American S.L.P.), 4d. posted.
- “The Liberator,” 1/9 posted.
- “Pearson’s Magazine” (Frank Harris), 1/3 posted.
- “The Labor Leader” (I.L.P.), 4d. posted.
- “Soviet Russia” (New York), 7d. posted.

BOOKS AND ANDRADE'S

SPECIAL PROPAGANDA WORKS.

Price 3d.; posted 4d.

- THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM (G. Zinoviev).
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (N. Bucharin).
TO THE I.W.W.—A Special Message from the Communist International (N. Lenin).
THE ORGANISATION OF LABOR (W. D. Haywood).
JOB CONTROL (Mick Sawtell).
THE DELUSION OF PRICE FIXING (T. Tunnecliffe).
THE GOTHA PROGRAM (Karl Marx).
THE PROLETARIAT AND EDUCATION (W. P. Earsman).
O.B.U. FOR AUSTRALIA (N. Anderson).

Price 6d.; posted 7d.

- LENIN HIS LIFE AND WORK (G. Zinoviev).
THE GREAT INITIATIVE AND THE STORY OF "COMMUNIST SATURDAYS" (N. Lenin).
COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY (Alexandra Kollontay).
THE COMING WAR WITH AMERICA (John Maclean).
BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP (N. Lenin).
MILITARY RULE IN IRELAND (Erskine Childers).
VICTORIOUS RUSSIA (Isaac McBride).
BOLSHEVIK CODE OF LABOR LAWS.
SOUL OF MAN UNDER SOCIALISM (O. Wilde).
WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL (Karl Marx).
POLITICS (Austin Lewis).

Price 9d.; posted 10d.

- MARRIAGE UNDER BOLSHEVISM.
SOVIETS AT WORK (N. Lenin).

Price 1/6; posted 1/8.

- THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (N. Lenin).
SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC (F. Engels).
LOOKING BACKWARD (E. Bellamy).

Price 1/-; posted 1/2.

- THE SOCIAL EVIL (J. H. Greer, M.D.).
THE COMMUNIST PROGRAMME OF WORLD REVOLUTION (N. Bucharin).
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (Karl Marx and F. Engels).

Price 2/6; posted 2/8.

- THE STATE AND REVOLUTION (N. Lenin).
RED EUROPE (Frank Anstey, M.P.).

Price 3/6; Posted 3/9.

- BOLSHEVISM AT WORK (Professor Goode).
HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (L. Trotsky).
THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC (Col. Malone).

CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND. By Henry Thomas Buckle. 3 Vols. 8/- posted.

MUTUAL AID. By P. A. Kropotkin. 3/3 posted.

THE WORLD'S WONDER STORIES. By A. G. Whyte. 14/- posted.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CONFLICT. By Havelock Ellis. 10/- posted.

SOCIALISM: WHAT IS IT? By N. R. Freeberg. 1/8 posted.

HOW TO ARGUE SUCCESSFULLY. By William Macpherson, M.A. 2/8 posted.

HOW THE WAR CAME. By Earl Loreburn. 10/6 posted.

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By Prince Kropotkin. 3/9 posted.

Published by P. Laidler, 201 Bourke Street, Melbourne. Printed by Smithson Bros., Warburton Lane, Melbourne.

DEERS: HIS AUTHORIZED LIFE AND LETTERS. By David Karsner. 10/6 posted.

MILITARISM AND ANTI-MILITARISM. By Karl Liebknecht. 1/8 posted.

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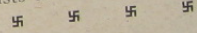
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Proletarian Comment

Winter Prospects.

THE prospects of the workers of this country for the forthcoming winter are not rosy. Unemployment is increasing, and the spectre of reduced wages has already made its appearance. Marx has said that the workers are absolutely right in not abandoning "their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement." But we ask our readers to note well the words "occasional" and "temporary." It is only upon occasions of great industrial prosperity, and consequent brisk demand for labor-power, that the everyday struggle of the unions that the everyday struggle of the sale of this labor-power, may temporarily bear meagre fruit. No such occasion is the present. The workers now lie in the slough of a great industrial depression, slack is the demand for their labor-power, and, in these conditions, vain the hope of an improvement in their lot by the methods of the everyday struggle. But in the very fact that the economic struggle no longer "cuts ice" lies the excellent opportunity of the Communist Party, the political party of the proletariat. The political party of the workers conditions are now ripe for the workers to pass beyond the narrow confines of

the everyday struggle to the broad field of revolutionary political action. Herein may be obtained results of a vastly different order to the meagre and temporary achievements of the economic struggle, results great and permanent and culminating in the emancipation of labor. But the unions will not of themselves come to the Communists; on the contrary, the Communists must go persistently to the unions and lead their membership to revolutionary politics. To be called the "Trades Hall" Communist Party at the present juncture is not an insult; it is a compliment to deserve which is no small part of the duty of the Communists in the coming time.



The Latest in O.B.U.'s.

RECENT intercourse in Sydney between the A.W.U. and unions adhering to the W.I.U. of A. has, in relation to the membership of the proposed new O.B.U., given birth to a most interesting. The membership clause agreed upon provides for admission to the organization of "an unlimited number of wage workers," and then proceeds to limit the unlimited by excluding all colored "aliens" save Maoris, American

negroes and "issue of mixed parentage born in Australia." Further, if fresh "mixed" Australian applicants do not happen to have a birth certificate about them, the clause in question, with a wisdom more profound than Voltaire's dictum that a man is not his father, declares their fitness for membership in this exclusive all-inclusive organisation definitely disproved. But, stay! the excluded may still be included "in special circumstances," provided their puny colored minds can grasp the policy of the union (which bears at present a suspicious resemblance to opportunism), provided also their admission do not prejudice the interests of the members (which the founders of the union seem to identify with sectionalism). Despite these pettifogging provisos, the rule remains that while the union may serve as a happy hunting-ground for the white labor faker, a Buddha or a Confucius can stop outside. Communists in any way connected with the new outfit must do their damndest to put the boot into this disgraceful clause, which reads as if it had emanated straight from the Yellow Trade Union International at Amsterdam. Workers of the world unite! except Asiatics, Africans, Kanakas and Australian mixed issue without birth certificates—an inspiring slogan this for the latest O.B.U!

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Ireland and the Railwaymen.

IT was certainly very indiscreet of members of the A.R.U. to get themselves mixed up with a resolution in which some of the "Black and Tans" are said to have been referred to as "hired assassins," a resolution which the capitalist press subsequently blazoned forth, and which has finally resulted in dismissal from the Railways of two A.R. unionists. Railwaymen must know that His Majesty's forces are not "hired"; on the contrary, they "serve"; they must understand that His Majesty's forces never on any account "assassinate"; they merely sometimes "kill." But, putting on one side the failure to grasp these important distinctions, it was perfectly in accord both with proletarian ethics and with proletarian interests from which

these ethics spring, to proclaim an injury to railwaymen in Ireland the concern of railwaymen in Australia. Nor can we leave the matter at that. For a member of the A.R.U. has asked us rather doubtfully whether the working class here has anything to gain by supporting a "bourgeois nationalist movement like Sinn Fein" in its fight against the Imperial Government. We answer emphatically "Yes." The great Imperialist Powers, the ruling class of Britain among them, have become the super-oppressors who take toll of the whole world; without their overthrow the emancipation of the world-proletariat is impossible. The Australian bourgeoisie is finally dominated by the British imperialist bourgeoisie; the interests of the Australian proletariat therefore demand the overthrow not merely of "its own" bourgeoisie, but of British imperialism also. Realisation of the disintegrating influence brought to bear upon this imperialism by the bourgeois nationalist movements of Ireland, India and other colonies of Britain, accordingly brings home to us in unmistakable fashion what is the only consistent attitude for the workers of this country to adopt towards Sinn Fein. When it comes to the struggle of the Irish proletariat against the Irish bourgeoisie, the Australian proletariat must also array itself against this bourgeoisie; but the Australian proletariat should, as the Irish proletariat does, support this same bourgeoisie to the extent of its nationalist struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie of Britain. For the downfall of British imperialism is a condition of the secure establishment of Australian Communism.

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What is a Proletarian?

A QUEENSLAND comrade, who is concerned about the fitness of the name of our paper, writes asking us to clear up the meaning of the word "proletariat." He says that he has "been assured on several occasions that Webster defines the term as meaning the lowest of the working class masses," and that the inference is drawn from this that "the proletariat is the most vicious, immoral and disreputable section of the

working-class." Such a definition and the accompanying inference apply to the word "proletariat" only in its original significance. In ancient Rome it was used as a contemptuous designation of the lowest dregs of Roman society. There is a section of modern society corresponding to the human dregs of Rome, and it is this section which Marx and Engels have in mind when they say: "The 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of . . . society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." This section of modern society is never designated by Communists as the "proletariat," but as the "slum-proletariat." By the modern proletariat Communists always mean that social class which, possessing its labor-power as its only property, lives by the sale of this labor-power to the capitalists for the price of its means of subsistence. There is in this connection another point upon which it is necessary to be clear. We quote Boudin: "There were poor men before, so were there working men. But they were not proletarians. So there may be poor now,

and even poor working men, who are not proletarians. The modern proletarian is not merely a poor man, nor is he necessarily a poor man in the ordinary sense of the word. Nor is he merely a working man, although he necessarily is one. He is a workingman—usually poor at that—under peculiar historic conditions. Those conditions are that he is not possessed of any property, that is, the only property that counts socially—means of production." He is, once more in the words of Marx, the "free" laborer, "free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labor-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labor-power." And he is the bearer of the social revolution. . . . But Webster, we may be reminded. To the devil with him! We warn our readers against a too ready acceptance of the statements of such people upon what are in fact questions of the terminology of scientific Communism. In these matters bourgeois lexicographers themselves bourgeois lexicographers these matters bourgeois lexicographers are not a trustworthy guide. A Communist dictionary of terms is badly wanted, but, so far as we know, it has still to be written.

The A.B.C. of Communism

By N. BUCHARIN and E. PREOB RASCHENSKY

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY (Continued).

8.—Wage-Labour. The numerous class of men who were not left in possession of any property became wage-workers under Capitalism. What was the impoverished peasant or handicraftsman to do? He could either hire himself as slave to a capitalist landlord or go into the town and enter a factory as a worker. There was no other course. He chose the latter course, and so originated wage-labour—the third characteristic of the capitalist system of society.

What, then, is wage-labour? Formerly, in the period of slavery, the slave-owner could buy and sell the slaves. Men with all the attributes of men were

the private property of other men. The owner could beat his slave to death just as, in a drunken fit, he might destroy a piece of furniture. The slave was simply a thing. The ancient Romans actually divided all property which was needed for production into "dumb workers" (things); "half-articulate workers" (beasts of burden, sheep, cows, etc.); and "speaking articulate workers" (slaves—men). The shovel, the ox, and the slave were alike in the eyes of the owner—merely instruments of labour which he could buy or sell or destroy. Under wage-labour the man himself is neither bought nor sold. What is bought and sold is his power to labour, not himself. The wage-labourer is free in person. The capitalist cannot beat him or sell him to another, or exchange

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him for a young hound, as the slave-owner could do with his slave. The worker is merely hired. It even appears as if capitalist and worker were equal. "If you do not want to work—well, do not work; no one will compel you to work," say the employers. They even assert that they keep the workers alive because they give them employment.

In reality, workers and capitalists live under different conditions. The workers are haunted by the fear of starvation. Hunger compels them to hire themselves to the employers; that is, to sell their labour-power. There is no other way out. With bare hands alone no "private" production can be carried on. Just try to forge steel or to weave or to build waggons without machinery and tools! Under Capitalism the land itself is in private hands; it is impossible to find a spot on which to start an industry. The freedom of the worker to sell his labour-power; the freedom of the capitalist to buy it; the "equality" of capitalists and workers—all this simply means that the workers, in order to escape starvation, are compelled to work for the capitalists.

Consequently the essence of wage-labour consists in the sale of labour-power, or in the transformation of labour-power into commodities. In the simple system of production, of which we have already spoken, milk, bread, raw materials, boots, etc., could be found upon the market, but not labour-power. Labour-power was not sold. Its possessor, the handicraftsman, possessed also a house and tools. He worked himself; he carried on his own industry; he exerted his own labour-power in his own business.

Under Capitalism it is quite otherwise. He who works possesses no means of production. He cannot exert his labour-power in his own business. In order to escape starvation he must sell his labour-power to the capitalist. Near the market, where wool, cheese or machines are sold, rises the labour market where the proletarians—i.e., the wage-labourers, sell their labour-power. Consequently the capitalist system is distinguished from the simple system of commodity production by the fact that in the capitalist system wage-labour itself is turned into a commodity.

Wage-labour appears, therefore, as the third characteristic of the capitalist system.

9.—Conditions of Capitalist Production. The distinguishing marks of the capitalist system are, therefore, three in number: production for the market (commodity production); monopoly of the means of production by the capitalist class; wage-labour—that is, labour based upon the sale of labour-power.

All these characteristics are connected with the question: In what relation do men stand to one another when they engage in the manufacture and distribution of commodities? What do we mean by the term "commodity production" or "production for the market"? We mean that men work for one another, but each produces for the market without knowing beforehand who will purchase his product. Let us take, for example, a worker (A) and a peasant (B). A takes the boots he has made to the market and sells them to B. With this money he buys bread from B. When A went to the market he did not know that he would meet B; and when B went he did not know that he would meet A. When A has bought the bread and B the boots it appears that B has worked for A and A for B without knowing it. The operations of the market have concealed the fact that each has worked for the other, and that without the other neither could live. In a system of commodity production men work for, and independently of, one another, and in a wholly unorganised manner, without even knowing what relation they bear to one another. In commodity production, therefore, the parts played by men are allotted in a particular way. Men stand in certain relations to one another.

To speak of "the monopoly of the means of production," or of "wage-labour," is to speak of the mutual relations of men. And now, what does "monopoly" mean? It means that the workers produce goods with instruments of production not owned by themselves; and that the goods when produced belong to the owners of the instruments of production. In short, the question is one of the mutual relations of men during the process of production. These

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relations are called the conditions of production.

It is not difficult to see that the conditions of production were not always of this kind. A long time ago men lived in small communities. They worked communally together (hunted, fished, gathered fruits and roots), and divided everything amongst themselves. That was one kind of conditions of production. When slavery existed there were other conditions of production. Under Capitalism there are still others. There can be, therefore, different kinds of conditions of production. These kinds of con-

ditions of production are called the economic structure of society, or the mode of production. "The capitalist conditions of production," or, what is the same thing, "the capitalist structure of society" and "the capitalist mode of production," are the relations of men in a system of commodity production in which we find, on the one hand, a handful of capitalists in exclusive possession of the means of production; and on the other the wage-labour of the working class.

(To be continued.)

The First International on the Control of Industry

Of the following Debates and Resolutions, R. W. Postgate says that in the First International are to be observed two main currents of opinion—Marxism, which was called Collectivism or Communism, and Proudhonism, which was called Mutualism. The latter was based on small proprietorship in the land and in industry. In the process of the victory of the Marxists a theory of workers' control was elaborated, which owes much to the Mutualists. As will be seen, it was advocated that in those industries which were State owned (only gradually did this come to mean practically all industries) the entire management should be leased out to "companies," or guilds, which would arise from the existing Unions. Frankel's decree during the Paris Commune is an attempt to achieve this; that it went no further was due partly to the weakness of French Unionism.

LAUSANNE, 1867.

[Saturday, September 8th.] The following are the conclusions of the Report [of the Commission to study the State]—

(1) The State is not, or should not be, anything but the mere executor of laws voted and recognised by the citizens.

(2) The efforts of the nations should aim at making the State the proprietor of the means of transport and circulation, in order to break the powerful monopoly of the great companies, by forcing the working class to obey their arbitrary laws, attack at once the individual liberty. By this means both the collective and individual interests will be satisfied.

[(3) It is necessary to democratise the penal system.]

Longuet, of Caen, agrees with these conclusions, provided that it is quite understood

that we define the State as "the collective body of citizens." Concerning the organisation by the State of railways, canals, mines, and public services, it is understood also that these services will not be run by State officials, and Longuet insists the more on this point because this observation applies equally to the National Bank on which he has spoken in his report on the credit question. He understands that railways, canals, mines, etc., shall be constructed, exploited or administered by working class Companies, who will be bound to give their services at cost price, without the possibility of making profits, that is to say, in submission to the general principles of mutualism.

De Paepé, of Brussels, takes the opportunity afforded by Longuet's remarks to present again his thesis on the entry of the land into collective property. He says that the only difference between Longuet's theory and his is that Longuet accepts collectivism (*collectivité*) for all under the ground, for railways and canals, while he (de Paepé) wishes to extend it to the land as a whole.

(The debate then turned on land nationalisation.)

BRUSSELS, 1868.

Resolutions carried on September, 13th.

(1) Concerning mines, oil wells, and railways:—

The Congress holds:

(a) That quarries, oil wells, and other mines, as well as railways, in a normal society would belong to the social body as a whole, represented by the State, but by the State regenerated and subjected itself to the law of justice;

(b) That quarries, oil wells (*mines and*) railways will be conceded by society, not to capitalists, as to-day, but to workers' Companies, in the virtue of a double contract; giving, on the one hand, the charter to the scientific and rational ex-anteing to society the concession, the services of the exploitation of the concession, the services of the Company at a price as near as possible to cost price, the right to inspect the Company's books, and thus the impossibility of a re-constitution of the monopoly; on the other hand, guarantee-

ing the mutual rights of each member of the workers' Association in face of his colleagues.

(2) Concerning agricultural property ** The Congress holds that economic evolution will make the entry of arable land into collective property socially necessary, and that the land will be conceded to agricultural companies as the mines to mining companies, and the railways to workers' companies, and with conditions and guarantees for society and the cultivators similar to those necessary for the mines and railways.

[Voting: 30 for, 4 against, 15 abstain.] Report of the Brussels section on strikes (closing words) ** Finally, to end this subject, we will say that if we are such great partisans of *sociétés de maintien de prix*, as they are called in Belgium, of *sociétés de résistance*, as they are called in France, of *trades unions*, as they are called in England, it is not only from regard to the necessities of the present, but also the future social order. To explain, we do not simply consider these as necessary palliatives (note that we do not say remedies). No, our views are much higher. From the bottom of the chaos of conflict and misery in which we struggle we lift our eyes to a more harmonious and happy society. Then we see in these trade unions the embryos of the great workers' companies, which will one day replace the capitalist companies, with their thousands of wage-earners, at least in all industries in which collective force is used and there is no middle way between wage slavery and association. (As has been shown by recent strikes, Union funds may be used for setting up co-operative productive societies.)

Yet it must be noted (and this is an important point) that the productive associations to arise from the trade unions will not be the trifling societies that the present-day associations are. These latter, excellent, we admit, as example and precept, do not seem to us in fact to have any great social future, any part to play in the renovation of society, for, consisting of only a few individuals, they can only end, as Dr. Buchner says, by creating *beside* the bourgeoisie or *third estate*, a *fourth* estate, having beneath it a *fifth estate* yet more wretched. On the other hand, the productive societies arising from the *trades unions* will embrace whole industries and invade great industry, thus forming the NEW CORPORATION, a corporation which we well know bourgeois economists will gladly confuse with the old

Marxism and its Critics

By Karl Kautsky.

The following article was written as Preface to the German edition of Boudin's "Theoretical System of Karl Marx," and was translated into English by two Australian comrades. As an exposition of the method of Marx, it has a considerable value for the proletarian student.

tyranny, although the latter was hierarchically organised, founded on monopoly and privilege, and limited to a certain number of members (just while the former will be organised equitably, all***

Then, this transformation of trade unions will take place, not in one country alone, but in all, or all at least that are at the head of civilisation; in a word, all these associations of all countries, federated, will first intervene for purposes of struggle, using their federation for the reciprocal exchange of products at cost price, in international mutual exchange thus replacing both the Protectionism and Free Trade of the bourgeois economists**

BASLE, 1869.

[11th September: Debate on Trade Unions.] Chemalé (France) says that he has only one remark to make—capital is centralised and labor should be so, too. He does not wish to discuss the utility of Trade Unions, and will merely support the Committee's conclusions. He does not believe that unions have any other use than to aid in the solution of the questions of strikes and wages, and thinks that they will disappear in the social democratic State**

Hins (Belgium): Citizen Chemalé has not understood the idea which led to the raising of this question. Trade Unions will continue to exist after the suppression of the wage system, not in name, but in fact; they will then be the organisations of labor. They will be the conversion of Free Trade, they will be in charge of a vast allocation of work from one end of the world to the other. They will take the place of the old political structures; instead of a confused and heterogeneous system of representation we shall have the representation of labour.

At the same time they will be agents of decentralisation, for the centres will vary according to industries, which will, so to speak, form each a State apart, and make absolutely impossible a return to the old form of centralised state. This will not prevent the existence of another form of government for local relations.

As will be seen, if we are reproached with being indifferent to all forms of government, it is not because we are content with the first-come, but because we detest them all for the same reason, and because we think that only on their ruins can be built a society conforming to the principles of justice.

The writer of this book, a Russian comrade in America, published the same in English two years ago, through Chas. Kerr. It was meant to enlighten the English-speaking public concerning Marxism and its critics. The German literature is far richer in writing, and yet I consider a German edition of this book in place. I was pleased, therefore, when a German translation was taken in hand, with

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the help of my friend, G. Eckstein, whom I will now take the opportunity of thanking. It is just because the German literature is richer in works relating to Marxism than a German edition fills a far greater need than the English. The quantity of this literature is far too great for the average reader, who will get confused in it.

An all-embracing production, developing the main points of the system of Marx and dealing with the most important objections of the more distinguished critics of the latter day, will help many as an introduction to the study of the criticism of Marx and Marxism.

We have had, up to the present, numerous polemics between individual Marxists and individual Marx critics, but no analysis which included all important Marx critics. And in our polemics against the critics of Marx, we have dealt mostly with those in the movement who were of more interest to us, first of all because, if their attacks were left unanswered, they would have created confusion. That does not mean to imply that they were scientifically the more noteworthy. They will just be mentioned in this book, which will thus complete the literature on Marxism by just touching the Socialist Marx critics and dealing mostly with bourgeois Marx critics.

Naturally, the writer was not always able to say something new, as the monotony of Marx criticism, which, for decades, has been moving in the same groove, was an obstacle. All the same, he was always endeavoring to be original, and even those who are familiar with the German literature on Marxism will find much that is new and be stimulated thereby.

That the writer does not lay claim to completeness, and deals only with single types, instead of including all Marx critics, will be found refreshing by the reader. At the first glance it seems rather strange to deal with numerous critics of Marx as single types, because every critic has his individual method and his particular end in view. But, in spite of the differences in each, they show so much in common that one can well deal with them as of one type. This similarity is no accident, but has its source in the social conditions. All the critics of Marx see the same facts and come to the same conclusions.

Are not the facts the same for the critics of Marx as for Marx or the Marxist? Then why is there so much difference between the two? The facts, which are observed by the Marxist, are not the same as are observed by the Marx critic. According to their different point of view, they see different phenomena (Ercheinung). Although both support themselves with facts, which they observe, they come to opposite conclusions. That is why it is impossible that they can understand each other. The difference between Marx and his critics in connection with the phenomena, which both observe, can be pointed out as follows:—*Marx sees processes, and the critics see fixed things.* Marx sees society, where the critics see only individuals.

The critics do not know the nature of society. Society, for them, is only a herding of individuals, and they try to explain social phenomena by observations of the individuals who form society. Ethics, like value, are (according to them), not a product of society, but of the individual. The eighteenth century tried to explain the cohesiveness of society, on the one hand, by egoism—the lust of the individual—on the other by altruism and by "reason." And to-day the ethical critics of Marx know of nothing better to do than turn back to the eighteenth century.

Bourgeois economy tried to explain the source of value by the individual and his personal wants and inclinations. The same is true in respect to the Labor theory of value. Adam Smith says: "The real price of everything, what everything costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it. What everything is really worth to the man who has acquired it, and who wants to dispose of it or exchange it for something else, is the toil and trouble which it can save to himself and which it can impose upon the people." ("Wealth of Nations," Chap. V.) Ricardo cited this sentence, and said of it, "That this is, in fact, the beginning of the exchange-value of all articles except those which human zeal cannot multiply or make more valuable, is a lesson of the greatest meaning for political economy." ("Principles," Chap. I.) Out of the psychology of the individual they explained the value of the Robinsonades of value. That is why the labor theory of political economy play so great a role among these economists as proving fundamental principles of value. Likewise, the new Austro-English school know of nothing better than to go back to the eighteenth century. They discarded the Labor Theory of Value, but accepted the services of value. They only improve the explanation of value. They only improve on Robinsonades does not work to prove in that their Robinson does not find them induce his articles for use, but finds them rained down from heaven—to be sure, a very valuable enrichment of our social insight.

The eighteenth century exists. But it only but recognise that society exists. States, saw it in the form of municipalities, States, granted that the human race had, at the beginning, lived singly or, at the most, in pairs, and that society is the product of individuals who and that society is systematically set out who consciously life together. Whether it was taken for granted on the part of those taken for granted on the part of those concerned, or whether it was taken for granted that the stronger and more intellectual individuals enslaved the weaker or less intellectual and thus founded social life, sociality always appeared it only to satisfy their own wants.

In this respect, also, the Marx critics could find nothing better than to go back to the eighteenth century. "The Conquest of Modernism," by Stamler, is nothing but a modernised "Contract Social" dogma, regarding so-

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ciety as a product of "externally composed and domineering rules."

All these critics of Marx see the individual only. The individual is the factor which determines value. The individual composes society, gives society its aim and scope, and sets for himself his social task. When these gentlemen hear of the Marxian conception of society, they judge it from the standpoint of the individual determining all, and find that it does not conform with their facts. They are blind to the phenomena from which Marx draws his conclusions. There have, since the first decades of the nineteenth century, come always more facts to the front, which put the individual in complete dependence upon society, which showed society in a state of continual evolution, and which could not be explained by the conscious progress and achievement of the individual. Both statistics and ethnology were showing a social conformity (Gesetzmassigkeit) upon which the individual was dependent; were showing us social conditions which were bare of any "external regulations," social conditions which were not, and could not, have been made consciously by the individual and those of the individual.

Whence this conformity? Whence these strong social ties? These questions were answered for some time by nothing but pictures or mysteries, by comparing society with a human organism, or by pointing to a mystic "zeit geist" (spirit of the times), or not in culture, the why and wherefore of this culture being unknown.

Since the time of Darwin, not only the animal organism, but also the social organism, is no longer a mystery. We know there are animals for which some form of social life is imperative for their existence. The total conditions of life in which they exist not only define the forms and functions of their single organs, but also define the forms and functions of their social combination. The social individual are not the cause of society, but the products of the conditions of life of the individual grown out of the social conditions.

Human society is different from animal society only in that man is the inventor of the technique, and thereby changes his conditions of life. This makes necessary a continual change of the forms and functions of society, which must conform to the new conditions of life, a process that is all the more understood.

And it was this fact that Marx and Engels had discovered before Darwin. They had determined the necessity of society from the conditions of life of the individual, and which Darwin had recognised for the individual, and for the human society abounding on the animal one, that is, for the period in which the technical evolution had not yet played a role.

For this conception also the individual is the starting point. Society is necessary for

the upkeep of the individual, but it is not the consciousness of the individual which determines the character of society, but the conditions of life which oblige certain methods of working and living together with other individuals, and which displace all individuals who refuse to combine in work and life. As these conditions are similar for all individuals of the same kind and locality, they have their effects on all at the same time, and in a similar manner, creating in all that are normally constituted the same aspirations which, through force of numbers, become irresistible and overpower the peculiarity and wilfulness of any individual who would place himself in the way. But, on the other hand, there are those conditions which, for generations, and, in some cases, even for thousands of years, have remained the same. If that is the case, the individual finds the already proportioned social conditions as a power working upon and directing his consciousness from the start.

Thus society becomes, through its extension in scope and time, absolutely over and above the individual, not only in questions where the preservation of life is directly concerned, and where the importance of society for the individual is clear, but also in questions that are not directly concerned with it. Of course, society must not be pictured in a mystic way as a particular entity existing without the individual. Society is only a collective name given to all the connections which the individuals have with each other in the struggle for existence and in developing and propagating the species. Society becomes a power, standing over the individual, only because the conditions of life under which he lives are independent of the individual and above him.

The conformity of society, the natural necessity of its events and situations, comes only from the fact that the same conditions of life leave their impressions on the normally constituted individuals in the same manner; it comes from the fact that the great alike-to-like attraction they in like manner respond.

The starting point of all social phenomena is always the individual, but not the single individual, which the critics of Marx, as well as the investigators of the eighteenth century inquired into. It is the individual in connection with other individuals, the mass of individuals, in which the peculiarities of the single one are lost, and in which the single individual develops a different mentality to that which he would have developed in isolation.

Marx does not observe society, therefore, through the single individual, but through the masses.

Naturally, the mass can only develop potentialities which exist already in the individual, inasmuch as his mentality is the starting point of the social psychology, but only its starting point, and not its explanation.

Let us take, for instance, the Theory of Value. Adam Smith and Ricardo were seek-

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ing (perhaps rightly) the starting point of Value, in the fact that an individual placed a greater value on an article the more labor he had to spend upon it. A Labor Law of Value, regulating exchange, would never have been formed had it not been that, for the individual, in his estimation was embodied in goods, the labor which he expended in them had, from the start, played a part.

But Smith and Ricardo are mistaken when they stop at the individual and consider that, by the individual's estimation of Value, the social form of Exchange Value is explained. Against them the critics of the Labor Theory of Value are right when they say that, for the individual, the labor expended is only one among many factors in the determination of the value of an article. These gentlemen only overlook that Marx has the same men only overlook that Marx has the same view. He declares himself that, at the start, in the exchange of goods, as long as it remains only a single act, "the proportions in which they are exchangeable are, at first, quite a matter of chance." ("Capital I," Chapt. II.)

All possible subordinate factors of the determination of Value come into play, but just because they are subordinate factors they retreat more and more into the background as against the determination of Value by the expenditure of labor, the more exchange becomes, not an occasional, but a general occurrence—the more it develops from a single to a mass phenomenon. Marx had interest in these only, and it was only these that he investigated. The determination of Value by the proportion of expended labor—the same for all one that is not subordinate to the individual alike. It becomes a social necessity as soon as division of labor and private property in the means of production become general, and the regularity of exchange makes production for exchange indispensable. This, from then on, becomes only possible under the rule of the Labor Law of Value. Every important lasting injury to the law of Value now leads to deep-going disturbances of production and exchange, and society will evolve all the better, the more easily the Labor Law of Value becomes apparent in its arrangement.

But as soon as exchange becomes a general, an ever-recurring occurrence, the determination of the Value of the exchanged article or goods by the amount of labor contained therein takes on a different meaning. For the individual, as Smith and Ricardo rightly imagined, the Value of an article is determined by the special labor which it does itself cost. This determination, the more becomes a general social process, the more the determination of value by the socially necessary labor steps in place of the individual labor expended.

The more production for exchange becomes the general form of production, the less the distribution of labor power existent in society takes place on a social plan, but is apparently accidental and dependent on the result of the exchange process; the more also becomes embodied in the idea of "socially ne-

cessary labor," not only average necessary labor with given appliances for the production of any article, but also the idea of the quantity of labor which society, by the given quantity of labor-power that is at its disposal, can use in the production of the sum total of each different commodity required by society.

Thus the law of Value becomes ever more intricate, removing itself further and further from its starting point, the determination of the value by the individual labor expended. The value by the mechanism of production and economic mechanism ever more impenetrable, but change becomes ever more opposition to the individual, and his demands, which express themselves in the law of Value owing to the process of exchange. These lose more and more their connection with the individual and more their connection with the determination of Value with which the process of exchange began. The law of Value cess of exchange began. The law of Value of the general production of commodities, of the capitalist mode of production, can only be explained through its mechanism; and, on the other hand, this mechanism remains in-comprehensible without the Labor Law of Value.

Those sage critics of Marx, who would discover the law of Value, not by investigating the capitalist mechanism, but by investigating the single individual, come to a law of Value which is devoid of any conformity and so devoid of any scientific sense. In the best case, they could contribute something to the understanding of the individual, never any understanding of the individual, which thing to the understanding of society, which they have disregarded. Even the understanding of the individual would not be helped much, as the real man is not isolated, but lives in society, and, indeed, everyone in a definite society. Without understanding this same, one cannot come to an understanding of the single individual.

With the last particularisation, we have touched the second difference between Marx and his critics. They see fixed things; he events, processes.

Tugan Baronowsky says, in his latest book: "Alas! a very unscientific indifference in the expression to the exact definition of the expressions and ideas used by him is a particular peculiarity belonging to Marxism." ("Der Moderne Socialismus.")

Other critics of Marx have somewhat similar statements. For instance, Stammeler. They see in this a scientific weakness, but they themselves would not maintain that it was impotence or want of exactness in thought and expression on the part of Marx. If they had looked closer, they would have found that the above, which, at first glance, looked like weakness, was, in reality, strength. It was in this that the Marxian philosophy had its source. Like Kant, Marx came to the conclusion that we could not conclude from this by itself, but he did not know reality.

In reality, things do not exist in themselves. What a thing is, or means, is only in connection with other things. To recognise things means to disclose their inter-relations.

And these inter-relations are ever changing; the things ever moving.

Instead of investigating the limitation, dissection and definition of static things, Marx looked to the disclosing of movements. Motion can be followed, but not defined. It is said that both methods are necessary, and make a whole. One must investigate matter at rest as well as in motion. For instance, we can come to the understanding of a mussel, not only in a biological way of investigating its evolution and functions, but also in an anatomical way of dissection, microscopic examination, and so on. Each one of these methods completes the other. This is not incorrect, but these two methods of inquiry are not opposed to each other as two independently operating kinds; they comprise, as a matter of fact, only two aspects of the same method. To retain the example of the mussel, I can, of course, say nothing about it as long as I am unaware of its existence. An exposition of its anatomy in the condition of its scientific recognition. But to understand it I must see it in its connections and movements. I must know how it is connected with the organisms of which it forms a part and what are its functions. If I find that it is a mastication mussel, I find the species to which it belongs, and their form of life and food. I observe, also, how the organs of mastication of other animals having different forms of life and food are formed. If I learn, further, how this mussel develops in the different stages of life, how it grows here and contracts there, how it has slowly evolved with the ancestors of the animals, how some of its peculiarities of life, but are inherited rudiments of its ancestors; if I know all this, then will I come to an understanding of the mussel which has been dissected anatomically.

The contemplation of the world as a collection of limited independently existing starting points of science. Its progress consists in observing things in their conditions, movements, and changes, under which they lose more and more their definite limits and designed form. The nearer one observes the world, the more it changes out of a mass of unending movements.

In the same way Marx tried to grasp social phenomena, not as fixed entities, but as social processes. Where his critics, to return to the theory of Value, see their task in demonstrating a single given relation of an individual to certain things, or in a single exchange of two articles, he in a single exchange sees the connections between the law of discovery and the continuous process of exchange, also of production. He investigates how it is possible that this process, based on private property, is continually going on, ever renewing itself and expanding. His theory of Value has something different in view to that of the Austro-English school, whose representatives are right in stating that Marx does not take the

count of facts, that is, the facts from which they start. The facts of a casual exchange of things, which is found accidentally, he did not find worth his consideration. Such an exchange, which does not repeat itself, will certainly not be explained by his theory of Value. But, on the other hand, the *Herrn Grenznutzer Theoretiker* do not see the facts which Marx saw. Their theory does not give the least possibility of explaining how, and under what conditions, the production and circulation of commodities, as an always renewing process, is possible.

The difference in thought of the Marx critics and of Marxism in this connection is well shown by the latest particularisation of Tugan Baronowsky. He reproaches Marx with neglecting definitions, the reason being that Marx did not view Socialism as a limited fixed entity, and gave no formula or no definite future picture of Socialism. He sees a scientific weakness in the fact that Marx "only" presents the social process which develops the class struggle, capitalist concentration, and Socialism.

So great is the progress of Tugan over Marx in his latest book that he raises the cry of "Back to Fourier."

"Back! Back!" That is the slogan of all critics of Marx. None are able to say, "Forward! Above Marx!" This is only natural, as they make no use of his achievements, but stand upon the same ground as the thinkers of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century, in as far as they see only individual and fixed entities, and are neither able nor willing to see society and its movements. They must acknowledge the greatness of Marx, and have to admit that he achieved great results, and has very much enriched our knowledge of society. They try to seize these results and knowledge, but only as it suits them, only in fragments, without system, and thus the new knowledge remains, in their hands, barren; it destroys to them only the security and harmony of the old.

That the enemy of the proletariat and its class struggle decline a doctrine which would make the proletariat more powerful is easy to understand. But even for us Socialists, who put ourselves on the basis of the class struggle and its theoreticians, the mode of Marxian thought is not always easy to grasp. To understand it completely, we must have the ability to see further than material things; society, on the other side of the individual, or on the other side of fixed entities, the processes.

This fixed material viewpoint dominates our thoughts all the more because our bourgeois science upholds it.

It is hardly likely that among us Marxists there is one who has not had a hard struggle before he became able to be just to Marxism. It means a revolution in thought similar to the one by which Copernicus threw the earth out of the centre of the universe. But deeper, as it contains the practical revolution goes of society. May this book be a helpful contribution to the double revolution.

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Petty-Bourgeois Peace-Mongers

By H.C.B.

I spent Easter attending the sessions of the Interstate Peace Conference convened by the Australasian Peace Alliance in Melbourne. I am glad I did so, because if the Conference was not exactly an education, it was at least an eye-opener. It was a revelation to observe with what unerring accuracy the decisions of a Conference composed of very heterogeneous elements represented the interests of the small traders' class, the petty bourgeoisie, and it was exceedingly entertaining to note the Conference's sublime unconsciousness of this fact. When I mentioned to one of the delegates, he indignantly pointed me to the "humanitarian" resolutions of the Conference as over and above classes, and informed me that not one of the delegates was a shopkeeper. But I replied to him in the words of Marx:—

"No one must run away with the narrow notion that the small traders' class means on principle to enforce a selfish class interest. It believes rather that the general conditions for its own emancipation are the general conditions under which alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided. Likewise must we avoid running away with the notion that the Democratic Representation are all "shopkeepers" or enthusiasts for these. They may—by education as heaven is from the standing—that as distinct from them representative of the earth. That which makes them intellectually small traders' class is that they do not leap in leap the bounds which that class itself does not leap in practical life; that, consequently, they are theoretically driven to the same problems and solutions, to which material interests and social standing practically drive the latter. Such, in fact, is at all times the relation of the "political" and the "economic" representatives of the class to the class they represent."

The real business of the Conference began with the opening of the discussion upon a "White Australia," by R. S. Ross. Ross without doubt made an able speech from his own standpoint—but it was a petty bourgeois standpoint. Marx says of this class:—

"The *mesquin* character of its commercial transactions and its credit operations is eminently apt to stamp its character with a want of energy and enterprise; it is then to be expected that similar qualities will mark its political career."

True to these words, the Conference seemed unable to make up its mind about a "White Australia," on this question it rocked backwards and forwards in a perfect agony of vacillation. Ross declined to adopt the proletarian internationalist position because he "wouldn't trust Mr. Hughes," what this "Socialist" really meant was that he wouldn't trust the colored worker. Neither would the Conference affirm a discriminatory resolution for the abolition of all discriminations by the labor unions against colored workers within the Commonwealth. Nor did it manifest the slightest appreciation of the fact of the deterioration of the Australian worker's economic position despite a "White Australia," nor of the adverse effect upon this position caused by the competition with the Australian worker of the colored workers outside Australia. As for inquiring whether racial segregation could be maintained upon the basis of an economy that grows more international every day—why, do you take a bunch of Utopian reformers for scientific Socialists?

Absurd Socialist that I am, I had thought that

only after destroying the bourgeois State machine could the workers destroy, by means of its proletarian State power set up by them in its stead, the lying influence of the capitalist press. The Peace Conference, more ingenious than that, would persuade the bourgeois State to establish a press that will tell the people the truth—for example, the truth that the bourgeois State is the organised power by which the bourgeoisie oppresses the proletariat. The Conference thus reduces the proletarian revolution to the gentle art of persuading the bourgeois State to commit suicide!

But if the question of a "People's Press" enabled the Conference to project a sentimental journey into the land of Cocaine, the star turn of this ridiculous assembly was provided by the debate on "Anti-militarists and Revolution." M. Sawtell moved:—

"That the humanitarian working class position being in opposition to militarism in all its forms, a Red Army could not in any way help the working class in its historic mission."

Whatever the "humanitarian" working class position may be, the actual position of the class-conscious workers has never been "in opposition to the use of militarism in all its forms" *this* to the use of Socialism. The Communist League preside of the international organisation of the cursor of the international organisation of the forcible working class, stood, in 1848, for the "overthrow of all existing social institutions." The First International stood for the "suppression of the standing army," and the substitution for it of the armed people." The Second International did likewise, the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat. Such, and not the pacifist vapors of tariat. Has Sawtell never in his mind, heard of that colossal event in civil wars, the insurrection of June, 1848, when, arms in hand, the proletariat came out upon the streets of Paris and for a week waged desperate battle against the soldiery of the military methods of the Commune of 1871? Has he workers during the military methods of the forgotten so soon the German and Hungarian workers in the recent German and Hungarian revolutions—not to speak of the Russian? Wherever there have been proletarian revolutions, always, in fact, there have been proletarian forms of militarism. And this is as it must be if the "historic mission" of the working class is to establish Socialism rather than become theosophists.

Speaking of the labor movement, Sawtell bewails its "materialism," of which he knows nothing but the name, and ended with the inspiring statement that the workers must discard Marx for Tolstoy. I had imagined Sawtell to be an O.B.U. delegate, but, since the preamble of this organisation lays down the necessity for *revolutionary political action*, concluded that he was really on behalf of the Theosophical Society that he spoke.

Sawtell had a worthy supporter in Miss Hotson, who, being or having been a schoolmistress, is probably very ignorant of history. Otherwise

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she might have been impressed by the example of the proletarian women of the Commune, who, together with the children over thirteen, fought side by side with the men. Miss Hosson proceeded to twit the delegate of the Typographical Society on the shortcomings of his organisation, but, however great these shortcomings may be, it was at least good to hear him answer her as a proletarian to a petty-bourgeois. Indeed, one of the rare encouraging features of the proceedings was the instinctive rejection by trade union delegates of the Conference's petty bourgeois pacifism.

The Conference finally adopted an amendment to Sawtell's motion, proposed by F. Sinclair, who temporarily vacated the chair to move:

"That the social revolution has nothing to hope from the adoption of militarist methods."

Sinclair argued, that those who advocated force despaired of reason, and quoted the celebrated sophist and sycophant, Edmund Burke, as deprecating the use of force in the dispute between England and the American colonies. So, to-day, Ford and Leverhume and Cadbury preach the enslavement of the working people by gentle methods. But Lenin is not afraid to advocate force, when force has become inevitable. By no means, Reverend Sir, is it a question of what Burke, a representative of the oppressing nation, deprecated out of fear lest the oppressed throw off their yoke; rather it is a question of what Washington, a representative of the oppressed, advocated, and whether, if they had not resorted to arms, the American colonists would have gained their independence. Although I recognise that "force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one," I do not despair of reason. But if the above is a fair sample of it, I certainly despair of F. Sinclair's reason.

The stream of pacifist talk wound about such matters as "Disarmament" and a "New Social

Order" to its end. A gentleman named Stanley Allen proposed a new order based on service. His impassioned plea on its behalf was somewhat discounted by the fact that he had previously voted to throw away the only means by which such order can be established. Utopian to the secretary, moved, capitalism or no capitalism, that all armies be disbanded. She told us that so far as she was concerned she had "abolished" war, and drew a striking contrast between the dastardliness of the soldier and the angelic behavior of the policeman. But when it came to a matter of the "Self Determination" of India, Miss Moore, who had seen no earthly use for a Red Army such as exists in Russia, began to see a possible use for the British Army in India. The "poor Indians whose untutored mind sees God in trees and hears Him in the wind" might want the British Army to keep them from flung at each other's throats. But that the Red Army might be necessary to keep the bourgeoisie from the throat of the working class of Russia—all that, of course, is only so much nonsense. Pacifists can never be Socialists, but they turn into Imperialists easily enough.

Just before I left, some words of Plechanoff flitted across my mind:

"Alas, gentlemen, there is no ideal for walking corpses such as you! You will try everything. You will become Buddhists, Druids, Saars, Chaldeans, Magi, Theosophists, or Anarchists, whichever you prefer—and yet you will remain what you are now—beings without faith or principle, bags, emptied by history. The ideal of the bourgeois has lived."

These words struck me as, on the whole, not inappropriate to this precious Conference. But, going out, I stumbled against the legs of the editor of "The Proletarian." He seemed to have fallen asleep, but, when I touched him, he muttered something about "petty bourgeois peacemongers." And I liked that better.

A Proletarian Library

By G. BARACCHI

TERRORISM AND COMMUNISM.

By Karl Kautsky.

There are Communist comrades, who, if asked had they read any of the post-war writings of Kautsky, would reply with scorn that they had no time to waste upon the works of such a renegade. We cannot subscribe to this view. It is true that the revolutionary spirit of Marx has fled from Kautsky to return no more; nevertheless, the man and Engels, is generally so erudite, and has, withal, such consummate intellectual capacity, that, in our opinion, even his post-war writings are bound to be both interesting and instructive. In a far higher degree than his "Dictatorship

of the Proletariat," which we reviewed in our first issue, Kautsky's latest book on "Terrorism and Communism" confirms this view.

The earlier part of this book is taken up with an investigation of the first Paris Commune, through which the small bourgeois and proletarians of Paris ruled France from August 10th, 1792, to July 27th (the 9th Thermidor), 1794. This investigation provides us with a considerable amount of valuable material on the great French Revolution, material which, from a Marxist standpoint, Kautsky handles satisfactorily enough.

Since the classes which stood behind it needed, in 1792, private property in order to go on producing and live, the

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first Paris Commune adopted the point of view of such property as against common ownership of the means of living. On the other hand, it tried to get rid of the misery from which the mass of the population suffered by means of repressive measures against the profiteers, speculators, and counter-revolutionaries. But, since private property inevitably bred these elements, the Commune became involved in an incurable contradiction, and its repressive measures failed. Recourse was then had to the dictatorship of the "Committee of Public Safety and General Defense," and, as the stress caused by the above contradiction increased, dictatorial power tended to concentrate in the hands of a single member of this Committee, namely, Robespierre.

Of the organisation of the consequent Reign of Terror, Kautsky gives us the following account by Louis Blanc:—

"We find a tireless Club, that of the Jacobins, which animates Paris with its life. Paris, which has been divided up into groups of inhabitants called 'Sections,' gives expression to the ideas and thoughts prevailing in the Club. The Commune, the centre of the 'Sections,' formulates these ideas and thoughts into laws. The 'Committee of Public Safety' infuses life into these laws in all the various departments, of State activity—in the State administration, in the choice of officials, in the army, through the commissioners; in the provinces, and in the commissioners; in the Republic, through the every part of the Republic, through the revolutionary committees. The 'Committee of Public Security' has the task of exposing all the objectionable and disagreeable elements. The extraordinary Revolutionary Tribunal hastens to punish them. Such was the revolutionary machine."

In the most unsparing manner this fearful apparatus was set to work; nevertheless, the economic conditions proved too strong for it. Robespierre's appeal to the populace on the 9th Thermidor met with indifferent reception. He succumbed. At the same time the Commune of Paris lost its last apparent claim to power. The revolution thereupon reverted to the basis favoured by the economic conditions then prevailing, namely, to the supremacy of the bourgeoisie.

The history of the first Paris Commune offers striking proof of the Marxist doctrine that political action, if it would accomplish anything, must conform to the existing economic conditions.

Not all the terrorism in the world may succeed if these are against it. Kautsky quotes an interesting passage from Engels on the subject of terrorism. On September 4th, 1870, he wrote to Marx:

"We understand by the 'reign of terror' the reign of those who breathe and inspire frightfulness; on the contrary, it is the reign of people who themselves are frightened. *La Terreur*—this embodies for the most part futile atrocities committed by people who themselves have fear, and have need of reassurance. I am convinced that the blame for the reign of am terror of 1793 is almost entirely to be laid at the doors of the over-anxious small bourgeois, who masqueraded as patriots, and of the mob, who made of terrorism a regular business."

Marx and Engels, in 1848, were still impressed with the revolutionary potentialities of terrorism; by 1870, however, it had lost for them most of its glamour, as the above quotation from Engels unmistakably shows.

In 1871 the second Paris Commune was born, and upon this also Kautsky gives us much information we have not met before. Whatever the mistakes of the second Commune, they were of a very different order to the mistakes of the men of '93. For, unlike these, the Commune of 1871 understood, as Marx has pointed out, that in order to obtain its own freedom, and to fashion along with that some better standard of living, which the present state of society had made impossible through the economic complications then existing, the working class would have to go through a long process of preparation, and sustain many fights, before men, as well as circumstances, could be completely transformed. In this connection Kautsky quotes a passage written by Marx as early as 1850, in his "Disclosures in Connection with the Communist Congress in Cologne":—

"In place of a critical examination the minority (the League of the Communists) sets upon the dogmatic, instead of the materialistic conception of things, the idealistic. Instead of the actual condition of things being that driving force of the Revolution, they seek for that ing force of the Revolution, they seek for that driving force in mere will; whereas we say driving force in the workmen, 'you have to go through twenty or fifty years of civil wars and struggles, not only to change conditions, but also to change yourselves, and to make yourselves capable of political government.' 'You must at the workmen, on the contrary, 'we must at once seize power or we might as well lie down and sleep.' Whereas we point out, specially to the German workers, the undeveloped state of

the German proletariat; you flatter in the crudest manner possible their national feelings and the class prejudice of the German artisan, which is naturally much more popular.

"Just as the democrats have converted the word 'people' into something almost sacred, you have done the same with the word 'proletariat.' Like the democrats, you substitute the word 'revolution' for 'revolutionary development.'"

Although more than seventy years have elapsed since Marx penned the above words, they still stand as a warning to those who, even to-day, are inclined to seek the emancipation of the proletariat through mere will, without first inquiring what the actual conditions prevailing make it possible (and impossible) for the will to accomplish.

Kautsky has an interesting disquisition on the effect of civilisation on human customs. He distinguishes two conflicting tendencies in the history of human development, one towards the brutalising, the other towards the humanising of conduct, the one or the other becoming paramount according to the conditions at the time. Thus he explains the actions of the great French Revolution by the predominance of the brutalising tendency during the 18th century; on the other hand, he attributes to the humanising of conduct in the 19th century the actions of the Commune of 1871. But, Kautsky proceeds, due to the effects of the world war, and, in a minor degree, of universal military service, the humanising tendency has once more been overcome by brutality. And so he is led to make the following marvelously sage remarks about the recent European revolutions:—

"The time of the Second Russian Revolution proved to be very unfavourable to Marxist doctrines. Those among the labouring classes in Russia, who had been trained on Marxist lines, were dead or swept away by the backward masses, who had suddenly awakened to gain the upper hand, ways such as were presented by Blanqui, Weitling or Bakunin. These were the conditions under which the Revolution, first of all in Russia, and then in the neighbouring countries, progressed. No primitive, therefore, that it awoke afresh only brutal and murderous forms of political and social war to come to light, forms which one had been led to believe had been overcome by the intellectual and moral rise of the proletariat."

And, especially for the poor stricken bourgeoisie of Russia, the tender heart of Kautsky bleeds.

Because Engels very sharply criticised the Spanish insurrection headed by the Bakunists in 1873, "this absolutely shameful insurrection," in a series of articles entitled "The Bakunists at Work," Kautsky tries to score off the Bolsheviks by heading his chapter on the Russian revolution "The Communists at Work." In this chapter Kautsky falls from his high Marxist estate to become the most hackneyed liberal. Against the terrorist ideas of Marx and Engels in 1848 he quotes their later statements on this question. But if he can make a point against the Bolsheviks by so doing, he prefers to use quotations from the very earliest works of Engels and Marx. Thus he quotes a passage written by Engels in 1845 to the effect that "in its very principles Communism stands over and above the division of the bourgeois and the proletariat," and says that the Bolsheviks have degraded the social movement "by turning the cause of humanity into a mere cause of the workingmen." It is now our turn to quote the later as against the earlier Engels, and in so doing to prove what the "Marxist" opinions of Kautsky on the Russian revolution are really worth. The passage relied upon by Kautsky is from Engels' "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844." In 1892 Engels wrote a preface to this book, in the course of which he referred to the passage quoted by Kautsky as follows:—

"Thus great stress is laid on the dictum that Communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class; but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice."

In the case of Kautsky, who, in practice, has not only forgotten the existence of the class struggle, but is also engaged in sabotaging the Russian revolution and perverting its lessons, the use of the above early dictum of Engels is certainly worse than useless. The rest of his railings against the Bolsheviks are upon the same level. The preceding parts of his book have great value for the student; his criticism of the Russian revolution and the Communists is, from a Marxist standpoint, beneath contempt.

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"MONEY POWER" is the name of a new book from the pen of Frank Anstey, M.I.R. The title indicates the contents. When the author wrote the "Kingdom of Shylock," a book on the same subject, the Commonwealth Censor came down heavily upon it, and absence of censorship in the case of "Money Power" will be appreciated very much by its readers. In his own blunt style, Anstey strongly attacks the International Financial Sharks. Price, 2/6 Posted, 2/8.

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"THE SOCIALISM OF KARL MARX," by Dr. Cook.
"KARL LEIBKNECHT," by Wm. Paul.
"BOEHM BAWERK'S CRITICISM OF MARX," by Trotsky.
"A PARADISE IN THIS WORLD," by Trotsky.
"THE SOVIET SYSTEM AT WORK."
"ENGLAND AND THE EAST."

The New Zealand Government has prohibited the importation of "THE GREAT INITIATIVE," by N. Lenin (Price 6d., Posted 7d.). It is one of those pamphlets which show difficulties faced by the Russian Communists in their effort to reach a Communist order of Society. Very interesting is the story of the "Communist Saturdays," which is included in the pamphlet.

"LABOR'S ROAD TO FREEDOM," by Monty Miller, is selling well. The old veteran agitator had many friends throughout Australia, and was much admired for his strenuous life on behalf of the class to which he belonged. Apart from this, the book is good propaganda against Parliamentarism, and for Revolutionary Unionism, and should suit many who have been lamenting over the shortage of such literature. Price 1/6, Posted 1/8.

"THE TWO INTERNATIONALS," by R. Palme Dutt (Price 2/6, Posted 2/8), is the finest collection of documents obtainable which purport to show the relationship of, or differences between, the Second and Third International. All students need this book as it gives them in a nutshell a history of the events leading to the formation of the Third International.

"SAVAGE SURVIVALS," by Prof. J. Howard Moore, is always a popular book. It is, in its way, a story of the human race, told in simple language. It traces many present-day habits which in many cases have no present-day use or meaning, and shows them to be survivals of actions necessary to race preservation in former times. Price 2/6, Posted 2/8.

One of the best of the Third International Manifestoes is that published under the title "TO THE I.W.W.: A Special Message from the Communist International." (Price 3d., Posted 4d.). It gives, in a nutshell, the

views of the Third International on Political Action; Parliamentary Action; Direct Action; and Industrial Unionism. In a Foreword, Tom Glynn, late editor of the "Australian Communist," recommends it to International Unionists.

The "AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST," weekly organ of the Communist Party of Australia, 119 Rawson Chambers, Sydney, is to be edited in future by C. W. Baker, late Secretary of Melbourne Branch of the Communist Party, the late editor, Tom Glynn, having resigned that position. The paper can be obtained for 2d., Posted 3d.

Some works by E. D. Morel, which are popular at present, are:—
"RED RUBBER," 5/-, Posted 5/4.
"TEN YEARS OF SECRET DIPLOMACY," 5/-, Posted 5/4.
"THOUGHTS ON THE WAR: THE PEACE—AND PRISON," 2/6, Posted 2/8.

"THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD" (Price 2/6, Posted 2/8) is a popular work amongst Rationalists. It is claimed for it that it is a book for beginners, which can be taken to mean a book for the birth of the world, the growth of the stars, the birth of the world, the dawn of life, the slow advance of living forms up to the level of man. Published by Watts and Co., London, and written by R. McMillan, Sydney, N.S.W.

What is by far the best edition of the Manifesto of the First Congress of the Communist International, and known as "THE NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO," has just been published by the Communist Party of Australia, 119 Rawson Chambers, Sydney. This edition, in addition to the matter hitherto published as the Manifesto, contains the Program, dealing with the question of Political Power, Democracy and Socialisation of the Bourgeoisie, and the question of the Appropriation of the Means of Production, and THE WAY OF VICTORY. The edition bears the title "MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," and the price is 3d., Posted 4d.

There are still a few copies left of Anstey's "RED EUROPE," the best selling book of its kind in Australia. It is interesting to note that the Socialist Labor Press, Glasgow, Scotland, has just published an edition of this work, and that an edition has been published in Canada. Price 2/6, Posted 2/8.

BOOKS OF WHICH NEW SUPPLIES ARRIVED THIS MONTH.

INGERSOLL'S ESSAYS, 1st Series, 1/8 posted.
INGERSOLL'S ESSAYS, 2nd Series, 1/8 posted.
INGERSOLL'S ESSAYS, 3rd Series, 1/8 posted.
THE DESCENT OF MAN, by Chas. Darwin, 9/-, posted.
DEBS, HIS LIFE AND LETTERS, by David Karsner, 10/-, posted.
DREAM OF DEBS, by Jack London, 7d. posted.
MARXISM AND DARWINISM, by A. Pannkoek, 10d. posted.

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BOOKS ***** A T ***** ANDRADE'S

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, by M. Fisher, 10d. posted.
 THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, by Mary Marcy, 10d. posted.
 WAGES AND PRICES, by Philip Snowden, 2/8 posted.
 WHERE IRON IS THERE IS THE FATHERLAND, by C. K. Streit, 2/11 posted.
 SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by Morris Hillquit, 2/8 posted.
 MAJOR BARBARA, by Bernard Shaw, 3/- posted.
 HOW HE LIED TO HER HUSBAND, by B. Shaw, 2/8 posted.
 CANDIDA, by B. Shaw, 2/8 posted.
 MR. WARREN'S PROFESSION, by B. Shaw, 2/8 posted.
 PYGMALION, by B. Shaw, 2/8 posted.

VITAL PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION, by Arthur M. Lewis, 3/9 posted.
 MARKIAN ECONOMICS (A Popular Introduction to Marx's "Capital"), by Ernest Unterman, 8/6 posted.
 WHY THE CAPITALISTS? by Frederick Haller, 5/6 posted.
 STORIES OF THE GREAT RAILROADS, by Charles Edward Russell, 7/9 posted.
 GRACIA (A Social Tragedy), by Frank Everitt Plummer, 5/3 posted.
 FLUERBACH (The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy), by Frederick Engels, 3/9 posted.
 THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY, by Paul Lafargue, 3/9 posted.
 THE "SOCIALISM" OF NEW ZEALAND, by Robert H. Hutchinson, 5/3 posted.
 AN ALPHABET OF ECONOMICS, by A. R. Orage, 6/3 posted.
 NATIONAL GUILDS, by S. G. Hobson, 7/9 posted.
 THE POSITIVE OUTCOME OF PHILOSOPHY, by Joseph Dietzgen, 10/6 posted.
 PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS, by Joseph Dietzgen, 10/6 posted.
 ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM, by George Plechanoff, 2/9 posted.
 CLASS STRUGGLE IN AMERICA, by A. M. Simons, 3/9 posted.
 THE HIGH COST OF LIVING, by Karl Kautsky, 3/9 posted.
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 ETHICS AND THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY, by Karl Kautsky, 3/9 posted.
 EVOLUTION, SOCIAL AND ORGANIC, by Arthur M. Lewis, 3/9 posted.
 THE MILITANT PROLETARIAT, by Arthur M. Lewis, 3/9 posted.
 THE ART OF LECTURING, by Arthur M. Lewis, 3/9 posted.
 TEN BLIND LEADERS OF THE BLIND, by Arthur M. Lewis, 3/9 posted.
 SOCIAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES, by Paul Lafargue, 3/9 posted.
 THE POSITIVE SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY, by Enrico Ferri, 3/9 posted.
 THE ECONOMIC KINSHIP, by J. Howard Moore, 3/6 posted.
 THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR, by Achille Loria, 6/3 posted.
 THE CHANGING ORDER (A Study of Democracy), by Oscar Lovell Triggs, 6/6 posted.
 LANDMARKS IN ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL HISTORY, by Townsend Warner, 7/9 posted.
 MODERN SOCIALISM, by Charles H. Vail, 5/3 posted.
 REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS, by Peter E. Burrows, 5/3 posted.
 THE REPUBLIC, by M. P. Andersen, 5/3 posted.
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 THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION, by Arthur M. Lewis, 3/9 posted.
 SOCIALISM, POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE, by Robert Reves La Monte, 3/9 posted.

SPECIAL PROPAGANDA WORKS.

Price 3d.; posted 4d.
 THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM (G. Zinoviev).
 THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (N. Bucharin).
 TO THE I.W.W.—A Special Message from the Communist International.
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 O.B.U. FOR AUSTRALIA (N. Anderson).

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 THE COMMUNIST PROGRAMME OF WORLD REVOLUTION (N. Bucharin).
 THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (Karl Marx and E. Engels).

Price 2/6; posted 2/8.
 THE STATE AND REVOLUTION (N. Lenin).
 RED EUROPE (Frank Anstey, M.P.).

Price 3/6, Posted 3/9.
 BOLSHEVISM AT WORK (Professor Goodes).
 HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (L. Trotsky).
 THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC (Col. Malone).

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Proletarian Comment

May Day.

IN 1889 the International Congress of Paris adopted May 1 as the International Socialist holiday, and each succeeding year, in every civilised country, workingmen and women demonstrated on that day to demand from a capitalist world greater political and industrial freedom and better conditions of livelihood. It was conceived particularly as an international demand for an 8-hour day, for social legislation, for equal suffrage for men and women, and as a protest against militarism and war. In most countries May Day was celebrated as a workers' holiday. On this day the class-conscious working men and women asserted, if only for a day, their freedom from capitalist domination. And by this token it signified to them the great international brotherhood of the working-class, fighting for liberation from capitalist oppression. Then came the war, and May 1 became a day of sorrow. May 1, 1915, was one of the most tragic days in the history of the International. Instead of brotherhood there was mass murder and hatred; in the place of anti-militarist propaganda there were war-credits; in the place of better indus-

trial conditions had come industrial slavery; political freedom had made way for political oppression. But, since the advent of the Revolution in Europe, May 1 has become a day of hope reborn. Although the war of the classes against each other has set in with a bitterness and an insistence such as the world has never seen before, the gloom in the hearts of the class-conscious workers is no longer that of despair. For they know that at length the World Revolution is upon the wing; that it flies from city to city, from nation to nation, from heart to heart, devastating and destroying, creating and achieving. To-day they celebrate the old first of May with a new meaning. Demands that once loomed so large, have become a matter of course. The 8-hour day has become the standard of capitalist production; in every capitalist country universal suffrage is either realized or on the eve of its realization. On the other hand, international disarmament under capitalism has become a chimera, permanent peace an empty phrase, a dream that will not be fulfilled so long as capitalism with its greed for territories, markets and spheres of influence continues

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to exist. But arrayed against the harbingers of new wars that sit in Paris and in London, in Washington and in Tokio, is a working-class that comes to a truer understanding of proletarian brotherhood, that grows more desperately ready to give its devotion to a cause that has become a tremendous, living reality. It is because of these facts that the class-conscious workers, leaving to the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class the stage-management of 8-hour day celebrations, demonstrate on May Day for Revolution, and that on May 1 there rings round the world the deathless slogan: "All power to the workers!"

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British Coal Strike.

THE ruling class of Britain has reason to congratulate itself upon the clever strategy by means of which it has succeeded in averting, for the time being, the development of a situation fraught with serious danger to its economic and political supremacy. But without the active assistance of those "labor lieutenants" of whom we have just spoken, and who are in fact nothing but agents of the bourgeoisie inside the labor movement; without the assistance of such men as Mr. J. H. Thomas, secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, member of the House of Commons, and pimp of Mr. Lloyd George, such strategy could never have been put into operation. The danger confronting the British bourgeoisie was of twofold character. On the one hand, the withdrawal of the pumpmen from the mines threatened the destruction of its property; on the other hand, a general strike, which appeared imminent, might easily develop revolutionary significance. The ruling class lost no time in employing the reactionary leaders of the Triple Alliance to avert both these possibilities. These "leaders" induced the miners to forego, as a means of ensuring the support of the other unions, the tactical advantage the withdrawal of the pumpmen gave them. Thus the property of the mine-owners was saved! The "leaders" then proceeded to destroy all solidarity of the Triple Alliance, so that, at the critical moment, support for the miners by the

other unions was not forthcoming. Thus a general strike was averted, and the way cleared for compelling the divided workers to accept, section by section, a lowering of their standard of life. Well indeed have the "labor leaders" of Britain served their masters! But for Communists the lesson is clear, and De Leon states it thus: "As the Plebs Leader [in ancient Rome] was a strategic post of peculiar strength for the patriciate and for mischief for the proletariat, so and for like reasons is the Labor Leader of to-day nothing but a masked battery, from behind which the Capitalist Class can encompass what it could not without—the work of enslaving and slowly degrading the Working Class, and, along with that, the work of debasing and ruining the country." It is in order to destroy the influence of the "Labor Leader" with the workers that it is above all necessary for Communists to work within the trade unions. It is in order to destroy his influence that they must also work within the Parliamentary arena. "There are compromises and compromises." True, O. Lenin! and one of the compromises that Communists cannot afford to make is to be anything but unremitting in the task of exposing to the workers the true significance of the labor lieutenant of the capitalist class. For not otherwise can the workers be induced to forsake the paths of bourgeois democracy for proletarian dictatorship.

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Proletarian Dictatorship.

AT the end of a well worked-out article in the "One Big Union Herald" for April occur some words of which we wish to offer a friendly criticism, the more so as we understand they have by no means met with the unanimous approval of members of the W.I.L.U. The words in question are: "The State must be abolished. No form of political State, even a Proletarian State, built on the ruins of the present State, is necessary or desirable for an industrial democracy. And more, a proletarian dictatorship . . . in Western democracies . . . would only be necessary . . . failing the support of

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the majority of the industrial workers, who are 88 per cent. of the population." It is true that in the full-fledged Communist society every form of State becomes superfluous and will inevitably cease to exist. But to say that the State must be abolished is to slip from scientific Socialism into Anarchism. Remember Engels' words: "The State is not 'abolished.' It dies out. This gives the measure of the value of . . . the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand." The abolition of the State out of hand will be the Proletarian State, and of the form of this State Marx tells us: "Between capitalist society and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Correspondent with this there will be a period of political transition during which the State can be nothing other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Even if 88 per cent. of the population stand behind the proletarian State, this State must nevertheless assume the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels tell us that the socialization of the means of production "cannot be effected save by despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production." Of the situation in Western democracies, even the "Two-and-a-half," Kautskian, International says: "The proletariat will be able to gain power through democratic channels only in those lands where the bourgeoisie does not adequately control the military forces. But there Capitalism will sabotage the threatening supremacy of the workers with the economic weapon. And so, even where the bourgeoisie does not enjoy military domination, the proletariat will be compelled to adopt dictatorial methods. And the very Mensheviks of Russia proclaim that it is precisely in those countries where the proletariat is in a majority that its dictatorship is both requisite and legitimate. Scientific Socialists differ from Anarchists in their conception of the role of the State not only before, but immediately after, the proletarian revolution. Members of the W.I.L.U. have done much to combat anarchist errors (concerning parliamentary action, etc.) in the one case; it is to be hoped

that they will do no less in the other. If so, they will accept the Marxist proposition that after the revolution the State is not abolished, but dies out; and that the form of its dying out can be "nothing other" than the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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War.

MARXISM offers to the proletariat the only safe guidance past the shoals not merely of opportunism and anarchism, but also of petty bourgeois pacifism. The imperialist rivalries of America, Japan and England, becoming manifest in American opposition to the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, in the controversy over the island of Yap, and, generally, in the tendency of the storm centre of the nations to shift to the Pacific, render the question of "the next war" one of the very closest concern to the workers of Australia. It is therefore essential that these should be thoroughly informed upon the Marxist or Communist attitude towards war. There are, in our day, four varieties of war possible. There is, in the first place, the war of a colonial country against the imperialist power that oppresses it. There is the civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of a given country. There is the defensive war of a Socialist country against the capitalist nations around it. And, lastly, there is the war of plunder between two groups of imperialist powers. Now the Communist, since he cannot be opposed to all varieties of war without ceasing to be a Communist, tells the proletarian that there are wars and wars. In its own ultimate interest, it cannot be opposed to the war of independence of a colonial people against an imperialist oppressor. Still less can it be opposed to the carrying of a civil war to victory over the bourgeoisie or to the defensive war of a Socialist country. But there is one type of war against which the proletariat must pit all its strength; and that is the monstrous war between imperialist powers. Nevertheless, even this war it must oppose by methods very different to those of petty bourgeois pacifism, which is "all cackle and no pacifism," which is "all buckle and no osses." Sweet words butler no parsnips. Lenin, on the other hand, writes: "If the war is a reactionary Imperialist

why should not we be allowed them?" But proletarians, schooled in manifold strikes (to take only this manifestation of the class war), usually only this manifestation of this most profound (philosophical, historical, political and psychological) sophistry, as expounded by Engels. Every proletarian who has gone through strikes has experienced compromises with the hated oppressors and exploiters, when the workers had to get back to work, sometimes without obtaining their demands, sometimes consenting to a partial compliance only. Every proletarian, because of that state of the class struggle and intensification of class antagonisms in which he lives, distinguishes between a compromise extorted from him by objective conditions (such as lack of funds by the treasury, no support from without, starvation, and the last stage of exhaustion)—a compromise which in no way lessens the revolutionary devotion and readiness of the worker to continue the struggle—and, on the other hand, the compromise of traitors, who ascribe to objective reasons their own selfishness (strike breakers also effect a "compromise"), their cowardice, their desire to fawn upon capitalists, and their readiness to yield sometimes to threats, sometimes to persuasion, sometimes to sops and flattery on the part of capitalists. Such treacherous compromises are especially plentiful in the history of the English labor movement, made by leaders of the English trade unions; but in one form or another nearly all workers in every country have witnessed similar instances.

To be sure individual cases of exceptional difficulty and intricacy do occur, when it is possible to determine the real character of such a compromise only with the greatest effort, just as there are cases of murder in which it is anything but easy to decide whether the murder was fully justifiable, and, in fact, necessary (as, for example, legitimate self-defence), or an unpardonable piece of negligence, or, again, a skillfully premeditated treacherous plan. Of course, in politics, involving sometimes very intricate national or international relationships between classes and parties, many cases will arise much more difficult than the question of a lawful compromise during a strike, or the treasonable compromise of a strike-breaker, a traitorous leader, etc. To invent such a formula or general rule as "No Compromises," which would serve in all cases, is an absurdity. One must keep one's head in order by not to lose oneself in each separate case. Therein, by the way, lies the importance of a party organization and of party leaders worthy of the name, struggle, all thinking representatives of a given class may work out the necessary knowledge, the ledge and experience, the necessary political instincts for the quick and correct solution of intricate political problems.*

Native and quiet inexperienced persons imagine that it is sufficient to recognise the permissibility

* So long as classes exist, so long as non-class society has not fully entrenched and consolidated itself, there has not developed itself on its own foundations, and even in the most enlightened countries, capable of thinking. Capitalism would not be the oppressor of the masses that it is, were this not so.

of compromise in general, and all differences between opportunism on the one hand (with which revolutionary Marxism or Communism or other will be obliterated. But for those people who do not yet know that all distinctions in nature and in society are unstable (and, to a certain extent, arbitrary), nothing will do but a long process of training, education, enlightenment, political and everyday experience. In practical questions of the policy appropriate to each separate or specific historic moment it is important to be able to distinguish those in which are manifested the main species of inadmissible treacherous compromises, which embody opportunism detrimental to the revolutionary class, and to direct all possible efforts towards elucidating and fighting them. During the imperialist war of 1914-1918, between two groups of equally ruffianly and rapacious countries, such a main fundamental species of opportunism was social-Chauvinism, that is, upholding "defence of the Fatherland," which, in such a war, was really equivalent to a defence of the plundering interests of one's own bourgeoisie. Since the war, the defence of the robber "League of Nations"; the defence of direct or indirect alliance with the bourgeoisie of one's country against the revolutionary proletariat and the "Soviet" movement; the defence of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism against "Soviet power"; such are the chief manifestations of those inadmissible and treacherous compromises which, taken all in all, have given rise to an opportunism fatal to the revolutionary proletariat and its cause. "With all determination to reject all compromise with other parties... all policy of temporising and manoeuvring" write the German "Left" in the Frankfurt pamphlet.

It is to be wondered at that, holding such views, the Left do not decisively condemn Bolshevism! Surely it is not possible that the German Left were unaware that the whole history of Bolshevism, both before and after the October Revolution, is full of instances of manoeuvring, temporising and compromising with others, the bourgeois parties included!

To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war a hundred times more difficult, prolonged and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars to manoeuvre, to tries, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilise the conflict (even though temporary) of interests between one's enemies; to refuse co-operation and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating, and conditional) allies—is not this an infinitely arduous task? Is it not as though, in the difficult ascent of an unexplored and heretofore inaccessible mountain, we were to renounce beforehand the idea that we might have to go sometimes in zig-zags, sometimes retracing our steps, sometimes giving up the course once selected and trying various others? And people who are so ignorant and inexperienced (it is all right if one is due to their youth—the Lord Himself has ordained that during a certain time the young should talk such nonsense) are supported in this uncompromising attitude—directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, wholly or partially—by certain Dutch Communists!

After the first Socialist revolution of the proletariat, upon the overthrow of the bourgeoisie

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in a country, the proletariat remains for a time weaker than the bourgeoisie, simply by virtue of the latter's far-reaching international connections, and also on account of the ceaseless and spontaneous re-birth of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, through the small producers of commodities in the country which has overthrown them. To overcome so potent an enemy is possible only through the greatest effort and by dint of the obligatory, thorough, careful, attentive and skillful utilisation of every breach, however small, of the enemies; of every clash of interests between the bourgeoisie of all countries, between various groups and species of bourgeoisie within individual countries; of every possibility, however small, of gaining an ally, even though he be temporary, shaky, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Who has not grasped this has failed to grasp even a iota of Marxism and of scientific modern Socialism in general. Whoever has failed to prove in practice, during a considerable period of time and in sufficiently varied political situations, his ability to apply this truth, has not yet learned to aid the revolutionary class in its struggle for the liberation of all toiling humanity from its exploiters. All this applies equally to the period before and after the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

Our theory is not a dogma but a manual of action, said Marx and Engels; and the greatest mistake, the greatest crime of "patented" Marxists like Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, etc., is that they have not understood this, that they were unable to apply it in the most important moments of the proletarian revolution. "Political activity is not the pavement of the Nevsky Prospect," (the clean, broad, level pavement of the perfectly straight main street in Petrograd), N. G. Chernishevsky, the great Russian Socialist in the pre-Marxian period, used to say. The Russian revolutionaries, from the time of Chernishevsky, have paid with innumerable victims for ignoring or forgetting this truth. It is necessary by every means to prevent Left Communists and West European and American revolutionaries who are devoted to the working-class from paying as dearly for the assimilation of this truth as did the backward Russians.

Before the downfall of Czarism, the Russian revolutionary Social Democrats made use repeatedly of the service of the bourgeois Liberals—i.e., concluded numerous practical compromises with them. In 1901-2, before the rise of Bolshevism, the old editorial staff of *Iskra* (comprising Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zaslitch, Martov, Potressov, and myself) concluded a formal, although short-lived, political alliance with Struve, the political leader of bourgeois Liberalism, and succeeded at the same time in waging a most merciless ideological and political war against bourgeois Liberalism and against the slightest manifestation of its influence within the working-class movement. The Bolsheviks always continued the same policy. From 1905 they systematically advocated a union of the working class and peasantry against the Liberal bourgeoisie and Czarism. At the same time they never refused to support the bourgeoisie against Czarism (for instance, during the second stage of the election, or in recounts), and never ceased the most irreconcilable ideological and political fight

against the bourgeois revolutionary peasant party, the "Socialist Revolutionaries," exposing them as petty bourgeois democrats, falsely masquerading as Socialists.

In 1907 the Bolsheviks, for a short time, formed a formal political bloc in the Duma elections with the "Socialist Revolutionaries." Between 1903 and 1912 we were for several years formally united with the Mensheviks in one Social-Democratic party, never ceasing our ideological and political fight with them, as opportunists and transmitters of bourgeois influence to the proletariat. During the war we accepted some compromise with the "Kautskians," who were partly Left Mensheviks (Martov) and partly "Socialist Revolutionaries" (Chernov and Natanson), sitting together with them in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, and issuing manifestoes in common; but we never ceased and never slackened our ideologico-political fight with the "Kautskians," Martov and Chernov. (Natanson died in 1919, quite near to us, being a "Revolutionary Communist"—Narodnik—and almost agreeing with us.) At the very moment of the October Revolution we effected an informal (a very important and highly successful) political bloc with the petty bourgeois peasantry, having accepted fully, without a single change, the "Socialist Revolutionary" agrarian programme—that is, we effected an undeniable compromise, in order to prove to the peasants that we do not want to dominate them, but to come to an understanding with them. At the same time we proposed, and soon realised, a formal political bloc with the "Left Socialist Revolutionaries," involving working together in the same Government. They broke up this bloc after the conclusion of the Brest Peace, and then went as far as an armed insurrection against us in July, 1918. Subsequently they began an armed struggle against us.

It is therefore comprehensible why all the attacks made by the German "Left" upon the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (because the latter entertained the idea of a bloc with the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, the "Kautskians") seem to us not at all serious, and prove to us the palpable error of the "Left." We in Russia also had the Right Mensheviks (who participated in the German Government and who correspond to the German Scheidemanns) and Left Mensheviks (Martov), who were in opposition to the Right Wing, and who correspond to the German Kautskians. We clearly observed, in 1917, how the Mensheviks were gradually abandoning the working class to come over to the Bolsheviks. At the first all-Russian Congress of Soviets, in June, 1917, we had only 13%; the majority of votes were for the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks. At the Second Congress of Soviets (October 25, 1917—old style) we had 51% (October 25, 1917—old style) of the vote. Why, in Germany, did a wholly similar movement of the workers from Right to Left strengthen, not the Communists, but the intermediate party of the "Independents"?—although this party never had any independent policy of its own, no independent policy of its own, but only wavered between the Scheidemanns and the Communists.

Obviously, one of the causes was the erroneous tactics of the German Communists, who must fearlessly and honestly admit this mistake and

The first of these, Animism, means the personification of objects and actions in Nature. The savage attributed life and purpose to the wind and the waterfall, and feared the power of storm and fire. The thunder was the angry roar of a mighty being, and the lightning was his torch. It was easy, say the exponents of Animism, for men to learn the worship of the sun and moon, and develop in time a complex metaphysical belief.

Then, again, there were such Psychological Phenomena as dreams to disturb the mind of primitive man. If he dreamed he was chasing the deer, and awoke to find himself in his tent, why should he not think that his soul had been off on travels of its own? And if he dreamed he saw a friend who had died, is it strange that he should conclude his friend's ghost still lived to frequent its old haunts?

The third explanation offered by scientists is that the primitive mind of primeval man was greatly puzzled by many Mysteries in Nature, entirely unexplainable to him. Such are the echoes, for example, that mock his wild shouts in the forest, and his reflected image that stares back at him from every woodland pool. Even his shadow was a mystery to the savage, and helped on his growing superstitions as to the existence of shades and demons, who might haunt the darkness that concealed both friend and foe.

These three theories of the origin of spooks were, until recently, the only explanations that science offered. There is no question but that each of them is valid as far as it goes, but a more conclusive and more exact explanation has now been made by Professor O. O. Norris, of Ypsilanti, which is based on the mode of Disposal of the Dead.

Professor Norris points out the fact that the future abode of different peoples has been very differently located. Many peoples think the ghosts of the dead go to some region in the sky, others that they go westward to the Land of the Setting Sun, and still others that they go downward to a region beneath the earth. It hereafter seem that all races should place the reason of their existence in the same general direction, if they reason its existence on the same grounds.

Now we find that there is a very good reason for this divergence of opinion as to the exact location of the Land of the Hereafter; it lies in the particular mode of Disposal of the Dead, which material conditions compelled different tribes to adopt. The primary fact to be noted was the noisome odors arising from their decaying bodies would make necessary a constant change in the location of the tribe's home.

Next, we must ascertain what means of disposal are easiest. A tribe living in a forest where fuel is plentiful would naturally cremate their dead, and it was natural to suppose that the smoke of the dead ascended upward with the smoke of the funeral pyre; hence, the Hindoos sky. And the Semitic races, the Jews and the Assyrians, for instance, lived in desert-like lands where forests seldom grew, and fuel was scarce. They could only bury their dead—and they developed the belief that man's future abode is in a dark and dismal region beneath

the earth. Some of the Greek tribes conceived the idea of Hades, "Pluto's dreary realm," the same way, and for an identical reason. Other Greek tribes, however, especially those on the coast of Asia Minor, believed in a radiant Abode of the Blessed in the far western country, the Land of the Setting Sun. And why? The forests are sparse and the soil rather stony, but there are numerous swift streams on the coast which all flow westward to the Mediterranean. Nothing could be easier than to lay the dead on rafts or in canoes, depending probably on the rank of the deceased, and allowing them to float down stream, whence arose the idea of a land of spirits in the west. Finally, we learn that the inhabitants of Tibet, that cold, bleak country, consisting of mountain and tableland, had neither forests to furnish fuel for cremation, nor streams sufficient to transport to some other region the bodies of the dead, and the rocky soil, frozen half the year, rendered burial an exceedingly toilsome procedure. But there were wolf packs about, and vultures, and they could do no better than to cast their departed to the hungry beast that ever lay in wait. From this circumstance it was very natural that these people should think the spirits of the dead entered the bodies of the lower animals and dwelt there; hence the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, believed in by most Asiatic peoples.

It must be remembered that many causes operated to modify the beliefs that resulted in this way. The modern Hindoos originally came from the land north of the Himalaya mountains, and they combine the idea of the transmigration of souls with the idea of a place of abode in the sky, which has been rarefied by their philosophers into the doctrine of Nirvana, or eternal sleep in the arms of the Infinite. The Jews, by contact with other races, received the happier conception of an abode in the sky, and this, combined with their original idea of a Sheol beneath the earth, gave us the Christian Heaven and Hell.

The reason here given for the origin of the faith in the existence of spooks ought to calm the apprehensions of all but the most superstitious, for only things that are misunderstood can produce a fear of the supernatural. Now, therefore, let gods and spirits flee, and leave room for the progress of the united proletariat!

CORRESPONDENCE.

"PETTY-BOURGEOIS PEACE-MONGERS."

Mr. G. Baracchi, Editor "Proletarian."

Sir,—As delegate for the Communist Party, you attended the Peace Conference held in Melbourne during Easter week. Although you attended many sessions of the Conference, you took no part in the debates, you were absolutely silent; yet you had the snobbish, bourgeois insolence to write, under the nom de conference to "H.C.B.," a sneering report of Conference to the "Proletarian," in which you referred to people in a different situation of life to yourself as "Petty Bourgeois Peace Mongers."

It was given out at the Communist public

May 7, 1921.

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meeting that you were H.C.B. The Communist Party had the opportunity of placing their theories and logic before Conference, but no; you, as their delegate, waited until Conference was all over before you offered any ideas or criticism. In doing so, you proved yourself a miserably and cowardly failure.

Since you lacked the moral courage or intelligence to debate at Conference, I invite you to meet me in public debate elsewhere. The details can be arranged later.

I suggest that we debate the motion that was carried at Conference: "That the social revolution has nothing to hope from the adoption of militarist methods."

If I fail to instruct you in the high plane of reason and ethics, or to show you that cheap sneering is not argument or scientific, I will at least show you that an industrial wage-earner has what you so obviously lack, a spirit of fairness and a love of truth.

I hope you will not take refuge in a coward's

castle and suppress this letter from appearing in the "Proletarian."—Yours for Truth,
MICK SAWTELL,
27 Gipps-st., East Melbourne. April 16th.

Mr. M. Sawtell,—

Sir,—You answer my satirical criticism of your ideas with unrestrained abuse of my character. I do not propose to follow you along those lines. The defects of my character, of which I am well aware, are a tedious subject. Nor do I find the superiorities of your own character, of which you tell me, much more interesting. I am ready to take them for granted.

Since, however, you desire to debate with me the question of the Red Army, I am perfectly willing to oblige you. And if, putting on one side our respective ethical defects and superiorities, you wish to criticise the matter contained in my report of the Peace Conference, the columns of "The Proletarian" are still open to you.—Yours for Revolution, G. BARACCHI.

Disarmament

By L. WATSON.

There is undoubtedly a powerful appeal in the word "disarmament." The world has awakened from its bloody orgy. Sick to death of war and bloodshed, it longs for some promise of the future, grasping eagerly at anything that may serve to prevent a recurrence of the ghastly experience humanity has had to undergo.

To this state of mind, the idea of international disarmament will become increasingly popular. It is the only measure that seems to hold out a promise of cessation of active hostilities between nations in a capitalist state of society.

Let us see for a moment, however, upon what premises this enthusiasm for international disarmament is based. It presupposes, in the first place, an honest desire on the part of the dominant Powers to avoid war, or, where this desire does not exist, a public sentiment against war and armaments sufficiently strong to force the ruling class into a wholehearted support of a disarmament programme. It is based, furthermore, upon the concept that ways break out only because the powers that initiate them are armed to the teeth, that the army and navy as an institution plays a determining rôle in questions of peace and war. It assumes that a disarmament programme, once decided upon, will be cheerfully carried out by the various parties concerned, that mutual suspicion will give place to mutual faith and trust.

An international programme that is built upon such shifting sands must fall, as it fell once before, in 1914, when pacifists, social democrats and anti-militarists of all nations lined up behind their respective governments, in spite of every disarmament programme that was ever adopted. If the idea of international disarmament ever bore even a semblance of justification, the war has taught us its futility. It has shown us that the ruling class in every nation is prepared, at all times, to place the lives of millions in jeopardy, in the interests of a small class of powerful imperialists. It has shown us, by the tragic ex-

ample of the smaller nations, that disarmament and unpreparedness in a nation offer no guarantee against attack, that treaties and disarmament promises become scraps of paper in the face of the imperialist desires of a more powerful opponent.

The outcome of the war and the defeat of the German aggressor have in no wise changed these conditions. The League of Nations, whose ostensible purpose was to be the adjustment of peace conditions, so that new wars would be come impossible, and to establish a balance of power between the great nations that would serve as the foundation for mutual disarmament, has failed miserably in its mission. All Europe is still embroiled in war, and everywhere Chauvinism and nationalist hatreds are smouldering dangerously. Every moment the great Powers view each other with obvious distrust. Imperialist greed has become the dominant note in their political relations with the rest of the world.

The recent proposal by the United States Republican Senate, the mouthpiece of the Harding Administration, that Great Britain and Japan, America's chief rivals in the international market, join her in the celebration of a naval holiday, to inaugurate a policy of mutual standardisation of armaments, is far from proving the pacifist tendency of either or all of these nations. The great nations of the world realise that there is no limit to the mad race of protective armaments. No army and no navy, however large, can be powerful enough to afford absolute protection so long as the dangerous rival may create a still larger army and a still more powerful navy.

On the other hand, there is further danger which looms large before every capitalist nation of the globe. The world is too near bankruptcy to bear the financial strain of endless armaments to fear. Ultimately, they realise, unarmaments would mean the overthrow of capitalist society by a desperate working-class.

by capitalism. This, no doubt, is very 'difficult,' but every other way of tackling the problem is not serious enough to even discuss."

Those who work for industrial unionism will be better, less Utopian industrial unionists when they have gripped the full significance of these words.

"Left" Communists in Germany delineate all participation in bourgeois parliaments on the ground that this form of struggle is "historically worn-out." Criticising this statement, Lenin says:

"Historically, Parliament has become worn-out; this is correct as regards propaganda. But everyone knows that it is still very far from being threadbare when the practical question of eliminating Parliament is under consideration. Capitalism could, and very rightly, have been described as 'historically worn-out' many decades ago, but this in no way removes the necessity of a very long and very hard struggle against capitalism at the present day. Parliamentarism is 'historically worn-out' in a world-historic sense; that is to say, the epoch of bourgeois parliaments has come to an end, the epoch of the proletarian dictatorship has begun. This is incontrovertibly true. But the scale of the world's history is reckoned by decades. Ten or twenty years sooner or later—this from the point of view of the world-historical scale makes no difference, from the point of view of world-history it is a trifle, which cannot be even approximately reckoned. But this is just why it is a crying theoretical mistake to refer, in questions of practical politics, to the world-historical scale."

In bringing parliament to the point of being practically out-worn, a valuable means is to do Communist work inside the parliamentary arena. Incidentally, when Lenin says the assertion that "historically, parliament has become worn-out" is correct as regards propaganda, he does not at all mean that revolutionary propaganda can no longer be done in Parliament; he means that the revolutionary propaganda to do in Parliament (and elsewhere) is to proclaim that, "historically, parliament is worn-out," and that the time is at hand when it will be replaced by Soviets.

Dealing with "Left" Communism in Britain, Lenin formulates the fundamental law of revolution confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions of this century, as follows:

"It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for the revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule as of old. Only when the masses do not want the old regime, and when the rulers are

unable to govern as of old, then only can the revolution succeed. This truth may be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis, affecting both the exploited and the exploiters. It follows that for the revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for a revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; second, that the ruling class be in a state of governmental crisis which attracts even the most backward masses into politics."

Both these conditions are developing in Britain, and Lenin advises British Communists to unite into a single party, and to offer to form a bloc with "the Hendersons and Snowdens against the Lloyd Georges and Churchills," retaining, however, the fullest freedom of agitation, propaganda and political activity. From the rejection of such a bloc by the Labor Party, he says that British Communists would gain even more than from its acceptance.

Finally, emphasising the necessity of using constitutional as well as extra-constitutional means of struggle, Lenin utters these memorable words:

"But those who cannot co-ordinate illegal forms of the struggle with legal ones are very poor revolutionaries. It is not at all difficult to be a good revolutionary once the revolution has already broken out—when all and everyone joins the revolution from mere enthusiasm, because it is the fashion, sometimes even from considerations of personal gain. It costs the proletariat labor, great labor, and I may say excruciating pains, to rid itself, after the victory, of these pseudo-revolutionists. But it is far more difficult, and yet more valuable, to know how to be a revolutionary, even when conditions are yet lacking for direct, general, truly mass, and truly revolutionary action; to be able to defend the interests of the revolution by propaganda, agitation and organisation, in non-revolutionary institutions and oftentimes in downright reactionary surroundings, amongst masses that are incapable of immediately understanding the necessity for revolutionary methods. To be able to find, to sense, to determine the concrete plan of still incomplete revolutionary methods and measures, leading the masses to the real, decisive, final, great revolutionary struggle—this is the chief problem of modern Communism in Western Europe and America."

To the solution of this problem in Australia "Left Wing Communism" adds a tremendous contribution. We understand that the edition of the work being prepared by the A.S.P. Communist Party will be ready almost immediately, and every Communist must read, mark, learn and inwardly digest its contents without delay.

Andrade's Bookshop

201 BOURKE ST. :: MELBOURNE
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A book that is at present in the hands of the Customs Department for examination as to its fitness for Australian readers is "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," by Karl Marx, price 1/6 (posted 3/9). It was reviewed at length in our January number of the "Proletarian," and those who read that review will need no recommendation to procure a copy, that is, if they have not already done so. The book has for subject matter the revolutions which convulsed the German States in 1848, and which were overthrown by the reaction of 1849, and is a classic of Socialist literature.

A book selling well this month is the "Report of the British Commission to Ireland," an Australian edition of which has just been printed by the "Advocate" Press. The commission who received every possible assistance from the British Government office in Ireland, and they state they "do so gladly in Ireland, because the main burden of our report is a denunciation of the Government policy." Those who are interested in what is going on in Ireland will welcome this book. Price 1/2 (posted 1/3).

Another new one published locally is one from the pen of A. E. Piddington, K.C., chairman of the recent Royal Commission on the basic wage. Mr. Piddington is pushing the idea of "the endowment of children out of tax upon employers according to the number of their employees, such endowment to be paid to their mothers." The book, which is entitled "The Next Step, a Family Basic Income," is well worth the reading, not only because the question it deals with promises to be a live political question in the near future, but because in its pages is reprinted the actual items in detail which the Basic Wage inquiry laid down as constituting the necessary commodities which the workers' family should have. The Melbourne costs of the items are given also, thus showing how the Commission arrived at 15/16/- as the basic wage. The price of the book is 1/2- (posted 1/2).

"A Paradise in this World," by Leo Trotsky, price 6d. (posted 7d.), is a propaganda booklet, and as such is considered to be very fine. An edition has just been published locally, by the International Publishing Association.

Those who have not yet purchased and read a copy of Lenin's "Proletarian Revolution" are neglecting a classic of the Russian Revolution, and a period. It is largely a reply to Kautsky's attack upon the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but is also one of the finest expositions obtainable of the Soviet System and all it means and involves. Price 1/6 (posted 1/8).

Another book that should not be missed by those interested in Russia and the Russia of to-day, is Peter Siminoff, the Bolshevik General's book, "What is Russia?" From it can be obtained much information concerning Russia and the revolutionary movement there prior to the Revolution. Readers would do well to see that they have this book. Price 2/- (posted 2/3).

Among the arrivals this month was a new edition of "The Meaning of National Guilt," by M. B. Reckitt and C. F. Beechhofer. In some circles in the Labor Movement of England, and of Australia, too, the ideas of Guild Socialism are strongly held, and many books on the subject have been published. G. D. H. Cole, the writer of the "World of Labor" and numerous other works, has been, and is, one of its chief popular exponents. Its aim, the writers say, is "the achievement of complete and responsible industrial democracy. It carves a new track, by no means Laborism, yet not revolutionary Socialism. The Guild Socialists believe the hour is ripe for the workers to acquire a say in the management of industry with a view to ultimately completely controlling same. Price 11/6 (posted 12/6).

There is one book that should be placed in the hands of every intelligent and unintelligent working man. It is regarded as the most propaganda book of the day. It certainly ranks as one of the most interesting and best working-class novels. No working man will shrink from it; on the contrary, his experience shows reading it; no matter how little he will be interested in Socialism. "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist" is certainly the most popular working class novel. Price 4/6 (posted 4/9).

A few copies of "Terrorism and Communism," by Karl Kautsky, are to hand. This work was reviewed by Baruch in April number of the "Proletarian." Price 8/- (8/6) posted.

Joseph McCabe, in his introduction to the "A.B.C. of Evolution," describes it as being written to meet the demand for a very clear, elementary, and short text book on Evolution. Its price is 2/6 (posted 2/9), cloth 4/6 (posted 4/10). In simple style it treats of the Evolution of the Universe and primitive forms of life up to the Origin of Man and Social Evolution.

"John Barleycorn," by Jack London, is one of the most popular, and that author's many works. Its full title is "John Barleycorn, or Alcohol: Its full history, and is apparently an account of the London's own drinking boycott. The author intended it as an argument for prohibition of drinks, but it is so popular that no matter what drinkers claim, the book is a boost for drink. Price 2/6 (posted 2/9).

Recently Eugene Debs was reported to have been allowed outside the gaol walls and in the States without a guard. The object of the journey was a visit to the Attorney General, Debs' incarceration has been serving 10 years. Since his incarceration a volume containing a portrait of his life has been written by David Karsner. Price 10/- (posted 10/6).

One of the best Little Industrial Propaganda pamphlets on sale now is "Organisation of Labor," by Haywood; price 3d. (posted 3d.). Demand for this should now be obtained owing to the interest in Haywood, who has been sen-

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BOOKS ***** A T ***** ANDRADE'S

tenced to 20 years' imprisonment, and is now reported by the press to have reached Russia, in which country he will doubtless have a much more pleasant existence than in the American gaols.

MONEY POWER.

By FRANK ANSTHEY, M.H.R.
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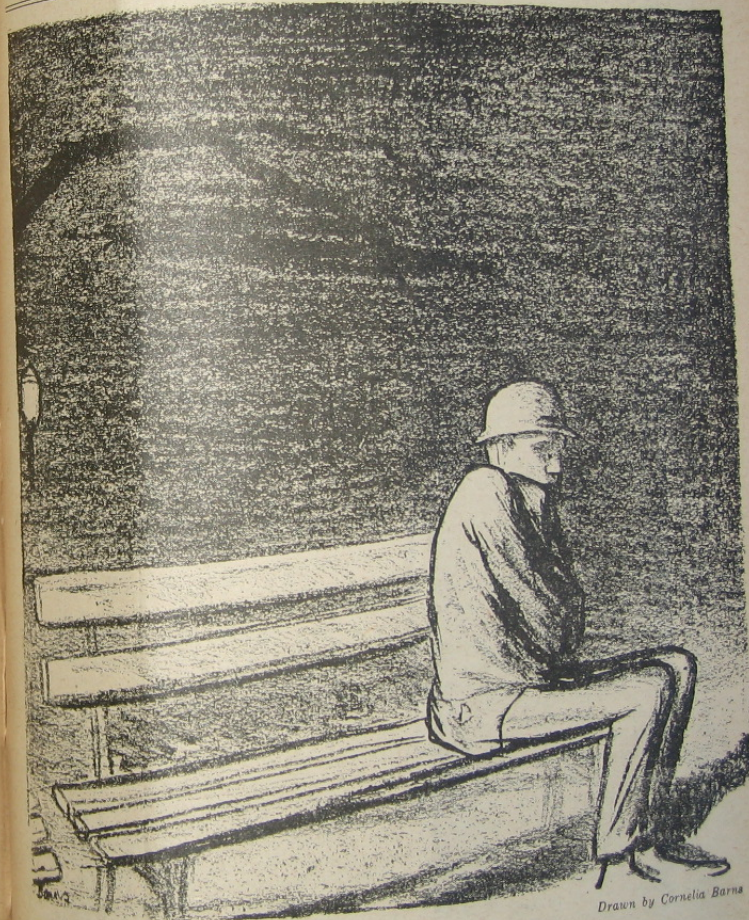
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Surplus

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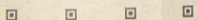
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Proletarian Comment

Unemployment.

THE ranks of the unemployed continue to swell. It is true that the capitalist world is at present in the throes of an industrial crisis, but the workers need not flatter themselves that with the passing of this crisis unemployment will diminish in future; that it is attributable to mere transitory causes such as the change from war to peace conditions; or that the capitalist class will endeavour to remove it. Three points stand out clearly: (1) Unemployment increases with the development of capitalism; (2) Unemployment is not due to superficial causes, but is inherent in the system; (3) It is against the interests of the ruling class to attempt a solution of the problem of unemployment. That unemployment increases with the development of capitalism is proved by the statistics published from time to time by the capitalists themselves. That unemployment is not due to superficial causes, but is inherent in the system, is proved by logical deduction from the facts of capitalism. If industrial progress means that the number of workers required to produce a given quantity of wealth, is constantly diminishing, there can be, under capitalism, only one result: a progressive increase in the number of unemployed. And there can be no relief even for the workers of a country that might outstrip its competitors, because the capitalists of any such country would take steps to keep up the supply of labor-power from countries which had a dangerous surplus. That

it is against the interests of the ruling class to attempt a solution of the problem is proved by the fact that unemployment is necessary to capitalism. Capitalists want enough unemployment to compel the workers to submit to their terms and conditions, but not so much as will cause desperation and unrest, with its accompanying acceptance of the Communist explanation and remedy. Capitalist experiments in unemployed insurance are attempts to ascertain this medium, and can only have a palliative effect of small value to the workers. These will finally be driven by the march of events to accept the above explanation of unemployment. They will turn to the Communist remedy. And then Revolution will be knocking at the door.



Revolutionary Methods.

IN "The Socialist" of May 6, Don Cameron sharply criticises Comrade Brodneý, of the A.S.P. Communist Party, because Brodneý insists on the unlimited class-struggle for the proletariat in general, and on strict party discipline for Communists in particular. Brodneý is very well able to defend himself, but we ask Cameron not to confuse the proletarian objective of a Communist society with the methods of reaching it, which are dictated to the workers by the conditions of capitalist society; and not to imagine that it is impossible to attain a beautiful end by means which are "in themselves" unlovely. In this connection we wish to draw our readers' attention to some words of

one of the founders of modern Communism. Frederick Engels says: "Slavery first made the division of labor between agriculture and industry completely possible and brought into existence the flower of the old world, Greece. Without slavery there would have been no Grecian State, no Grecian art and science and no Roman Empire. There would have been no modern Europe without the foundation of Greece and Rome. We must not forget that our entire economic, political and intellectual development has its foundation in a state of society in which slavery was regarded universally as necessary. In this sense we may say that without the ancient slavery there would have been no modern socialism. It is very easy to make preachments about slavery and to express our moral indignation at such a scandalous institution. Unfortunately, the whole significance of this is that it merely says that these old institutions do not correspond with our present conditions and the sentiments engendered by these conditions. We do not, however, in this way explain how these institutions came into existence, and the role which they played in history. And when we enter upon this matter we are obliged to say in spite of all contradiction and accusations of heresy that the introduction of slavery under the conditions of that time was a great step forwards. It is a fact that man sprang from the lower animals and has had to employ barbaric and really bestial methods in order to rid himself of barbarism." If our readers will ponder these words they will understand that even if the methods of the social revolution are not destined to be bestial, they will certainly partake far more of the character of capitalist society than of Communism.



Trade Unions.

IF the subject of Trade Unionism during the period anterior to the Revolution is elsewhere a burning question, in Russia, on the other hand, the question of the role of

the unions after the revolution is arousing no less animated debate. Heretofore, all Socialist thought in this matter has been, owing to the lack of actual experience from which to reason, only of the most abstract character. The First International, for example, adopted a resolution on July 20, 1869, at Geneva which opens with the following proposition: "The trade unions alone are the correct form for workmen's associations and on the whole offer the correct form for future society." De Leon carried further the same idea in his development of the concept of industrial unionism, and spoke of the post-revolutionary role of this more advanced type of union with proud words: "Where the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World will sit there will be the nation's capital. Like the flimsy card houses that children raise, the present political governments of counties, of States, aye, of the city on the Potomac herself, will tumble down, their places taken by the central and the subordinate administrative organs of the nation's industrial forces." Now, in Russia, the role of the unions in the Communist reconstruction of society is being worked out in practice, and is giving rise to discussion of a concrete character never possible before. This discussion centres about the question of the relations of the unions to production and the State. One group considers that the unions should immediately assume the control of industry; another that they should now sink their identity in the economic administrations of the State. Of the more influential groups, that of Trotsky and Bucharin holds that the unions must forthwith become more and more the masters of production, becoming at the same time more and more responsible to the State for industrial results, and that the democratic principle should be applied inside the unions. But the advice of Lenin, who has his head screwed on very much the right way, is to "hasten slowly." The majority group which supports his view maintains that the chief function of the unions at present is to serve as schools of Communism for the unenlightened workers, and that in the domain of indus-

trial control the unions must confine themselves to the enlargement of their existing role. No doubt Lenin is right; if it were not an un-Marxian thing to say, we should assert that he is always right. In any case we can learn from the discussion that the social relations of the unions after the revolution are far less simple and obvious than we had previously imagined.

5 5 5

Vale.

WITH the completion of the present number of "The Proletarian" we lay down our editorial pen to serve the cause of Communism in other places and other ways. The magazine itself will continue to serve a useful purpose in the Labor movement. But, as its editor, this is our swan song. And the burthen of this song is the same as that with which we began "The Proletarian" thirteen months ago. We say now, as we said then, that the Marxist method of thought alone provides the key to understanding the nature of the social process; that this method alone will avail the proletariat anything in its class-struggle; that this method is, in very truth, the workers' own. Let them but learn to know Marxism, let them

but be true to Marxism, and all else will be added unto them. So much for the proletariat at large; for those already upon the Marxist track, this: In the knowledge of Australian Marxists there is a noticeable and unfortunate hiatus. Our Marxists are good philosophers, competent economists, but, almost to a man, the poorest possible historians. They understand very well the proper method of interpreting the facts of history; but of the facts themselves to which this method should be applied, they are woefully ignorant. This is a serious shortcoming and one that calls for rectification. How serviceable a weapon to Communism a knowledge of concrete historical facts can be is well shown in the columns of such a paper as "The Socialist Standard" of Great Britain. Among those who have been taking "The Proletarian" regularly during the past year, there must be at least some who have acquired a grip of the essential Marxist principles. These we exhort to make good the shortcoming of Australian Marxism by applying themselves to the diligent study of the facts of history. We assure them that than this study and the subsequent utilisation of its results for propaganda purposes they can do no better service to the cause of the proletariat. With which parting word we make our bow to our readers.

The A.B.C. of Communism

By N. BUCHARIN and E. PREOBRASCHENSKY

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY (Continued).

Now to return to the factory. The capitalist buys raw material, fuel, machinery, oil, and other indispensable things. He then buys labour-power; that is, he engages workers. For everything he pays ready money. He begins production. The workers toil, the machines run, the fuel burns, the oil is consumed, the factory buildings suffer wear and tear, labour-power is used up. From the factory a

new commodity comes. This commodity, like all other commodities, has a value. How great is this value? In the first place, the new commodity contains within itself the value of the means of production consumed in its manufacture—the raw materials, fuel, that portion of the substance of the machinery worn away during the process of production, etc. All this has now passed into the value of the product. Secondly, the labour of the worker is contained in it. If 30 workers each work 30 hours in producing the commodity, the total number of hours worked will be 900. The total value of the com-

modity will consist of the value of the materials used (let us suppose that this is equal to 600 hours' work), plus the new value which the workers have added by their labour (900 hours). The total value, then, will be represented by 600 plus 900 hours equals 1,500 hours.

But how much does the new commodity cost the capitalist? For the raw material he pays in full; that is, a sum of money corresponding to the value of 600 hours' work. And how much does he pay for the labour? Does he pay for the whole 900 hours? The solution of the whole problem lies here. He pays, according to our assumption, the full value of the labour-power for the number of days worked. If 30 workers work 30 hours—three days of 10 hours each—the employer will pay them a sum of money sufficiently large to enable them to renew their labour-power for that number of days. But how great is this sum? The answer is simple. It is clearly smaller than the value of 900 hours' work. Why? Because that quantity of labour which is necessary for the maintenance of labour-power pays for itself; the difference between that quantity and the 900 hours' labour is not paid for. Suppose I can work 10 hours daily, and suppose that in five hours I can produce the value of everything I consume during the whole period of 10 hours, I can therefore work much longer than is required to meet the expense of the maintenance of my labour-power. In our example the workers consume in three days food, clothes, etc., to the value of, say, 450 hours' work; and they perform work to the value of 900 hours. The value of 450 hours' work remains to the capitalist. **This number of hours is the source of his profit.** The commodities actually cost the capitalist, as we have seen, 600 plus 450 equals 1,050 hours; and he sells them at the value of 600 plus 900 equals 1,500 hours. The difference (450 hours) is the surplus value created by labour. In the half of the labour time (five hours out of each working day of ten hours) the workers, therefore, produce the value given back to them as wages, and during the other half they work wholly and solely for the capitalist. Let us now consider society as a

whole. We are not interested in what any individual capitalist or individual worker does. We are concerned with how the whole gigantic machine called the capitalist system is arranged. The capitalist class employs a vast number of members of the working class. In innumerable factories, mines, forests and fields millions of workers labour like ants. Capital pays them their wages, the value of their labour-power. This money enables them to renew their labour-power, to be again expended in the service of Capitalism. The working class not only pays for itself by its labour, but creates also the income of the upper class—surplus value. Through innumerable channels this surplus value flows into the coffers of the ruling classes: the capitalist himself receives a share—profit; a part goes to the landlord; a part goes to the Capitalist State in the form of taxes; a part to the merchants, shopkeepers, clergymen, actors, bourgeois writers, etc. On this surplus value live all the parasites who are created by the capitalist system.

A portion of the surplus value is used over again by the capitalists. They add to it their capital. Their capital grows ever greater. They extend their undertakings. They engage more workers. They instal better machines. A greater number of workers create for the capitalists a still greater amount of surplus value. Capitalist enterprises grow larger and larger. Capital goes ever forward with giant strides. More and more surplus-value is heaped up. Because capital extracts surplus-value from labour, because it exploits labour, it grows continuously greater.

(To be continued.)

END AND MEANS.

The general welfare can be found only within definite boundaries. But the various determinations of welfare agree in this respect, that they all consider it well to sacrifice the little for the great, the unessential for the essential, and not vice versa. In so far as this principle is right, it is also right for us to employ for the good end of a great welfare some small means it, and thus great welfare some small means it, and thus we see once more that the end sanctifies the means.—Dietzgen.

A New Basis for Ethics

By O. C. JOHNSON.

The psychological importance of moral ideas can scarcely be over-estimated—it is all. It is amazing to observe the tenacity with which humanity clings to what is considered right; but it is even more amazing to note the celerity with which humanity, after discarding a worn-out ethical principle, declares that the new one was right all the time, but hadn't been discovered. And all the time mankind is perfectly sincere in thus standing for the Right and the Good.

It is these moral ideas that thwart and puzzle the minds of reformers in all times and circumstances. Some Pankhurst advocates equal suffrage, and is pained to find woman after woman declare against her own political "emancipation" because "woman's duty is to the home!"

No clear understanding of the nature of the moral ideas pervading society is possible unless based on a scientific analysis of the origin of these ideas. This implies, of course, that the supposed causes be carefully examined, and either accepted or rejected. According to the other theologians it was God himself who told man the difference between right and wrong, and handed down from some Mount Sinai the commandments which minutely differentiated Evil from Good in human conduct. But it was early apparent that there were many gods, and that these gods did not agree in such matters. Baal and Jehovah, for example, were both discredited. One after another the divine rules became obsolete; Moses' "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" was ruled out by Christ, who declared for "humility and turning the other cheek," and recently our fashionable preachers have shelved Christ's dictum in favor of "moral regeneration through war," and "hating the Hun."

The idea of divine fiat in the moral realm, not being supported by facts, was laid aside by the philosophers, and Human Reason appointed in its stead. It is plain, asserted the philosophers, that the laws of right and wrong are absolute, and if we apply our reason we can find out what is eternally good and what is eternally bad, then do the one and abstain from the other.

The moral philosophers of to-day are very sure of some, at least, of the absolute principles upon which morality is supposedly based. One principle is that it is wrong to take life; but we take the life of mosquitoes when they annoy us and of trees when we want a house. The "eternal" principle is then the life of animals that it is wrong to take tigers can feel pain, that it is wrong to take tigers can feel pain. Then the rule is confined to human kind only; but we hang murderers and shoot our enemies. In desperation

our philosophers finally apply the law to young children, for it is an "absolute" moral principle that the killing of young children is bad; but a well-known doctor lets a hopelessly deformed baby die. Oh, well, persists the moral philosopher, of course there are exceptions. But we insist that an absolute principle in Ethics or anything else permits of no conditions; otherwise it is relative, not absolute.

Now the true basis of moral ideas has been scientifically analysed and exposed by the Socialist thinkers, Dietzgen, Engels, and Marx. Their researches gave rise to the principle that the economic interests of people have a very strong bearing on their conceptions of what is right or wrong. At the present time, for instance, it is coming to be considered immoral to use or spread the use of alcoholic liquors, a belief directly contrary to both the teachings and practice of two or three generations ago. But insurance companies discovered that heavy users of alcoholic beverages are not the best risks, and industrial enterprises were found to suffer through the neglect of drunken workers, and lo! it began to be deemed bad to drink. To be sure, the brewers and publicans, having a living to make, were convinced that the booze business is a divine institution, but the fact that there were more people whose economic interests were injured than there were benefited by King Alcohol began to lead to the moral condemnation of the traffic, and is now rapidly leading to its overthrow; again, in many countries, song-birds are now protected by law, and it is a virtue to build birdhouses for them and feed them, while a few years ago they were sadly neglected, and in many cases rewards were offered for killing them. But at that time the birds were accused of ruining the farmers' fruit and grain, whereas it is well known now that birds are perhaps the most effective destroyers of insect pests that we have. Thus does Economics dictate the "truths" of Ethics.

It is not claimed here that liquors used for beverages ought not to be abolished, or that song-birds ought not to be protected; the point is that moral ideas are very largely influenced by economic considerations, by the manner in which people make their living. In the slave-holder of 1860 in the southern States of America chattel slavery was right, and to the northern factory owner of the same year it was right to take the lion's share of the product of his factory hands. Our capitalists teach the Boy Scouts the doctrine of "unquestioning obedience," because docile workers are highly advantageous in industry; but the disillusioned workers in these industries agitate to "fan the flames of discontent." Great Britain and the former German government,

to give another instance, solemnly justify themselves in their treatment, respectively, of Ireland and Belgium.

The economic factor in people's conduct, illustrated by these examples, has long been recognised. There are, however, two other factors that play a part in history, and these are styled by Enrico Ferri the Telluric and the Hereditary factors, respectively. The first refers to the physical conditions of life on the planet—climate, geographical influences, and so on. Thus, industry must be a virtue in a cold climate, but is superfluous in tropical countries. The second, of course, takes into consideration the influences that come down to us from the past, and their inevitable tendency to modify to a greater or less extent the institutions, moral or otherwise, which are grounded on the economic structure of society. Thus, the inheritance of Puritans and Cavaliers modified the social institutions of colonial America. At any rate all these factors are material causes, not spiritual or supernatural external causes, not the method of explaining history on these principles is styled the Materialist Conception of History, or, more simply, Historical Materialism.

Enough has been said to show that Communism, which teaches the materialist basis of Ethics, is not "applied Christianity." Christianity is essentially metaphysical and idealistic, while Communism is scientific and materialistic. But does that mean that Communists propose the abolition of morality, of right and wrong? Are we no longer to have "high ideals?" This is not the case by any means. Communists do not abolish morality, but they point out that it is relative, not absolute, and they show conclusively the varying material forces by which it is formed. Since the prevailing ethical conceptions of the present time are shaped by the material conditions of capitalist society and in the interest of capitalist society, the proletariat, therefore, should re-

cognise the fact, and decline to be guided by moral scruples superimposed upon them by their masters. Proletarian economic welfare, not bourgeois interests, must be the basis of proletarian Ethics.

This proposition can be proved by a consideration of the process of animal and human evolution. We see that Nature has laid down the inexorable law that whatever is good for the species is right, whatever is bad for the species is wrong. The most ideal of all virtues, mother-love—a love so forgetful of self that the mother will die for her child—is a direct result of the necessity for species-perpetuity. Species-welfare then—not the Egoism of Anarchists nor the Altruism of Religionists—is the broad basis for a sane ethical philosophy; and species welfare, of course, means the sum of the material factors working for the interests of the race.

Now, it happens that the human race is divided into classes whose interests are diametrically opposed to each other. No reconciliation of these classes is possible. We must side either with the Bourgeoisie or with the Proletariat. But no species can secure the highest welfare so long as it is divided into warring groups; and to side with the Bourgeoisie means the perpetuation of classes, since Capitalism cannot exist without a class to exploit. On the other hand, to side with the Proletariat means the final abolition of classes, and, with the advent of a classless society comes the only possible basis for complete species welfare.

The highest morality, therefore, is uncompromising adherence to proletarian interests. Species-welfare becomes for us proletarian-welfare. We have "high ideals," to be sure—but we recognise that the Ideal must be based on the Real. Our principles, being true, are the naturally shocking to the enemies of the Proletariat, but let them be comforted by the reflection that there are worse shocks awaiting them.

Violence

By S.G.

Dogmatists of the "Left" and capitalist reactionaries regard the Communist movement of the world as the embodiment of Force—Force to be used indiscriminately—Force as the only method of approach to the big tasks that the Communist Parties must perform. They consider a movement which, by historical necessity, will be obliged to employ organised force as the sole means of liberating a suffering working class from its thralls, as an exponent merely of Force, "Violence," "Force," "Overthrow of the government," "Destruction of the capitalist State"—these are a few of the slogans by which Communists are known. "Leftists," narrow-minded dogmatists of the doctrinaire type, have conveyed the impression that Communists are ready to overthrow the present system of exploitation at any given moment, in any given situation. Capitalist reactionaries, who see only the salient

points and remark only what is emphasised, consequently consider Communist as synonymous with Anarchist.

The mob whose passions are raised to a frenzy by the appeals of Revolutionists will, it is presumed, at a moment decided upon by a small band of reckless leaders, hurl itself against the existent capitalist institutions and destroy them. Destruction is its name—a return to primitive society its goal.

In several countries, criminal syndicalist and anarchy laws have, consequently, been applied to Communists as well as to Anarchists. They have been "guilty" of the same crime. The development of world events has practically annihilated the Anarchist movement. With no definite mode of action, no organisation of work, the Anarchists have been swallowed up by the Revolutionary Communists—or have disappeared into the welter of reac-

price of production. The capitalist farmer's profit will then be above the average rate and the landlord skims off the surplus profit* as absolute rent.

Having touched upon I. and II. by the way, we now make this note upon the main form of rent:

III.—**Differential Rent.** The cause of differential rent is found in the different productivities of equal amounts of labor when applied on different lands. The condition of differential rent is the different utilities or use-values of lands, for example, superior or inferior fertilities and situations. To illustrate differential rent Marx takes the example of a waterfall. Assume that in a given country a few factories are driven by steam engines; a few by natural waterfalls. Let the factories driven by steam engines produce commodities whose price of production is £115. Let their cost price be £100. Then the profit of £15 corresponds with the average rate of profit. Assume the cost price of the same quantity of commodities produced in a factory driven by a waterfall to be £90. These commodities will likewise sell for £115, the regulating price of production, and the profit will be £25, or £10 over and above the average profit rate. This £10 surplus-profit the landlord who has leased the waterfall receives from his capitalist tenant as differential rent.

From all of the above there emerges the fact that rent is merely a portion of surplus value, whose source, like that of all surplus value, is labor; surplus, unpaid labor at that. That it is not the natural agent, the land itself, which is the source of ground-rent, Marx demonstrates in the following words:

"The natural power is not the source of the surplus profit, but only its natural basis, because this natural basis permits an increase in the productive power of labor. In the same way the use-value is the general bearer of the exchange value, but not its cause. If the same use-value could be created without labor, it would have no exchange-value, yet it would have the same useful effect as ever. On the other hand, nothing can have an exchange-value unless it has a use-value, unless it has this useful bearer of labor. Were it not for the fact that the different values are neutralised into prices of production, and the different individual prices of production into one average price of production regulating the market, the mere increase in the productivity of labor by the use of a waterfall would merely lower the price of the commodities produced with the waterfall, without adding anything to the share of product, which is those commodities. On the other hand, converted into surplus value, were it not for the fact that capital appropriates the natural and social productivity of labor as though it were its own."

Having thus reached an understanding of the nature of rent, we are at length in a position to solve the problem presented by the price of land in general, and of our waterfall in particular. Says Marx:

"It is evident that the price of the waterfall, that is the price which the owner of it would receive if he were to sell it to some other man, perhaps to the individual capitalist, would not enter directly into the general price of production of the commodities, although it would enter into the individual cost price of the industrial capitalist. For the rent arises here from the

* Surplus profit is not to be identified with surplus value any more than a part is to be identified with the whole. All profit is surplus value; surplus profit is merely that portion of profit which is above the average.

price of production of the commodities produced by steam machinery, and this price is regulated independently of the waterfall. Furthermore, this price of the waterfall is an irrational expression, behind which the real economic relation is concealed. The waterfall, like the earth in general, and like any natural force, has no value, because it does not represent any materialised labor, and therefore it really has no price, normally but the expression of value in money. Where there is no value, it is obvious that it cannot be expressed in money. This price is merely capitalised rent. The ownership of land enables the landowner to catch the difference between individual profit and the average profit. The profit thus acquired, which is renewed every year, may be capitalised, and then it appears as the price of a natural power itself. If the surplus profit realised by the use of the waterfall amounts to 10 pounds sterling per year, and the average interest is 5 per cent, then these 10 pounds sterling would represent the interest on a capital of 200 pounds sterling; this capitalisation of the annual 10 pounds sterling, which the waterfall enables its owner to catch, appears then as the capital-value of the waterfall itself. That it is not the waterfall itself which has a value, but that its price is a mere reflex of the appropriated surplus profit, which the use of the waterfall yields to the industrial capitalist, capitalistically calculated, becomes at once evident in the fact that the price of 200 pounds sterling represents merely the product of a surplus profit of 10 pounds sterling for 20 years, whereas the same waterfall will enable its owner to catch these 10 pounds sterling every year for 50 years, or 100 years, or an indefinite number of years, so long as circumstances remain the same. On the other hand, if some other method of production, which is not suitable for water power, should reduce the cost price of the commodities produced by steam machinery from 100 to 90 pounds sterling, the surplus profit, and with it the rent, and with it the price of the waterfall, would disappear."

The problem propounded by the vulgar economists to destroy the Marxian law of value is solved by the orderly development of the self-same law. Land, which is not produced by labor has no value; but behind its imaginary price-form a real value-relation lies concealed. The price of land is the capitalisation of its rent. Its price is thus determined by rent. Ground rent is but converted surplus-profit, which, like every other portion of value, is determined by labor, in this case by surplus or unpaid labor. Therefore, just as the values of commodities are in general, directly determined solely by human labor, so also the price of land, an irrational expression, is indirectly determined by the same thing. And the relation of this price to the theory of value is hereby revealed.

GOOD AND EVIL.

Socialists will not succeed in putting the myth of eternal justice on its legs and sending it to fight against the reign of darkness. That grand and beneficent lady will nevertheless remove a single stone of the capitalist structure. That which the metaphysical Socialists call the evil against which the good is struggling, is not an abstract negation, but a hard and strong system of practical facts. It is poverty organised to produce wealth. Now, the historical materialists have so little tenderness of heart as to claim that this evil is actually the cradle of the future good. Freedom will come through the revolution of the oppressed, not through the goodness of the oppressors.—Antonio Labriola.

The Outline of History by R. G. Wells

A Criticism: by R. W. Housley

This, the "Magnum Opus" of Mr. Wells, is a very remarkable book. It will be a useful addition to the "library" of the worker-student as undoubtedly it already is in many thousands of cases, and the work will probably have a widespread influence. Whilst woefully deficient in many respects, it is certainly the best one-man attempt at a fairly detailed "Universal History" which has come under the notice of the present writer. A "perfect" work of this kind will never be written this side of the Revolution.

The prime value of the book is as a great accumulation of historical data, orderly arranged and compressed within comparatively small compass. As a narrative it is for the most part intensely interesting. The descriptive powers, not to speak of imagination, of the writer of "The Time Machine" are, in places, exercised to the full, and the grip of the story at times approaches fascination.

The evolution of the Solar System, the earth and life, the races of men and their languages, and the evolution of writing and of primitive ideas, are all clearly and concisely dealt with according to the most recent and authoritative findings of Science. Mr. Wells is particularly good when describing the growth of inventions, discoveries, and knowledge in general. A good sense of proportion is, in the main, shown throughout the book. The civilisation of China, in particular, receives the prominence to which, by its "peculiar" character, age and expansion, it is entitled in any general account of the work of Man. Moreover Mr. Wells is continually reviewing well known facts from quite unusual points of view. He shows, for the most part, at least, a healthy disregard for conventional opinions, and especially for those which embellish the sacred personalities of "great men." Alexander, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, and Gladstone receive some rough handling which has shocked some of the more orthodox reviewers of the book. Mr. Wells has done some useful work in pulling down some of the "tin gods" of the multitude of hero-worshippers. He has his own "heroes," nevertheless.

A very valuable and organic part of the work are the maps. They form quite an historical atlas in themselves. The same artist, Mr. Hobbins, has produced the "time charts" which are a novel and helpful inclusion, whilst his numerous line illustrations are not only really illustrative and seemingly very accurate but they are good examples of a rather severe, but eminently suitable technique in that difficult art—pen drawing.

In reviewing such a large work the line must be drawn somewhere. Therefore the following comments and criticisms are chiefly confined to some of Mr. Wells' generalisations about history and views regarding social evolution. Owing to the different paging of the several editions, all citations are to the chapters and their sub-sections.

* * * *

Despite his sub title: "A Plain History of Life and Mankind," Mr. Wells has not made the mere telling of his story his sole, or even his primary, aim. He has a theory to expound and to prove—a theory which issues finally as a lesson and a warning to his readers.

Briefly, Mr. Wells' "theory of history" is that the evolution of the human race consists of the gradual "rise" of bestial, cruel, selfish, ignorant animals—primeval men—living in small, independent, isolated and antagonistic family groups, to a cultured refinement, wisdom and altruism—fit citizens of one world-wide brotherhood-community. We have not yet arrived at this latter stage of perfection, but Mr. Wells says we have made enormous strides in that direction and this achievement is the next great step in human progress.

It is important to note that this evolution is the result mainly, in Mr. Wells' opinion, of the influence of Religion and Education upon the minds of men, and it is to these factors he looks for future progress.

Of course our author strains the evidence to fit his theory. Practically all historians have done the same. It is so easy; it is all but unavoidable. Many of the "facts" upon which histories are based are so uncertain in themselves, are almost always open to a variety of legitimate interpretations and still more illegitimate ones. Moreover, their immense number makes inevitable a certain selection and suppression of facts in accord with the writer's views as to their relative order of importance, which again depends upon his theoretical opinion or practical aims. In the book before us the "straining" is very obvious in parts, but on the whole is not so much in evidence as one would expect, for the author is by no means either thorough or consistent in the application of his theories.

Mr. Wells assumes that altruism and social solidarity was lacking in the earliest men. Even apart from other considerations this is rendered very improbable by the fact that rendered very improbable these qualities to a marked degree. The extinct Tasmanians certainly savages possess these qualities to a marked degree. The extinct Ploistocene man, they did, and, as Mr. Wells points out, they were still in the early Paleolithic stage at the time they were discovered. The Bushmen and Australians, only a little further advanced,

CORRESPONDENCE.

MARX OR TOLSTOI?

The Editor of "The Proletarian."

Sir,—I gladly avail myself of the space offered by you, to me, in "The Proletarian." It is perfectly true, that at the Peace Conference, I did try to explain why the working class could never be finally emancipated whilst they accepted the philosophy of materialism as an interpretation of social phenomena. I use the word materialism in its philosophical sense. Materialism limits and cramps its adherents. Men are taught to feel that they are the products of social forces, and to rely upon outside and ephemeral observances, such as particular forms of organisation that are incidental, and doctrines that vitiate individual inspiration. The human race can only be emancipated from Capitalism by the growth of the opposite attitude of mind. (It is hard to find the exact philosophical term for it).

This attitude of mind has its representative thinkers in all civilisations, at all times. To give a few modern examples. In America it was represented by Emerson, Whitman and Lowell; in England it is represented by Edward Carpenter; in India by men like Tagore; in Russia the Tolstoyans; and in Australia there are the faithful few, who rely upon culture, inspiration and self-reliance, and not upon guns, Parliament, and some narrow form of organisation, to manifest themselves sooner or later in the outward and social forms of a higher and nobler civilisation. Quite frankly, we do not put too much faith in book learning or in memorising other writers. Boldly, we proclaim that there are in every human being boundless possibilities of inward light and learning, and that it is possible for the individual consciousness to link up, by meditation, concentration and purity of life, with the Cosmic Consciousness, the Knower of all things.

To us, the Marxian law of "The Materialist Conception of History" is not true. Marx saw a connection between the method of production and the general social consciousness, but being a materialist, he gave it a wrong explanation; he could not do otherwise. The general social consciousness determines the method of production. The final proof of this, is the fact that even the most rigid and doctrinaire Marxist tries, first by propaganda, to change the social consciousness, in the hope that our present chaotic method of production will be changed for a better one. To us, all social forms and individual experiences are the outward and final physical results of our inward spiritual and real lives. To us evolution is always from within, outwards. Those of us who have had, and are having working class experience, when we feel called upon to help our class and to exert our individual usefulness and influence in the emancipation of

the working class, our message is, "Workers be yourselves, be self-reliant, but no faith in outward forms of organised violence. These are effects, not causes. Socialism cannot be established; it can only grow. The human race always grows from within. That is why, at the Peace Conference, I suggested that the emancipation of the Russian workers (who have not got Socialism yet) lay in the spirit and attitude of Tolstoi rather than that of Marx.

Finally, we have to admit, that individually and racially, we go through certain historic forms of experience. It seems to me that materialism is a juvenile stage of growth. We cannot judge a person or nation by their intellect alone, but only by their general attitude, by their character. Great intellects are often low characters. The Labor movement is materialist, therefore cannot manifest socialism. The Labor movement is the scaffolding of the new civilisation. The new civilisation is the growth of a new and higher type of character. I am cheerfully confident that Australia will produce this new type. There are signs of it already. Such characters will neither dogmatise nor accept the dogmas of others. They will go forward serenely and calmly doing what they can in all walks of life, to assist in the growth of the new civilisation.—Yours, etc.,

MICK SAWELL.

[We invite any Marxist to traverse in these columns the above arguments of our correspondent.—Editor.]

BOOK REVIEW.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNE OF 1871.
By Lissagaray.

Lissagaray says that he who tells the people revolutionary legends, he who amuses them with sensational stories, is as criminal as the geographer who would draw up false charts for navigators. The "History of the Commune of 1871," in sifting the material for which the author spent five years, and the English version of which was revised and corrected by Karl Marx, certainly betrays no sign of this kind of criminality. Eleanor Marx writes of it that it is "the only authentic and reliable history as yet (1886) written of the most memorable movement of modern times. It is true Lissagaray was a soldier of the Commune, but he has had the courage and honesty to speak the truth. He has not attempted to hide the errors of his party, or to gloss over the fatal weaknesses of the Revolution; and if he has erred, it has been not on the side of moderation, in his anxiety not to make a single statement that could not be corroborated by overwhelming proofs of its truth." The result is a book that brings there is nothing better calculated to bring clearer understanding of "that sphinx so tantalising to the bourgeois mind," the Commune.

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HE OBEYS HIS MASTER



Communism—"How about it friend, shall we capture this fellow?"
 Non-Political Actionist—"Aw, the State is a myth."

The
PROLETARIAN

"The Proletarian" has received a blow. Our late Editor Baracchi has left Melbourne for other fields (in which, we trust, his pen will continue to serve the cause of the working class). Though we may not be able to turn out future issues up to the standard our late Editor has set, we trust that the paper will still be of considerable service to the working-class movement. If the time arrives when it is not of such service, readers can rest assured "The Proletarian" will not be published. For the present, we will endeavour to guide to the best literature of the movement all those individuals scattered throughout the Commonwealth who are seeking such information; we will assist, to the best of our ability, all movements which make for working-class advancement; and, finally, we will endeavour to print in our columns the best articles in papers from abroad, as well as from the pens of the Marxian students of this country. We will be glad of any assistance that anyone can render us in the pursuit of these objects.

The All-Australian Trade Union Congress

As this issue goes to press, there is just concluding one of the biggest conferences that the Australian Labour Movement has ever held. Called by the Australian Labour Party, nevertheless it was composed of delegates from Trades Unions only, and these to the number of several hundred endeavoured to frame a political policy for Labour that would be more in accord with the necessities of the hour than the present policy of the Australian Labour Party. It had become apparent in recent years that the Labour Party was losing the complete support of large sections of the working class. This was evidenced by the fact

that some of the most powerful Unions of the Commonwealth were seceding from the A.L.P., and some former Labour politicians and Union officials have either left or have been expelled from the party. Recognising this, the A.L.P. called the conference with the object of finding out from organised Labour what policy would meet with its approval.

The conference had hardly got down to business before it was seen that there were three main divisions in the ranks. There was a right wing of orthodox Labourites who did not particularly mind what policy was adopted as long as it was not too "extreme," and as long as it would secure votes. Then there was a central element of "advanced" Labourites and Socialists, many of whom wanted a policy of overthrowing Capitalism by some particular "shrewd" legislative enactment; and, finally, there was a left wing, composed largely of Communists from New South Wales, who sought to introduce Communist principles into the objective and platform. As was natural under the circumstances, there was plenty of divergence of opinion upon various subjects, such as "The Objective," "Banking," "The Conquest of Political Power," etc., etc. The conferences came to decisions upon all these questions, and, as might be expected, the revolutionary Left Wing endeavoured to use any opportunity that opened for propaganda purposes. It was noticeable that, in some of the discussions, delegates frequently quoted Bucharin's "Communist Program of World Revolution" and other Communist literature.

The decisions of the conference are only known to us, so far, in the fragmentary form in which they appeared in the daily press. Doubtless, they will be printed and widely circulated, and will be subjects for discussion throughout the working-class movement. If the press reports were correct, decisions were come to which require the utmost careful deliberation from the Left Wing elements of this country before any decisive step is taken in the directions suggested. The modern revolutionist, certainly, does things that the pre-war revolutionist would have given little sup-

port to. The war and the Russian Revolution have not been without their lessons. Nevertheless, it behoves us, as far as our knowledge will permit, to see that our actions are in the best interests of the working class. Whilst we must not sacrifice the revolution through too great a rigidity of attitude, at the same time we must not be caught up in a whirlpool of opportunism.

When the full text of conference decisions is obtainable, we hope they will be fully discussed and that the issues will be decided upon in a manner which will leave no doubt as to where those of us stand who make their chief concern the emancipation of our class.

The Socialist Viewpoint

The basic proposition upon which Socialism as a science rests is that of the Materialist Conception of History. This proposition should form the basis of any study of the social problem. It is absolutely essential that whoever would help the working-class movement as a writer, propagandist, or teacher should recognise that, without a thorough understanding of the Materialist Conception of History, his work will be of very doubtful value and, like as not, of a harmful character.

A glance through the pages of this issue of "The Proletarian" will show the value of this understanding. The controversy now raging with Mick Sawtell resolves itself mainly into the question of the soundness or unsoundness of the Materialist Conception of History. Then we have the article by B. H. Molesworth, a reprint of the first portion of his new pamphlet, "The A B C of Working-Class Philosophy," in which he shows this fundamental proposition as the one which took Socialism out of the realms of Utopian thought and placed it on a sound, scientific basis. Again, we have the contribution, "Is Marxism a Religion?" bearing strongly on the point; and, finally, the use of the theory especially demonstrated in the "Criticism of Wells' Outline of History," by R. W.

Housley. All of these go to show the importance of a study of this theory.

We print here two or three of the classic statements of the Materialist Conception of History, sometimes called Historic Materialism:—

From Frederick Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific"—

"The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production."

From "The Communist Manifesto," by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels:—

... in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; ...

From the "Critique of Political Economy," by Karl Marx:—

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these powers of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, upon which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness

of men that determines their social existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict be-

tween the social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore, mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. In broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois methods of production as so many epochs in the progress of the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from conditions surrounding the life of individuals in society; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society."

The A.B.C. of Communism

By N. BUCCHARIN and E. PREOBRASCHENSKY

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY (Continued).

11.—Capital.—We now see clearly what Capitalism is. Above all, it is a definite value, either in the form of money or raw materials, factory buildings, or finished products. But it is only value of such a kind as serves for the production of a new value—surplus-value. Capital is a value which produces surplus-value. Capitalist production is the production of surplus-value.

In capitalist society, machines and factory buildings appear as capital. Are machines and buildings, then, always capital? Clearly, no. When there is a communal industry embracing the whole of society, which produces everything for itself, then neither machinery nor raw material will be capital, because it will not be employed as a means of extracting profit for a small handful of rich men. Machinery, therefore, becomes capital only when it is the property of

the capitalist class; when it is used for the exploitation of wage-labour; when it serves for the production of surplus-value. The form of this value does not matter. It can have the form of coins or of paper money, for which the capitalist buys the means of production and labour-power; it can have the form of machinery with which the workers toil, or of raw material out of which they produce commodities, or of finished products, which later will be sold. Where this value serves for the production of surplus-value, it is capital.

Capital changes its outward appearance. Let us now consider how this transformation takes place.

1.—The capitalist has not, as yet, bought any means of production or labour-power. But he is eager to engage workers, to provide himself with machinery, to produce goods of the best quality and coal in sufficient quantity. He has in his hand nothing but money. Here capital appears in its money form.

2.—With this money the capitalist

goes to the market. (He, naturally, does not go himself; he does his business by telephone or telegraph.) Here the purchase of means of production and of labour-power takes place. He returns to the factory without money, but with workers, machinery, fuel and raw materials. These things are no longer commodities. They have ceased to be commodities because they are not sold again. The money has changed itself into means of production and labour-power; the money appearance is thrown off; capital now stands before us in the form of industrial capital.

Work then begins. The machinery is set in motion, the workers toil and sweat, the machinery suffers wear and tear, the raw materials are used up, the labour-power is fully utilised.

3.—All the raw materials, that part of the substance of the machines which has been worn out, all the labour-power which performs the work, are gradually turned into a mass of commodities. Capital then throws off the appearance of industrial capital and appears as an aggregation of commodities. This is capital in its commodity form. But now, after production, capital has not only changed its form; it has become greater in value because it has increased during the process of production by the amount of the surplus-value.

4.—The capitalist does not produce goods to satisfy his own wants, but for the market, for exchange. The commodities which are heaped up in his warehouses must be sold. The capitalist goes to the market, at first as a buyer. Now he must go as a seller. At first he had money, and wanted to buy commodities—means of production. Now he has commodities, and wants money for them. When his commodities are sold, capital throws off its commodity form and assumes again its money form. But the amount of money which he receives for his wares is greater than that he originally spent, because it has increased by the amount of the total surplus-value.

But the movement of capital is not yet finished. The increased capital is again set in motion, and receives a still greater quantity of surplus-value. This surplus-

value is, in part, added to the capital, and begins another circulation. The capital rolls, like a snowball, ever farther and farther, and with every turn larger masses of surplus-value adhere to it. And so capitalist production extends farther and farther, and sucks ever more surplus-value from the working-class. This rapid growth is a feature peculiar to Capitalism. Exploitation of one class by another existed in former times. Let us take, for example, a landowner in the feudal period or a slave-owner of antiquity. He lived on the labour of his serfs or slaves. But everything that was produced was consumed either by himself or by his court and his numerous hangers-on. Commodity production was almost non-existent. Commodities could not be sold anywhere. If the landowner or slave-holder had compelled his serfs or slaves to pile up quantities of bread, fish or meat, these would simply have rotted away. Production, therefore, was limited to the supplying of the bodily wants of the masters and their families. It is quite otherwise under Capitalism. Now things are not produced for use, but for profit. Wares are produced so that they may be sold, and profit thereby heaped up. The more profit the better. Hence the mad search of the capitalist class for profit. Their greed for profit knows no bounds. It is the pivot and the driving force of capitalist production.

(To be continued.)

MR. BARWELL ON ARBITRATION.

Mr. Barwell, South Australian Premier, is reported as saying that the artificial interference with employment which industrial arbitration involved caused no really serious difficulty in times of prosperity, when prices for culy in times were high, but there was a very different tale to tell when any attempt was made to fix wages while prices were continuing to fall. If we translate this from parliamentary to ordinary language we get the statement that when times are "good" and wages rising arbitration is handy as a brake on working class attempts to make the best of the situation, but when chass weaker the stances make the working class hold brake is not required. It is alright to hold wages at a certain point when the brake is not required. Arbitration only exists so long as it is the cheapest method of getting the work done for the lowest wage.

Working-Class Philosophy

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

[The following article is the first portion of a pamphlet (now in the press) by the same author.]

Utopian Socialism.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century Socialist thinkers were mere utopians, basing their aspirations upon abstract ideas of eternal truth, right and justice. Capitalism, they said, was not right, it was not just, and it should, therefore, be replaced by some other system. Naturally each great Socialist writer—Fourier, St. Simon, Owen and others—offered his own special scheme for the coming utopia. These utopians had three chief characteristics:—1. They were metaphysical in outlook. For example, they viewed society as stationary, and considered that any society is a material structure representing certain abstract ideas. Also they thought that eternal truth and absolute morality exist as abstract ideas and could be embodied in a social system at any time. Such a system, because society does not of itself change, would then be everlasting. They thought that a social system with all the institutions of which it is composed remains the same always until it is suddenly replaced by some other system. 2. This sudden revolution, they considered, could be carried through by some one great man or by a few great men like themselves who had ideas of a new system. 3. These ideas of some new system came to them from some supernatural source—that is to say, they were philosophical idealists believing that ideas come first, and that the material world is built in accordance with these ideas.

The utopians should not be despised because their thought was limited by the material conditions of their time. It was the industrial revolution of the early nineteenth century, the rapid development of modern indus-

trial conditions and of the industrial capitalist and proletarian classes which provided the material experiences upon which more scientific thought could be based.

Socialism Made Scientific.

"To make a science of Socialism, it had first to be placed upon solid ground."* This was done by two thinkers, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. During the years from 1840 onwards these two men were investigating and thinking. They discarded all three sections of utopian thought, the metaphysical view of life, the great man theory and the idealist philosophy. Neither Socialism nor any other system of society, they pointed out, is the expression of abstract ideas of truth and justice, and no social system can be constructed by a few great men. The human race has evolved for millions of years. Since man came down from the trees he has passed through many stages of existence and has lived under various social systems. Morality and all abstract ideas have developed along with him. Each succeeding stage of human society—savagery, barbarism, early civilisation, the ancient empires, feudalism, capitalism—has grown out of the preceding stage. No social system is eternal. No social system is even stationary. Society, man, everything that exists, is changing always. Continuous change is the only condition to which nature allows permanence. "Nothing is, everything is becoming," and in the process everything is gradually contradicted, negated, replaced by its opposite until sooner or later this "opposite" is itself negated and replaced by the original, only on a higher plane. That is to say, the original is reproduced in greater quantity and with better quality, like the grain of wheat. This is the dialectic view of life and of society. It is evolution applied to so-

* Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."

ciety. Just as Darwin, by means of his scientific research, discovered evolution of the individual and founded modern Biology, so Marx and Engels discovered evolution of groups of individuals (i.e., evolution of society) and founded modern sociology. Society has evolved and progressed through many systems from primitive Communism onwards till at last a higher Communism is scientifically inevitable.

Furthermore, this evolution is not caused by some supernatural being or power who creates ideas and puts them into men's minds for them to act upon. Neither is it the work of a few great men. Social evolution is the result of definite natural laws. What are these laws? What is the underlying cause of human progress, of all past systems of society, and therefore of the future Communism? How has this cause, this force of nature, operated in the past, and what are the detailed features of its operations which are to-day impelling the human race towards Communism?

These questions are answered by Marx and his fellow-worker Engels. Their reply to them, together with explanations, contain three main sections:—1. The materialistic conception of history explains the fundamental cause of social progress. 2. In his analysis of the present economic system, Capitalism, Marx explains that the accumulation of surplus value in the hands of the capitalist class is not only the cause of capitalist development, but is also the cause of the ultimate capitalist collapse and of the construction by the proletariat of Communism. 3. Lastly, in the theory of the class struggle, Marx and Engels show how the great material force, since the coming of private property, has acted and still acts through human agents engaged in class struggles.

The Materialistic Conception of History.

The cause of the succession of changes in the form of human society is to be found in the changing material conditions within which any society lives. Of what are these material conditions composed? In the earliest centuries of primitive man the material

conditions which affected him were mainly the natural, physical features, such as climate, landscape (forest or plain), vegetation, etc. But as soon as man invented the first tool a new section of his surrounding material conditions came rapidly into chief importance. A tool was a means of production, and the means of production gradually increasing in number and in complexity constituted an economic system. The technical methods of obtaining the necessities of life became the chief cause of all changes in human society. Each new tool, each changing method of production, has meant the continuous evolution of an economic system. Sooner or later this evolving economic foundation has grown too much out of harmony with the remainder of the social system established upon it, and a social revolution has been necessary in order to set up a social system in conformity with the changed economic foundation. In the primitive period before the means of production became private property, social changes followed quickly upon changes in technical methods of production. But since the arrival of civilisation, with its private property and the division of society into classes, the greater and always increasing section of the means of production have been means of exploitation, and the course of change has been as follows:—

The owners of the means of exploitation form a class holding economic power over the propertyless mass. The master class of exploiters set up a social system composed of institutions and customs which help them to maintain their powers of exploitation. The social system at the outset conforms in its every section to its economic foundation, and is controlled by the economic masters during the whole period of their ascendancy. Gradually new tools replace the old, and new organisation and methods of production bring into growing economic importance a new class. The prevailing social organisation and institutions of the master class become more and more a fetter upon the expanding use of the new tools and methods and a restriction upon the activities in produc-

tion of the new rising class. The social system, which changes very slowly, becomes more and more a fetter upon the comes more and more a fetter upon the always evolving economic foundation, with the result that the new rising class is forced to carry through a social revolution. It replaces the old master class in the exploiting position. It destroys the power and the social institutions of the old master class, and sets up new institutions, new morals and new customs, which will not only allow it freedom in developing the new technical methods of production, but which also will help maintain its newly won power as against the previous holders of power on the one hand, and, on the other hand, against the slaves whom it now, in its turn, wishes to exploit.

The process can be compared to a moth breaking through the old chrysalis

shell. This shell remains with little change as a covering to the chrysalis as the latter gradually changes in character, till at last the developed life inside, fettered by the old shell, bursts it asunder and stands arrayed in a totally new form. The shell can be compared to the social system, and the developing life inside to the economic foundation. That is to say, a changing economic system, as soon as it reaches the point when its expansion and further development is being handicapped by the prevailing social system, causes a revolution in the whole superstructure of society which is built upon the economic foundation. Political institutions, social customs, law and legal institutions, current morality, religion, etc., all change in conformity with the changed material conditions. . . .

The Agrarian Question

(From the Policy of the United Communist Party of America.)

Capitalism dominates agricultural production as well as all other functions of the economic life of society. The exploitation of the agricultural proletariat links up the interests of this class inseparably with the interests of the industrial proletariat of the cities. The forces which drive the city workers into conflict with the capitalist State are also at work in rural districts. There, too, capitalism compels revolutionary action on the part of the workers.

The toilers on the farms cannot solve their problems alone. Only the industrial proletariat, led by the Communists, can release them from the bondage of capitalism. Only by joining hands with the workers of the cities can they throw off their yoke and achieve a more abundant life.

It is equally true that the industrial workers cannot fulfil their historic mission of liberating humanity from the domination of capitalism, if they limit their interest to the narrow confines of their

own industrial lives. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class when it acts as the vanguard of **ALL** the exploited. The United Communist Party must, therefore, foster the revolutionary tendencies of the agricultural workers. It must co-ordinate their struggle with that of the workers in other industries. Successful action against the capitalist State can be achieved only through the united efforts of **ALL** workers.

In order to promote this solidarity of action, the United Communist Party must make the agricultural workers conscious of their interests in common with the whole of the working-class. The party must inaugurate a special campaign to organise units among the agricultural proletariat, to develop the struggle of those workers into revolutionary action.

The agricultural proletariat (farm hands, migratory labourers, harvest hands, etc.) does not constitute the only element of the country population which

has interests in common with the industrial proletariat, and which must be reached by the United Communist Party. The small tenant and the poor farmer also face a problem of capitalist exploitation no less cruel than that which robs the wage worker. These two are also the prey of profit-hungry capitalism. They are the victims of the landlords and mortgage holders. They are harassed by farm machinery trusts, produce monopolies and usurious bankers. They have not the necessary capital to produce their products with modern machinery, nor up-to-date methods by which to compete in the markets.

The small tenant and poor farmer try to make up for this lack of capital by toiling from dawn till dark, as no wage slave would labour for any master; and their children and wives are forced to a never-ending grind of unpaid labour. Yet they cannot compete successfully with the capitalist farmer, even though they sell in the same market. Inevitably and inexorably they are being crushed in the race of life under the existing capitalist rules of the game. The process of degeneration of the small farmer into the mortgaged farmer, then the tenant-farmer, then the farm hand and migratory worker is one of the unceasing tragedies of the capitalist system of exploitation.

To a certain extent, these classes of farmers find consolation for their present misery in dreams of a prosperous future, dreams of times of "busted trusts" and "people's rule." Numerous varieties of fake reformers, including the yellow Socialists, encourage these dreams with promises of what "they will do" for the small farmer if only elected to office.

It is not the function of the United Communist Party to curry favour with these small farmers through promises of easy success. It is the duty of the party to point out to them that between them and the capitalist farmers there exists an antagonism of interests, an impassable gulf that cannot be bridged. By the very conditions of their existence these elements of the country population will be drawn into the maelstrom of revolution against capitalism. Rapidly

they are becoming conscious of the fact that there is no hope for them under capitalism, that as long as this system endures they are doomed.

It is the duty of the United Communist Party to organise widespread propaganda among these classes. It must bring the small farmers and tenants together with the farm proletariat, and must make clear to them the identity of their interests with those of the industrial proletariat. It must point out to them that only through a Communist revolution can tenantry be abolished, the use of the land restored to the workers without the payment of tribute to any exploiters, and the great estates of the capitalist farmers be seized for the purpose of large scale co-operative production. The United Communist Party must organise them to take their place with the militant working-class under the banner of proletarian revolt.

In addition to these classes of agrarians, there are the middle-class farmers; who, while working on their land themselves, occasionally hire labour. The natural tendency of this class is hostility to revolutionary change. They have the psychology of the petty bourgeoisie. Their inherent antagonism toward the proletariat is constantly fostered by the dominant capitalist class.

Although it is not the function of the United Communist Party to cater to these middle-class farmers by taking up their competitive struggle against the great capitalist interests, the United Communist Party must neutralise, as far as possible, the effect of capitalist propaganda by spreading among them the facts about capitalism and its institutions, and the truth about Communism and the revolutionary movement.

Lastly, there is the large class of bourgeois farmers, landed proprietors and employers of labour, whose interests lie clearly with those of the industrial capitalists as opposed to the proletariat. This class is not susceptible to Communist propaganda. It will be our bitterest foe. Against this class the United Communist Party must lead the workers in an uncompromising struggle.

In the United States, the lines between these different classes of the agrarian

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population are not as distinctly drawn as in the older settled countries of Europe; in the Western States especially, the ranks of small farmers are honey-combed with veterans of the industrial struggle, black-listed machinists, railroadmen and miners, workers who find it impossible to sell their labour-power to a capitalist for wages and who have "gone back to the land." These furnish a ferment among their neighbours, which makes a very favorable field for Communist propaganda.

In spite of the fact that lines are not entirely crystallised, and that there is a constant flux from one class to the other, in general the attitude that the United Communist Party must assume toward the agrarian question can be summed up as follows:—

1. Active championship of the agricultural proletariat and the poor tenant farmer.
2. Neutralisation of the hostility of the middle-class farmers.
3. Relentless warfare against the capitalist farmers and landlords, in the name of the proletarian revolution.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE WANDERINGS OF MICK SAWTELL.

To The Editor of "The Proletarian."

Sir,—The basis(?) of Mr. Sawtell's argument against the Materialist Conception of History is contained in the following words, "And that it is possible for the individual consciousness to link up, by meditation, concentration and purity of life, with the Cosmic Consciousness, the Knower of all things."

Mr. Sawtell, like primitive man, personifies the forces of nature. The savage imbues his god with passions, likes and dislikes, etc., while he tries to acquire the good will of his god, by making offerings and sacrifices.

The difference between the position Mr. Sawtell takes up and that of primitive man, in relation to the belief in the supernatural, is a difference in degree, but not in kind.

He personifies the cosmos, gives it mental functions, consciousness, knowledge, "powers of intellect," and seeks to propitiate this creation of his imagination by "purity of life," "culture," etc.

According to "the faithful few," they do not depend upon their natural or social environment for their ideas and social consciousness, but derive them from the "Knower of all things."

"Materialism," writes Mr. Sawtell, "limits and cramps its adherents. Men are taught to

feel that they are the products of social forces" . . . "and doctrines that vitiate individual inspiration."

Perfectly true, materialism "vitiates individual inspiration." The worker, who understands the Materialist Conception of History, knows that only by thinking socially, by realising he is dependent upon the rest of his class, will he be able to win emancipation. To depend upon "individual inspiration" is like trying to lift himself by his own boot laces.

Along with the physical struggle goes the mental struggle, the struggle between the ideas of the decaying social system, and the new ideas begotten of the new social conditions.

It is these changed conditions that is bringing about the social consciousness of the working class to their slave position.

To say the general social consciousness determines the methods of production is to make socialism independent of the development of the means of production, and it is to say that Socialism could have been brought about at any period without dependence upon the material and historical conditions. What the workers must understand is, that capitalist society is divided into two warring classes, and the development of the means of production "engenders the material conditions and social forms necessary for a reconstruction of society."

When the workers do understand their class position in society, Mr. Sawtell and "the faithful few," together with the other henchmen of the exploiters, will be swept aside by the workers in their onward march to socialism.

J. TEMPLE.

MICK SAWTELL OR MARX.

To The Editor of "The Proletarian."

Comrade.—M. Sawtell, in the last issue of "The Proletarian," made an assertion that the Materialist Conception of History is not true. Needless to say, he did not prove it.

During question time, after the debate with G. Baracchi, he was asked: "What determines the existence of an idea?" He replied that he could not answer conundrums, but that there was nothing new under the sun. This is a most startling discovery. Not a new ideal! But in these and other columns he has said: "The general social consciousness determines the method of production." These statements, if can only be reconciled by "Cosmic Unity," for it is obvious that if there are no new ideas there can be no change in the social consciousness, and, therefore, according to M. Sawtell, no change in the methods of production. Then, Mr. Sawtell, can you tell me what were the moving forces that made us evolve from savagery to civilisation, or from Feudalism to Capitalism? Was it not through changes in the modes of production, or did the social consciousness act as the moving force?

Further, Mr. Sawtell, if the mode of production does not act on ideas, would our "great men" have performed the same "great tasks" if born a few hundred years earlier, and surrounded by different material conditions?

Again, in the case of the natives of those

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tropical countries, where their requisites of life are few and easily obtainable, are their ideas of work, for instance, the same as the ideas held by the inhabitants of less favored localities? If not, why not? Are their ideas influenced by their material conditions?

As Engels said: "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." The proof of the M.C.H. is to be found in history—the war is a recent example. Space forbids me giving an outline of the causes of the war, but it is obvious to all that it was a trade dispute, a product of the method of production, and not caused by a change in the social consciousness—the human race did not want war.

In order that other, and more able pens, will find space, I will not go further just now with the M.C.H. or other points in the article by our friend; but, in conclusion, would like to ask him one question: If he thinks our emancipation lies in linking up with the "Cosmic Consciousness," the "Knower of all things," why waste time on Job Control, and Peace Conferences? Would it not be better to start a Mystic Club and teach the workers on the job (and the unemployed) this cult of the favored few? I wonder? (See *Untermann, Marxian Economics*, Chapt. II.)—Yours for Communism,

H. W. CRONK (jun.)

Burnley, June 17th, 1921.

MARX OR TOLSTOI?

To the Editor of "The Proletarian."

Sir,—It is the easiest thing in the world for an amateur in philosophy to get into a tangle over the word "materialism" in its three different aspects; first, as a term used in ethics; second, as a term to denote Marx's famous doctrine of the materialist conception of history; and third, as a statement of the philosophy of materialism, as distinct and apart from that of spiritualism or spiritualism.

Our good comrade Sawtell, I fear, has got into this tangle, and it would be a weariness to the reader for one to take up the space necessary to clarify things. Sawtell needs to be reminded that it is useless discussing what is a "good philosophy," and what is a bad one. What we should aim at is rather—What is most in harmony with the "facts" of human experience?

As a term used in ethics, materialism is indiscriminately applied by spiritualistic thinkers to every sort of "wickedness," real and imaginary, so we need not waste time over mere ethical materialism.

Then we have the materialist conception of history, one of the outstanding features of the philosophy of Marx, in respect to which Comrade Sawtell seems to be very hazy indeed. This is the theory that the behavior and thoughts of society are determined by the material conditions under which folks get their living; and that these conditions are continually changing in an inevitable direction. But we must not forget that the economic environment includes not only tools and material com-

modities, but the knowledge how to use them, and the material experience of one's daily life. Knowledge, theories and ideas are tools. It is the object of Marxian education to provide that knowledge which will best secure the building up of those habits of mind (or complexes) that shall determine the direction of its flow, so as to be a true picture of one's economic environment and our relations to it. To fully grasp the idea of the materialist conception of history is to get hold of the fact—as worked out elaborately by Marx—that material conditions form or create our ideas on most matters rather than the ideas creating the conditions, as commonly supposed by philosophers before Marx—and since.

Now, Sawtell should know that materialism as a philosophy is something vastly different, though it has a distant relationship.

Materialism as a philosophy teaches that matter is all-in-all; that "mind" or "spirit" or "soul" is a mere by-product of the material process; that all real work in the world, the only evolution and revolution, result from the interaction of atoms and molecules of matter, according to known physical laws. Philosophical materialism also teaches that the beginning and ending of worlds is but the movement of matter in its infinite transformations. What about force and energy? There is no known force apart from matter; and what is termed "mind" is but the activities of matter. Matter being the one fundamental factor of the universe, apart from the universal substance and ether of which it may be an emanation, force and energy, mind and spirit and soul are terms that become meaningless apart from matter. In trying to meet Comrade Sawtell in his philosophical tangle I have adopted the "explanatory," rather than the "argumentative" method, which is more on the lines of true and exact science.—Yours for the Revolution,

J. CAMERON PORTER.

PROHIBITION OF LITERATURE.

Early this year regulations under the Customs Act were framed to prevent the entry of revolutionary literature into Australia. According to the daily press these regulations have now been revoked, and in their place have been more stringent regulations have been approved of. The new regulations prohibit the importation into the Commonwealth of Australia of any literature wherein is advocated:—

- (a) The overthrow by force or violence of the established government of the Commonwealth or of any State or of any other civilised country;
 - (b) The overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law;
 - (c) The abolition of organised government;
 - (d) The assassination of public officials;
 - (e) The unlawful destruction of property;
- or
- (f) Wherein a seditious intention is expressed or a seditious enterprise advocated.

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Is Marxism a Religion?

By O. C. Johnson.

The critics of Marx—the "Revisionists"—make much of what they call the "narrow-minded orthodoxy" of Marxian Socialism. Reformists and Syndicalists of every stripe take the cue, and refer sneeringly to "Das Kapital" as the "Socialist bible," implying that it is regarded by Scientific Socialists as a divine gospel of fixed truths, every slightest phrase of which is infallible as a Pope's decree. Many Socialists unthinkingly give colour to the charge by some such remarks as "Socialism is my religion."

Now, Socialism is not a religion. It explains the causes and fallacies underlying all religions. Socialism is not based upon revelation, it does not demand acceptance on faith, it has nothing to do with the supernatural or with a future life. Socialism is a conscious working-class struggle for the material advantages of society, and to call it a religion is a senseless mis-use of terms.

As for saying that Scientific Socialists look upon Marx as an inspired prophet, whose word is law for all time, the charge is simply ridiculous. Marxians stress the fact that social forces produce the leaders in any given epoch, and specifically refute the common belief that "great men" arise at various times and lead the human race to glory. Marxians do not deny that "great men" exist, but they explain their origin and function, and they do so on the principles explained in "Capital" and other Socialist classics. Marx himself is accounted for in the same way; he developed his admirable social science in a happy combination of circumstances. First, he had the works of Hegel and others to build on in philosophy; second, he was preceded by Fourier and Saint-Simon, the Utopian Socialists; third, he lived in the period of industrial revolution, of the rise of capitalist production, which gave him a splendid chance, not only to study capitalism itself, but to note how society changes its institutions to accord with changes in indus-

try; and, fourth, he was exiled to England, where for years he observed capitalist production in the then most advanced nation, industrially, on earth.

This, in the main, explains how a man like Marx was possible, and explains, too, why his contemporaries were inferior to him, even granting that they were intellectually his equals, which is certainly not the case. Proudhon, in France, lacked the schooling of the Hegelian philosophy to be obtained only in Germany, and likewise lacked the opportunity to observe large scale production which took place then only in England. The same is true of Fourier and Saint-Simon; and on the other hand, Max Stirner's mental vagaries may be explained as due to a surfeit of German philosophy with no chance to observe real bourgeois industry, as exemplified in England, at all. Modern writers, we may add, have not been privileged, as was Marx, to see the change from feudalism to capitalism actually take place before their eyes. Such, in brief, is the genesis of Marx, and the reason for his great superiority to other writers on matters pertaining to the proletariat.

Scientific Socialists, therefore, do not regard Marx as a supernatural prodigy, any more than anyone now regards Darwin as such, but as the product, as well as the glory, of his time. Their reply to the revisionists is this: A cocksure assumption that any scientist's principles are "out of date" is not enough; it is necessary to prove them false. The labour theory of value, the law of historical materialism, the existence of social and economic classes,—are these disproved? Again, on matters of tactics, are Marxians or "Revisionists" attaining most success? Lenin and Trotsky—Marxians—are establishing the New Society in Russia, while in other countries the "Revisionists" are simply blocking the way. WHO DELIVERS THE GOODS?—that is the test.

The fact is that those who assail Marx most insistently as being out of date are vague idealists and petty bourgeois reformists, who have read a little diluted Socialism in some "liberal" magazines,

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or a few pamphlets by the Christian Socialists or the I.W.W., and behold, they proclaim themselves the "advanced" and "modern" interpreters of Socialism. It is to combat the pernicious influence of

these half-informed would-be saviours of the people that Marxians insist on the study of real Socialist theory, as the only basis for a true understanding of the pressing questions of the day.

The Outline of History by H. G. Wells

A Criticism: by R. W. Housley

(Reprinted from "The Socialist Standard.")

(Continued.)

Mr. Wells misses completely the transition of society in Greece and Rome from the tribal or kinship form to the political or territorial and class form of organisation. The striking social achievements associated with the names of Draco, Solon, and Cleisthenes are, for instance, passed over in silence. This is a serious omission, and one that is difficult to explain. How Mr. Wells can sum up Athenian history without even mentioning the so-called "reforms of Solon" passes comprehension. The student who seeks information as to the social revolution from the tribal to the political phase as it occurred in the concrete both in Attica and in Rome cannot do better than consult Morgan's "Ancient Society" or the "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," by Engels. These works may be supplemented by that instructive but less scientific account—"The City-State of the Greeks and Romans," by W. Warde Fowler.

Mr. Wells' history of Rome contains some of the finest work in the whole book, much of it showing real historical penetration. The following excerpt from his account of the later years of the Roman Republic is typical of the best passages:—

The rich grew richer and the poor poorer. It was impossible to stifle the consequences of that process for ever by political trickery. The Italian people were still unenfranchised. Two extreme democratic leaders, Saturninus and Glaucia, were assassinated, but that familiar senatorial remedy failed to assuage the populace on this occasion. . . . In 91 B.C. Livius Drusus, a recently elected tribune of the people, . . . was assassinated. He had proposed a general enfranchisement of the Italians, and

he had foreshadowed not only another land law, but a general abolition of debts. Yet for all this vigour on the part of the senatorial usurers, landgrabbers and forestallers, the hungry and the anxious were still insurgent. The murder of Drusus was the last drop in the popular cup; Italy blazed into a desperate insurrection. (Chap. XXVIII. S. 3.)

In the next chapter the author treats of the Empire, of its miseries, corruptions, and debaucheries, and gives the real reason for the easy success of the "barbarian invaders" against the one-time "impregnable":—

It is manifest that to the bulk of its inhabitants the Roman Empire did not seem a thing worth fighting for. To the slaves and common people the barbarian probably seemed to promise more freedom and less indignity than the pompous rule of the imperial official and the grinding employment by the rich. The looting and burning of palaces and an occasional massacre did not shock the wealthy and cultured underworld as to whom we owe such accounts as we have of the breaking down of the imperial system. Great numbers of slaves and common people probably joined the barbarians, who knew little of racial or patriotic prejudices and were open-handed to any pro-privileges. No doubt in many cases the missing recruit. No doubt in many cases the population found that the barbarian was a worse infliction even than the tax-gatherer and the slave-driver. But that discovery came too late for resistance or the restoration of the old order. (Chap. XXIX. s 2.)

Mr. Wells lays great stress, and rightly so, upon the fact that settled, cultured, and prosperous communities are apt to be overrun by warlike, nomadic peoples. The process and its effects are well described by Prof. Myers in his well described by Prof. Myers in his "Dawn of History." The conquerors first subdue and plunder the conquered, but are eventually absorbed in or by them and their culture. This process,

as Mr. Wells puts it, "in a thousand variations has been one of the main stories in history for the last seventy centuries or more." But the recognition of this fact leads the author to amazing conclusions. In his chapter on the "Resurgence of Western Civilisation," he introduces to our notice his third type of community, which turns out to be a compound of or hybrid between his first two:—

Essentially this modern state, as we see it growing under our eyes to-day, is a tentative combination of two apparently contradictory ideas, the idea of a **community of faith and obedience**, such as the earliest civilisations undoubtedly were, and the idea of a **community of will**, such as were the primitive political groupings of the Nordic and Hunnish peoples. For thousands of years the settled civilised peoples . . . seem to have developed their ideas and habits along the line of worship and personal subjection, and the nomadic peoples theirs along the line of personal self-reliance and self assertion. . . . It was only after thousands of years of cyclic changes between refreshment by nomadic conquest, civilisation, decadence, and fresh conquest that the present process of a mutual blending of "civilised" and "free" tendencies into a new type of community, that now demands our attention and which is the substance of contemporary history, began. (Chap. XXXV. s. 1.)

Now for the result of this "blending":—

. . . constantly recurring nomadic injections have steadily altered the primordial civilisation both in blood and spirit . . . the world religion of to-day, and what we now call democracy, the boldness of modern scientific enquiry, and a universal restlessness are due to this "nomadisation" of civilisation. The old civilisation created tradition, and lived by tradition. To-day the power of tradition is destroyed. The body of our state is civilisation still, but its spirit is the spirit of the nomadic world. It is the spirit of the great plains and the high seas. (Chap. XLI. s. 4.)

Surely no more fantastic theory as an explanation of modern society and its mental reflex was ever conceived. To show all its absurd implications would take more space than we can spare on such ridiculous nonsense. The confusion of Mr. Wells is shown by the way he brackets as effects of a common cause the "world religions," all of which are over a thousand years old, with modern scientific "enquiry" and "democracy," the achievements, so to speak, of the day before yesterday. The old civilisation did not create tradition. Tradition as a social force existed ten thousand years be-

fore any civilisation was dreamt of. It is in fact more potent by far among barbaric peoples than in any form of civilisation. The old civilisation used tradition and modified it for class purposes. It is so used to-day, and is far from being "destroyed."

If Mr. Wells can find no adequate explanation other than the above of the modern developments he mentions, we can provide him with one. The economic conditions of the primitive civilisations preserved in a modified form, and in fact were built upon, the old-established institutions of the patriarchal stage—the village community and the guilds—the very embodiments of tradition. Such indeed is the condition to-day in China and India, and such was largely the case in the manorial system of mediæval Europe.

But economic developments undermined the manorial system. Commerce and money payment freed the serf, destroyed the "village" and put in its place the free peasant and the capitalist farmer, produced eventually the propertyless wage working class on the one hand and the capitalist "manufacturer" on the other. Then the machine revolution in industry and transport brought us to the fully fledged capitalist system of to-day. These, broadly, were the factors, real concrete factors, not the Wellsian myth of "Nomadisation," which smashed the fetters of feudal tradition and created modern science and "democracy." As a matter of fact, in other parts of his book Mr. Wells, to a certain extent, actually shows the part which these economic developments played in bringing about the above ideological effects. Throughout the book the narrative of history is very much superior to the author's generalisations about it.

There have been no incursions of nomadic invaders into Western Europe for well over a thousand years. Would Mr. Wells, then, have us believe that this "spirit of Nomadism" has persisted through hereditary transmission and in an adverse environment during all these centuries and has actually increased beyond measure in the past hundred years!

(To be continued.)

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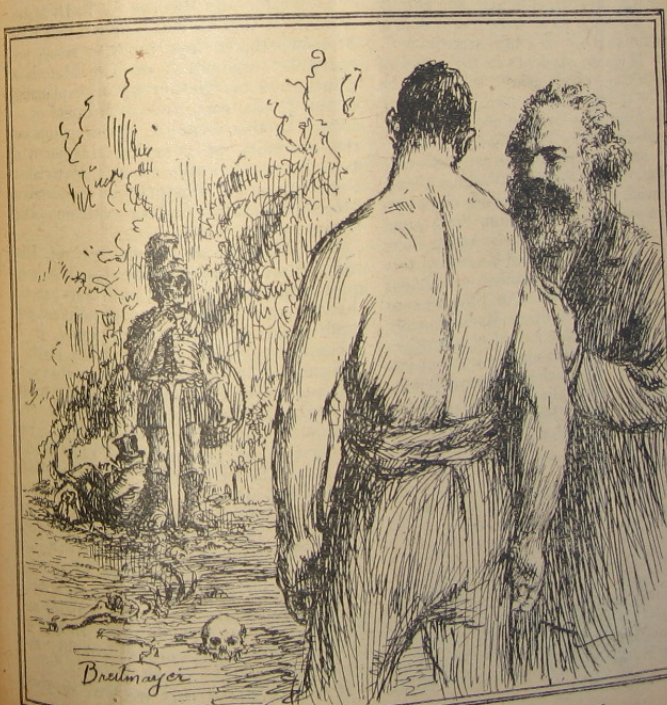
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- Wells' Outline of History By R. W. Housley.
- A "Tribute" to the Labor Party. A Governor's Function. Correspondence, Editorials, etc.



"ONE STROKE OF THY STRONG ARM, O LABOR"

August 7, 1921.

The PROLETARIAN

WHAT the Working Class Movement in Australia needs most is sound Marxian knowledge. We know that the opinion is freely expressed that revolutionary parties are held back because they are composed almost solely of theorists. We would say on the contrary that the movement is held back because of the scarcity in Australia of theorists. By theorists we do not mean those persons who simply absorb knowledge, and who use it to no advantage. If a person is in that condition his inactivity is surely a result of something other than his theoretical knowledge. Correct theory should lead to correct action, and is only of use inasmuch as it does, and it stands to reason that given a fair percentage of expert Marxian students in the ranks of the working class army, it would be a vastly different army; an army better equipped to carry out the necessary work of emancipation. For this purpose we would suggest that if we wish to take our place in the World's Working Class; if we wish to see the working class better equipped for its mission, there must be much more study-class work done throughout the length and breadth of this continent. The Communist movement has various study classes in different centres. There are also other Marxian study classes at work. We would urge readers where no party or no classes exist to immediately get in touch with possible students in their immediate locality, and see to it that a class is formed for the study of Marxian principles.

The All Australian Union Congress

In our last issue we stated that we hoped the decisions of the All Australia Union Congress would be thoroughly discussed. When the complete report is circulated it will be seen that the Congress was the first big Labor Congress

in Australia in which a Communist wing made itself felt. In that connection, and whilst discussing the report when it is published, it is well to remember that it is possible for an action to be perfectly safe line of tactics for a fairly developed, sound revolutionary movement, which, on the other hand, would be a disastrous line of tactics for a poorly developed and weak revolutionary movement, and that we, in Australia, have quite a task before us in the work of building a movement before it reaches the stage where it can be described as a fairly developed and sound revolutionary movement.

This Issue

IN this issue the first things we would draw attention to are the article by A. Stume and the one by B. H. Molesworth. It will be remembered that B. H. Molesworth, in last month's issue, preceded his exposition of The Materialist Conception of History by an explanation of the Dialectical view of life and of society. In this issue, A. Stume points out the necessity of grasping this point of view before a study of the Materialist Conception of History is undertaken. Molesworth also further explains Dialectics in this issue.

The Materialist Conception of History, of which we reprinted in last issue quotations from Engels and Marx, shows that for an understanding of political and intellectual history of a period, it is necessary to study the mode of production and exchange prevailing in that period, and again that the means of getting rid of the incongruities, etc., are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production. This shows the necessity of a study of the methods of wealth production and distribution, or economics, and in this connection we are pleased to report that in this issue we publish the first of a series of articles on economics. These articles are written by E. S. Hanks, one of Melbourne's best students of economics. The articles are all the more valuable because Hanks, in all his work, endeavors to simplify the subject as much as possible.

It will be noted that we have dropped

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the A.B.C. of Communism. This was done because of the realisation that the book is so big that we would be still publishing it in four or five years' time.

We have, however, taken from it the article in this issue, entitled "The Capitalist State," and will from time to time print extracts from the book.

The Capitalist State

By N. BUCHARIN and E. PREOBRSCHENSKY.

Capitalist society is, as we have seen, based upon the exploitation of the working-class. A small group of men are all-powerful. The majority of the working-class possess nothing. The capitalists give orders; the workers obey them. The capitalists exploit; the workers are exploited. The essence of capitalist society consists in this incessant, ever-growing exploitation.

Capitalist production is a veritable machine for the extraction of surplus-value. How has this machine been preserved so long? Why do the workers tolerate this state of affairs?

It is not easy to give an answer to these questions off-hand; but, broadly speaking, the cause is to be found, firstly, in the fact that organisation and power are in the hands of the bourgeois class; and, secondly, that the bourgeoisie control the minds of the working-class.

The most powerful weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the machinery of the State. In all capitalist countries the State is neither more nor less than a union of the capitalists, of the any country you like, England or the United States, France or Japan. Ministers, higher officials, etc., are everywhere capitalists, landlords, bankers, or their faithful, well-paid servants: lawyers, bank directors, professors, generals, and ecclesiastics.

The union of all these members of the bourgeoisie, which comprises the whole country and holds it in the hollow of its hand, is called the State. This organisation has two objects—first (and this is the chief one), to allay unrest amongst and suppress risings of the workers, and so ensure the undisturbed extraction of surplus-value from the working-class, and further secure the system of capital-

ist production; and, secondly, to fight similar organisations (that is, other bourgeois States) to prevent having to share the surplus-value thus extracted. The Capitalist State is, therefore, a union of capitalists, having for its object the maintenance of the system under which the workers are exploited. First and foremost, the activities of this robber group are directed to serving the interests of capital.

Against this description of the Capitalist State the following objections may be urged:—

You say that the State concerns itself solely with protecting the interests of capital. But consider. In all capitalist countries there are factory laws which prohibit or restrict child labour. The working day is much shorter than formerly. In Germany, for example, in the time of William II., there was a comparatively good system of workmen's insurance; in England the zealous bourgeois Minister, Lloyd George, introduced workmen's insurance and old-age pensions; in all bourgeois States hospitals and convalescent homes for workers have been established. Railways are built, upon which all, rich and poor, may travel; waterways are constructed, and in the towns sanitation arrangements are provided. These things are for the benefit of all. Therefore (it may be said), in those countries where capital rules, the State does not look after the interests of capital exclusively, but after those of the workers as well. The State even punishes, at times, capitalists when they infringe the factory laws.

Such answers are not convincing, and for the following reasons:—It is true that the bourgeois governing power sometimes passes laws and regulations which

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are useful to the working-class; but, nevertheless, these measures really serve the interests of the bourgeois themselves. Take, for example, the railways. They are used by the workers, but they also make use of the workers. They are not built at the desire of the workers. They are used by merchants and manufacturers for carrying their merchandise; they are used for the transport of troops, for taking workers to the scene of their labours, etc. Capital uses railways. It builds them, and thereby pursues its own aims. They are useful to the workers, but they are, nevertheless, built by the Capitalist State. Or let us take the cleansing of the towns, the so-called municipal "welfare work," and hospitals. The bourgeoisie pay attention to the working-class quarters. But the parts of the town in which the workers live are not so clean as the bourgeois districts. Disease finds in them a favourable breeding ground. Still, the bourgeoisie do something. Why? Simply because, if they did not, disease would become epidemic, and would spread over the whole town, and the bourgeoisie would suffer as well as the workers. It is evident, therefore, that here also the bourgeois State and its municipal machinery serve the interests of the bourgeoisie in the first place. Still another example. In France the workers learned during the last century from the bourgeoisie how to artificially limit families. They had either no children at all, or not more than two. The workers are so poor that it is very difficult, or almost impossible, to support a large family. The result is that the population of France is almost stationary. The French bourgeoisie wanted soldiers. They raised the alarm: "The nation is going to ruin! The Germans are increasing more quickly than we! They will have more soldiers!" It is noteworthy that the army was getting lower every year. The new soldiers were under-sized and weak-chested. All of a sudden the bourgeoisie became "generous." They began of themselves to press for improvements in

the condition of the worker, so that these would become physically fitter and would be able to bring more children into the world. The bourgeoisie had no desire to kill the goose that laid the golden egg.

In all these examples the bourgeoisie themselves enacted measures beneficial to the workers, and thereby followed their own interests. But there are also instances where these beneficial measures were passed by the bourgeoisie under pressure from the working-class. Such laws are numerous. Almost all the "factory laws" were passed in this way—through threats on the part of the workers. In England the first shortening of the working day (to ten hours) was achieved by pressure from the workers. In Russia the Czarist Government passed the first factory laws through fear of strikes and industrial unrest. The State, the enemy of the working-class, reasoned in this way: "It is better to give something to-day than to be compelled to give twice as much to-morrow, or to place our lives in jeopardy." Just as the manufacturers gave way to the strikers and agreed to give them part of what they demanded without ceasing to be manufacturers, so the bourgeois State does not cease to be bourgeois when, under the menace of industrial unrest, it flings a sop to the workers.

The Capitalist State is not only the greatest and most powerful organisation of the bourgeoisie, but also the most intricate. It has numerous divisions from which tentacles stretch out in all directions. And all this has for its main object the preserving of the right to exploit the working-class and to extend the area of exploitation. Against the working-classes brute force is used, as is also machinery for compassing their mental enslavement. These constitute the most important organs of the Capitalist State.

The machinery of brute force consists of the army, police and gendarmerie, prisons, courts of justice, and their auxiliaries—spies, agents-provocateur, organisations of strike-breakers, hired murderers, etc.

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The Basis of Our Philosophy

By A. STUME.

It was stated in last month's "Proletarian" that the basic proposition upon which Socialism, as a science, rests is that of the Materialist Conception of History. And, it might have been added, it is through a misunderstanding of this theory that so much "scientific" Socialism rests—in the ditch of dead dogma—instead of developing and adapting itself to new and continually changing circumstances and conditions. The vulgarised, emasculated form in which the Materialist Conception of History is commonly misunderstood is nothing but a dead pseudo-scientific formula as innocuous and innocent of revolutionary significance as its bastard brother, the Economic Interpretation of History, so much boosted by certain bourgeois professors like Lamprecht in Germany and Charles Beard, Edwin Seligman, Carlton Hayes, etc., of Columbia University, N.Y. Such historical erudition, such knowledge of Marxian theories as even a Kautsky or a Hyndman possesses, are now seen to be worse than useless to Socialism without the Marxian, the dialectic method of using them. For instance, there was a Socialist Party in Great Britain that was "so wise that it could hear the grass grow"; its Marxism was so pure and its conception of history so immaculate that it remained undefiled by facts, such as the development in England of a vast military machine and a huge bureaucracy; and thus it continued to hold as one of its "principles" the antique doctrine that "the machinery of government . . . may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation."

Marxism is a science, but it is a philosophy as well, and those "Marxists" who teach the Materialist Conception of History, or any other Marxian theory, and neglect the historical conception of materialism, dialectic materialism, thereby "omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul." And Lenin says, again:—

"Dialectics is replaced by eclectics—this is the most usual, the most widespread method used in the Social Democratic literature of our day. Such a substitution is, of course, not new; one can see it even in the history of classic Greek philosophy. In the process of camouflaging Marxism as Opportunism, the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the best method of deceiving the masses. It gives an illusory satisfaction. It seems to take into account all sides of the process, all the tendencies of development, all the contradictory factors and so forth; whereas, in reality, it offers no consistent revolutionary view of the process of social development at all."

Those "practical" Marxists, those rule-of-thumb revolutionaries who assert that the study of dialectic materialism is merely of remote academic interest, fit merely for intellectuals and "Katherinonly for Socialists," would surely be silenced if they would but study Lenin's "Leftism," or at least his very practical "Letter on Tactics," wherein he deals with

"those 'old Bolsheviks' who have more than once played a melancholy part in the history of our party, repeating mechanically a formula which they have learned by heart, instead of studying the special character of new and living reality. . . . This formula [the 'revolutionary and democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'] is already out of date. Life itself has brought it out of the domain of formulae into the domain of reality, has invested it with flesh and blood, has rendered it concrete, and

"State and Rev." p. 22.

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has thereby modified it. . . . For the present it is necessary to bear in mind this indisputable fact, that a Marxist must take account of real life, of the exact facts of reality, and not hang on to the tails of the theories of yesterday, which, like every theory, at best only outline the fundamental, the general, and do not come close enough to the complexities of life. 'Theory is grey, my friend, but green is the immortal tree of life.' (Italics Lenin's.)

Thus, it will be seen that the secret of Lenin's pre-eminence as a revolutionary leader lies in his complete mastery of the dialectic mode of thought which, in turn, makes him a master, instead of a slave, of Marxian theories.

Even when an attempt is made to explain the dialectic it is usually considered sufficient to recount a few hackneyed examples of natural and social evolution, and this is passed off as the proletarian philosophy! "But to Marx revolutionary dialectics was never the empty, fashionable phrase, the toy rattle, that Plekhanoff, Kautsky, and the others have made of it."[†] The dialectic is something more than a natural process; it is also a mental process, a method of thought. According to Engels—

"The dialectic is, as a matter of fact, nothing but the science of the universal laws of motion and evolution in nature, human society, and thought."

"An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men can, therefore, only be obtained by the methods of dialectics."[‡]

A mere formal acknowledgment that the subject-matter of a science is dialectical no more makes its method dialectic than did the materialistic content of the Hegelian philosophy make it other than idealistic.

Finally, this short extract from Anton Pannekoek's masterly essay on "The Position and Significance of Joseph Dietzgen's Philosophical Works" may serve to make it clear that the Materialist Conception of History itself requires—and has—a basis:—

"The science treating of the human mind forms the essence and foundation of this [the

[†]"State and Revolt," p. 46.

[‡]"Landmarks."

[§]"Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

Marxian] theory of society and man, not only because it gives us, in the same way as do the natural sciences, a scientific or experience-proven theory of the function of human thinking, but, also, because this theory of cognition can alone assure us that such sciences are able to furnish us an adequate picture of the world, and that anything outside of them is mere fantasy. For this reason we owe to Dietzgen's theory of cognition the firm foundation of our world-philosophy.

"Its character is primarily materialistic. In contradiction to the idealist systems of the most flourishing time of German philosophy which considered the Mind as the basis of all existence, it starts from concrete materialist being. Not that it regards mere physical matter as its basis; it is, rather, opposed to the crude bourgeois materialism, and matter to it means everything which exists and furnishes material for thought, including thoughts and imaginations. Its foundation is the unity of all concrete being. Thus it assigns to the human mind an equal place among the other parts of the universe; it shows that the mind is as closely connected with all the other parts of the universe as those parts are among themselves; that is to say, the mind exists only as a part of the entire universe so that its content is only the effect of the other parts.

"Thus our philosophy forms the theoretical basis of historical materialism. While the statement that 'the consciousness of man is determined by his social life' could hitherto at best be regarded as a generalisation of many historical facts and thus seemed imperfect and open to criticism, capable of improvement by later discoveries, the same as all other scientific theories, henceforth the complete dependence of the mind on the rest of the world becomes as impregnable and immutable a requirement of thought as causality."

"Ordnained right is not satisfied to serve as the right of this time, this nation or country, this class or caste. It wants to dominate the whole world, wants to be absolute right, just as if a certain pill could be absolute medicine, could be good for everything. It is the mission of progress to repulse this assumption, to pluck this peacock feather out of the tail of the rooster, by leading mankind on beyond the boundaries prescribed by ordained law, by extending the world for him, by conquering for his cramped interest a wider liberty."—J. Dietzgen.

August 7, 1921.

All Australian Union Congress

By J. S. GARDEN

The All Australian Trade Union Congress has been the centre of great criticism the last few weeks. Before the Congress many of the vanguard were bitterly opposed to any militants attending the Conference, and during the Conference some of them were denouncing all that was being done. The Capitalist press, on the other hand, were very much interested in the Conference, and were convinced that the reds had captured it.

The opinion I gathered was that the majority of the delegates were fully convinced in their own minds that the policy of the militants was only a gospel of "Blood and Barricades," with the result that we had, right from the commencement of the Conference, to bog right in and give them the policy of the Communist party from various view points, which clearly demonstrated that the Communists had a policy of action.

The first struggle was over the objective, "Socialisation of industries, distribution and exchange." The Communists stated that they did not object to the objective, but what they wanted to know was how were they going to accomplish it? Socialisation of industry, we stated, was now a popular phrase, and anybody and everybody were using the term, and all were claiming it as their policy, whether they were bourgeois, petit bourgeois, or Labor Party. We wanted them to declare their policy, and how they were going to accomplish their objective. The majority were afraid that a too militant policy would frighten the people, and to declare for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was out of the question.

Notwithstanding that all the resolutions carried at the Conference bears the imprint of the moderate section of the Conference, who had an overwhelming majority of delegates at the Conference, the work accomplished was greater than the most sanguine of the militants expected.

In spite of the theoretically incorrect light thrown by the Conference on the questions submitted, and the bias toward

reform methods, the Conference played an important role in the unification of the Trade Union Movement in Australia. The Conference declared for industrial unionism, and the industrial policy, if carried into effect, will do much to assist the proletarian movement, and it also acted as a barometer to the revolutionary movement, showing how far even the moderate section were moving to the left.

The carrying of resolutions, which included the establishment of the Labor Research and Information Bureau on a Commonwealth basis, and also the extension of Labor Colleges, clearly indicated that they desired to take a step forward.

The Conference, in my opinion, on the whole, was fairly good, and many of the resolutions carried will have a far-reaching effect.

The discussion on the resolutions of the Conference will do much to clarify the thought of the vanguard of the working class movement, for at the present time every militant section has a different policy on tactics, therefore, at the conclusion of the various State Conferences, which are being called to consider the resolutions of Conference, the vanguard will be able to agree on the best tactics for the revolutionary movement, and be able to propagate among the masses revolutionary doctrine as never before. That to my mind should be the only thing that we should give consideration to.

"In Russia there is just one privileged class: the children.—"Soviet Russia."

"The interests of the ruling class are always for a certain time in harmony with the interests of the community, that is, with the progressive forces of civilisation. . . . When the economic interests of the ruling class cease to be in harmony with the general welfare, when the ruling class loses its functions and falls into decay, then its leaders can only save their predominant position by hye-pocrisy; their phraseology has been emptied of all reality."—J. Dietzgen.

August 7, 1921.

Simple Lessons in Economics

By E. S. HANKS.

[In the following lessons a brief and, as far as the writer can make them, simple outline of the main features of Marxian Economics will be presented. Each article will be complete in itself, and no previous knowledge of the subject by the reader is required to follow these lessons.]

I.

"COMMODITY" AND "MARKET."

The first thing to understand is what is called in economics a "commodity." And a few words will dispose of this.

A commodity is something useful (a use-value) of any kind which is made to be sold or exchanged. The best test of a commodity is to ask yourself—Was this article made to be sold (to be put on the market)? If, "Yes," then it is a commodity. If it is not made for sale, but made for the personal use of the maker, i.e., a hat or a skirt or a pair of boots, then such an article, not being made for sale or exchange, is goods, but not a commodity. The science of economics deals only with commodities, **not with goods.** It deals with things made to be bought and sold. This is called, in economics, "being put on the market."

Remember, the term "market" does not mean a building like the Sydney or Melbourne market. Market, when used in economics, means the whole of the buying and selling done in the whole community. World-market means the whole of the buying and selling done throughout the whole world.

Chairs are commodities on the market, so are diamonds, bread, oats, wheat, gold, and labour-power. Workers sell something to employers. It is their strength and knowledge to do certain work. When a man seeks work, he puts his labour-power on what is called the labour market, i.e., puts his strength and ability as a carpenter, navy, clerk, etc., up for sale at a certain sum of money per day. Never forget that labour-power is a commodity.

VALUE.

If you go into any shop, you will notice that the various commodities which may be obtained are of different

values. Why are not a pair of boots, a piano, a chair, and a bar of soap of equal value? Why is the piano worth so many hundreds of bars of soap?

You know that to make all of these commodities men and women have to work. Every day countless thousands go to various kinds of work, producing the articles sold in the shops. And it is because labour (work) is spent in making these articles, and because some take longer to make than others (have more labor-time in their production) that they have different values to one another. If it took the same time to make each of the articles in a grocer's shop (right from start to finish), then each would be the same value—would exchange alike. These articles, then, have different values because different amounts of labour were spent in producing them. But the above statement though correct, needs to be more definite. Marx says, "The value of a commodity is determined by the **average amount of socially necessary labour embodied in its production.**" (See "Value, Price and Profit," chap. 6.) Here we see Marx has not only said the **amount of labour** taken to make the commodity, but **average socially necessary labour.**

"Average" simply means the ordinary time required, that is, if a workman turned out one a little quicker and one a little slower than the average, these particular ones would be no different value to the general mass—to the average. It is the average time taken in production that determines value.

"Socially necessary labour" means working with modern machinery and methods. That is to say, if one tried to produce steel with the machinery and methods used 50 years ago, they could not possibly produce it as cheaply as the ordinary firms making it now. More

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labour would be in the steel than would be socially necessary. If someone were foolish enough to go out in the bush with a saw and a plane, and after months of labour produce a table equal to one of in a city shop, he would find it to be of no more value (notwithstanding all his extra labour) than the machine-produced one. His labour would not be "**socially necessary,**" and it is only socially necessary labour (labour with up-to-date appliances) that counts in determining the value of anything. It takes a very little labour-time (on the average) to produce a ton of road metal, but it takes a great deal of labour-time to produce a ton of gold. For this reason only, the ton of road metal is of much less value than the ton of gold. A good illustration was given in the Melbourne "Age" of Saturday, July 2nd, 1921, in an article, "The Stupendous Possibilities of the Atom," where it says: "Radium is weight for weight 150,000 times more valuable than gold." And then we read why—viz., the amount of labour spent on its production. It says: "Practice has shown that one ton of ore will seldom deliver more than six or seven milligrams of the radium element or an amount of radium no larger than the size of a pin's head. One authority figures that, including coal water and chemicals, the producers must handle more than 50,000 tons of raw material to produce an ounce of the precious radium metal. No such effort has ever before been required to produce a spoonful of any single element."

This is certainly an enormous expenditure of labour-time, and should some new supply be obtained with less labour, then the value of radium would fall correspondingly.

We can thus say of commodities, the more socially necessary labour-time in their production, the greater their value; their production, the smaller their value. Introducing machinery and new and better ways of producing them make commodities less valuable (less labour-time in their production). Most commodities are falling in value to-day for this reason. Everyone can think of some new machine introduced in his

trade during the past ten years. These machines tend to reduce the value of commodities. We shall see in a later lesson why "Prices" are not falling, too.

Note.—Any questions relating to the lessons will be answered by the writer, but under no circumstances will questions on points outside of the lessons be dealt with. Address all inquiries to "The Proletarian."

A GOVERNOR'S FUNCTION.

We reprint here below, the report as published in the Melbourne "Argus," 25/7/21, of a speech delivered by the Governor of N.S.W. We offer no comment. None is needed. Could the Governor have spoken more truly?

TRAVELLERS AND TRADE.

Governor on John Bull and Co.

SYDNEY, Sunday.—Speaking at the annual dinner of the Commercial Travellers Association, His Excellency the Governor (Sir Walter Davidson), said:—"I am a traveller for John Bull and Co.—(laughter)—head offices, London, and with many branches. We have been having a little trouble in the firm at home, and the output has diminished—(laughter)—but business is still very considerable. There was some difficulty recently with the rival firm of Kaiser Wilhelm and Co., but they are now defunct. They owe us some money still, and I understand there are promises of sixpence in the pound. (Laughter.) In all parts of New South Wales our customers are very sound. They are approached occasionally by representatives of other firms. Bolshevism and Co.—(laughter)—is one, but these men do not belong to this association—(laughter)—and so far as I know, they have not yet found a customer." (Applause.)

IS THE CAPITALIST NECESSARY?

The South Australian Premier said that Labor leaders were still preaching that Labor was entitled to the whole product of industry. (There should be a case for libel in this.) (Capitalist, Quite possibly Mr. Barwell meant to Capital, the means of production. If so, by Capital, the means of production, Labor can do without the means of production. It is because those means of production are essential to Labor the working class to own them. laborers want the working class to own them. If, on the contrary, Mr. Barwell meant that the Capitalist was essential to Labor as Labor is to the Capitalist, then what about all those South Australian industries owned by foreign and interstate capitalists, who have never in any way contributed to the working of those industries? Some of them have never placed foot in South Australia. Does not this fact prove how unnecessary the Capitalist really is? In short, the Capitalist cannot live without Labor, but Labor, on the contrary, will begin to live when it gets rid of the Capitalist.

The Dialectic

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

In the realm of philosophy Marx and Engels had two sets of immediate predecessors, the eighteenth century French and English philosophers, who combined a metaphysical with a materialist view of life, and the German philosopher, Hegel, who formulated a philosophy which combined the dialectic view with philosophic idealism. In these, the dialectic is the opposite to the metaphysical view, and philosophic idealism is the opposite to philosophic materialism. There were then (1) on the one hand Dialectics + philosophic idealism opposed (2) on the other hand to Metaphysics + philosophic materialism. From these two sets of philosophers, Marx and Engels selected the dialectics from Hegel, and combined it with philosophic materialism. In doing so, they transformed the materialism of the eighteenth century, into a more scientific conception.* Engels points out the many limitations and the "unhistoric conception" of the "overwhelming mechanical" materialism of the eighteenth century.

The philosophy of scientific socialism, then, contains the dialectic and a new philosophic materialism. Examining these two in turn, let us take, first, the dialectic which, in essence, is evolution. All life is a continuous development. Everything moves, changes, is in process of growth or of decay. To the metaphysician, on the contrary, all things are isolated, disconnected and fixed, they cannot change one to another. A thing exists or it does not. It is good or it is bad. It is right or it is wrong. Capitalism exists or it does not. What exists can be suddenly abolished and replaced by its opposite. But the dialectic philosophy points out that these absolute statements cannot be made about anything. All things change. What apparently exists is changing every minute. It is, for example, either gaining or losing in vitality. So, what

*See Engels, "Feuerbach," p. 65.

to-day is true may in future be false; what to-day is good may in future be bad; just as what to-day is right was, at some time, wrong. Nature leaves nothing the same without change. Even I, as I breathe, am changing. After a span of years, my whole body will be new, and yet at the two periods, to-day and, say, seven years hence, they are not two disconnected bodies. It is the same body all the time, but it gradually changes. Time changes any condition to its opposite. Time falsifies any statement. Time negates a negation. That is to say, one thing disappears, but as it disappears, it directly causes something else to replace it. Therefore, it still lives, even though it has gone.

For example, a grain of wheat which falls on suitable soil and receives the influence of heat and moisture, germinates. The grain disappears, it is negated. But in its place there arises a plant which is the negation of the grain, yet the life which was in the grain still lives in different form in the plant. This plant grows, blossoms, and produces an ear containing many grains of wheat. As soon as these grains are ripe, the plant dies, it is negated in its turn. But in its place there remain the many grains of wheat. The life which once was in the grain, and which passed into the plant, has now, increased in quantity, gone into the many grains. The form or covering of that life has changed twice. The grain was, was not, and now exists again in increased quantity. Many grains in the one ear replace the one grain sown as seed; also, in every repetition of this process, if under the guidance of a skilled farmer, there is a tendency slightly to improve the quality of the grain. This tendency to improvement is seen, perhaps, more clearly in flowers. So with insects, the egg is hatched and the worm negates the egg. But the life which was in the egg still lives in the worm, even though the form in

which it lived has been negated. So the chrysalis negates the worm, and the moth negates the chrysalis. Finally, the moth lays many eggs. These eggs negate the moth, which dies. The life which was in the original egg has gone through a cycle of forms, and now, after a series of negations, lives in egg form again. But there are now many eggs. The process has increased the original egg in quantity and also, if under skilled guidance, displays a tendency to improve the original egg in quality.

Everything in nature changes in this way through cycles of negations. So man, as an individual, has developed through long ages of time. The evolution of man was demonstrated by Darwin in 1859. But ten years before that date Marx and Engels had demonstrated that man in groups—that is to say, society—has evolved in the same way. What Darwin did in Biology, Marx and Engels did in Sociology. From their investigations, they concluded that systems of society have developed, each growing out of the previous one. One social system succeeds another in a series of endless evolution. For example, primitive communism gave place to other systems, but, as a form in which the life of society functions, communism will appear again. And, as in the examples given above from lower nature, the future communism will be on a larger material basis, and will be of better quality than the original communism. In fact, in this respect of improvement, human society is more favoured than the lower portions of nature. Whereas the latter display a tendency to a certain degree of improvement under skilled guidance, human society can improve to an infinite degree until it approaches perfection. "These animal approaches perfection." "These animal men," says Engels, "had one quality beyond the other animals—perfectibility."†

No system of society, then, is stationary, neither is it suddenly replaced by some other system, embodying new ideas. Human society, like all sections of nature, is ever-changing and evolving. So also human thought develops

†Engels, "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," p. 171.

and improves. At the present time we are only at the threshold of human history, and the human mind has not developed any great intelligence. Knowledge is very limited, and our capacity for stating absolute truths is almost negligible. Even in the so-called exact sciences, like mathematics, physics, and chemistry, new experiences prove false those statements which formerly were thought to be true. In the sciences which examine living organisms, such as botany and biology, etc., frequent new discoveries force scientists to alter their conclusions. And these sciences offer more scope for arriving at truth than the social sciences. In organic nature—with the plants, animals, etc.—we can examine conditions which change very slowly, and which repeat themselves comparatively accurately (e.g., the grain referred to above). But, in social science—that is to say, the science which investigates man in relation to his fellows—we never have time to study in detail any one set of conditions, because those conditions change so quickly. Moreover, repetitions seldom occur, and even when they do, they occur under totally different conditions. For example, in a different country, or under different methods of production, etc. History never exactly repeats itself, and we can never argue that because certain things happened in a particular way in one country, under one set of conditions, they will happen in the same way in another country, under another set of conditions. For these reasons, then, social science is less exact than other sciences, and our capacity for arriving at general truths and absolute statements is less than in other sciences. Imagine, therefore, the folly of the utopians, with their final truths, their conceptions of absolute social right and justice, with their final and perfect social systems, their utopias which they would base upon their absolute principles!

The dialectic, "the science of the universal laws of motion and evolution in nature, human society and thought,"‡

‡Engels, "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," p. 173.

The Outline of History by H. G. Wells

A Criticism: by R. W. Housley
(Reprinted from "The Socialist Standard.")

Mr. Wells' account of the French Revolution makes good dramatic reading, here and there getting down to realities, but for the most part it is superficial. He gives a sympathetic account of the Jacobins and a fairly rational account of the "Terror." He is particularly to be commended upon his repudiation of the malicious lies with which most "historians" have slandered the fine personality of Marat. But nowhere does he tell us that the paramount factor which determined the nature, course and outcome of the revolution was the class interests of the bourgeoisie. The present writer strongly recommends to the student what is easily the best recent and popular contribution to this subject, "The French Revolution," by H. Packwood Adams, a book with a viewpoint almost Marxist. In it we read: "The only clear and ruthless purpose existed in the brains of the middle class. . . . The removal of seigniorial oppressions and of administrative chaos were a necessary part of the economic plans of the men of commerce; . . . the main advantage of the Revolution went to those long-headed capitalists whose destiny it has since been to make the nineteenth century Europe the factory of the world, and indirectly and unwillingly forge what may well become the iron cradle of a more gigantic democracy than the world has known. These people knew what they wanted, and got what they wanted, but the getting was harder than they knew." (P. 27-27.)

Those who have read that remarkable little book, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," will remember how Marx states, in his opening paragraphs, that all great historic personages occur twice—once as tragedy and once as farce—and that when men are engaged in revolutionising things and themselves they conjure up the spirits of the past, assume their names and costumes to enact a new historic scene in a time-honored disguise and with borrowed language.

No better illustration of Marx's generalisation could be forthcoming than that Mr. Wells gives when dealing with Napoleon Bonaparte:—

His coronation was the most extraordinary revival of stale history it is possible to imagine; Cæsar was no longer the model; Napoleon was playing now at being Charlemagne. . . . the Pope had been brought from Rome to perform the ceremony; and at the climax Napoleon I. seized the crown, waved the Pope aside, and crowned himself. The attentive reader of this Outline will know that a thousand years before this would have had considerable significance; in 1804 it was just a ridiculous scene. In 1806 Napoleon revived another venerable antiquity, and following still the footsteps of Charlemagne, crowned himself with the iron crown of Lombardy. (Chap. XXXXIII. s. 4.)

Mr. Wells gives two useful quotations from Napoleon's writings on the political use of religion: "How can you have order in a State without religion? Society cannot exist without inequality of fortunes, which cannot endure apart from religion. When one man is dying of hunger near another who is ill of surfeit, he cannot resign himself to this difference, unless there is an authority which declares—'God wills it thus: there must be rich and poor in the world; but hereafter and during all eternity the division of things will take place differently.'" "It is my wish to re-establish the institution for foreign missions; for the religious missionaries may be very useful to me in Asia, Africa, and America, as I shall make them reconnoitre all the lands they visit. The sanctity of their dress will not only protect them, but serve to conceal their political and commercial investigations." ("Ibid," s. 3.)

Napoleon, like all intelligent rulers and politicians, knew the value of superstition as an instrument of class subjection, but few of his kind have stated it so clearly. For this very reason, as Mr. Wells points out, he had opposed religion as a freethinker when he was a youthful revolutionary Jacobin.

(To be continued.)

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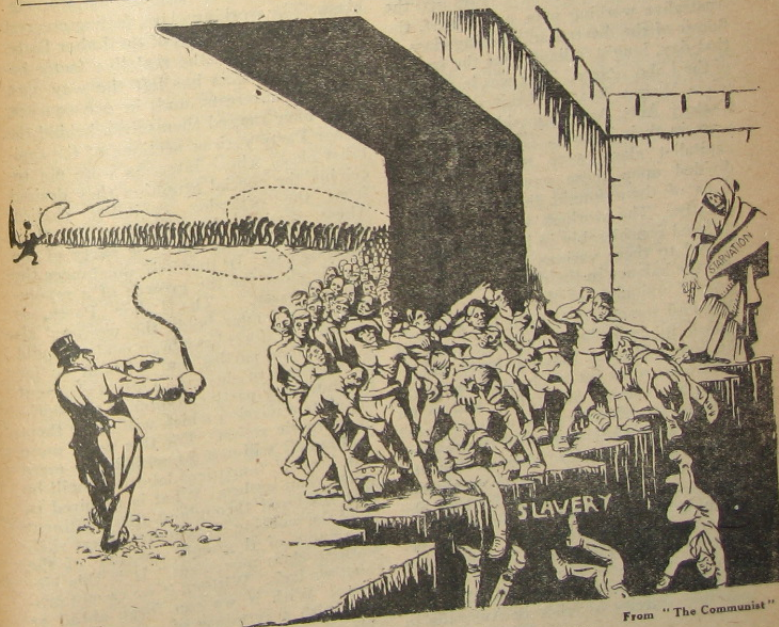
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- Correspondence, Editorials, etc.



From "The Communist"

BLACK FRIDAY—BLACK EVERYDAY!

Sept. 7, 1921.

The
PROLETARIAN

The Australian Movement

WE have in this country all the elements bar one which make for the development in the near future of a revolutionary party of considerable influence. The Australian Labor Party no longer has the wholehearted support of the working-class. True, the workers in large numbers still vote Labor, but for a variety of reasons other than a belief in the efficacy of Labor in Parliament as an agency for the betterment of social conditions. Twelve, fifteen and twenty years ago the Australian working man, or, at least, the flower of the Australian working-class of that day, fought valiantly for the success of the Labor Party. This was in the days when Wages Boards, Arbitration Acts, Factory Acts, Apprenticeship Laws, etc., were in their infancy. The ranks of the capitalist class were still very much divided upon these questions and sections of them fought their introduction bitterly. The workers who had earlier suffered considerably in industrial battles looked to these various measures to adjust the balance in their favor, and the organised unionists of the country, feeling they had something to fight for, could be roused to enthusiasm over the cause of the Labor Party. Staunch trade unionists would work for the love of the cause through all kinds of weather and at all hours in the effort to attain victory at the polls. And what scenes of enthusiasm marked the approach of election day, and with what interest did large crowds await the posting of the returns! But the situation has changed. The measures which ranged the organised workers behind the Labor Party have become more or less a feature of the capitalist system. Their arrival was hastened by the comparative scarcity of labor in Australia in

the years immediately preceding the war. But they were as inevitable here as they have proved, and are being proved, to be in all advanced capitalist countries. The policy which the Labor Party stood for, and which won for it the enthusiastic support of large masses of the workers, now adorns the statute books of the land. No longer can the working man be persuaded to throw himself wholeheartedly into the fight for Labor, and no longer do we witness extreme elation in working-class circles at the success of Labor candidates. In consequence, we have a party under the name of Labor, and one called Nationalist, each striving to obtain the support of members of "all classes," and with platforms in which even with the aid of a microscope one would fail to find anything of material value to the working-class. The working-class, feeling no great interest in the success of the Labor Party, has ceased to be the real live factor behind them. This has left the way open for other interests, and, in consequence, there have ranged themselves behind the Labor Party various sections of the capitalist class, whose interests were not receiving the special attention they desired from the orthodox capitalist parties. These sections have thrown in their weight behind the one-time party of the workman. In these circumstances the road is clear for the growth of a revolutionary party. The Labor Party, as Labor, no longer holds the workers' allegiance. Efforts have been made to build other Labor parties, but without so far any measure of success. Only a clear-cut revolutionary party can offer to the working-class a mission which will rouse them to energetic action. For this work mere "militants" will not be sufficient; mere "hot-heads," "impatient laborites" will be worse than useless. What is required is, that scattered throughout this continent in all the working-class centres there shall be groups of thorough students of the working-class movement. It is this element we lack. Without it we cannot progress. With it we can forge ahead at once with a certainty of progressive development towards our goal.

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This Issue

This month's issue contains the first of a series of articles by B. H. Molesworth on History. Those who have read the lucid articles from the same pen in recent issues will welcome this series. The first one, entitled "Why Study Social History?" contains the following words, which adequately show the value of these articles: "From the experiences of the past we can gain useful knowledge which we can apply to the present, and to the future." If the revolutionary movement of Australia is to take its place in the political life of this country, we cannot have too much study of the big events and movements of the past.

Another instalment on Economics, by E. S. Hanks, appears, in which the reader is taken a step forward in an analysis of the economics of capitalism. It cannot be too greatly stressed, that while a knowledge of philosophy is of tremendous importance for an understanding of the basis of our movement, and history because it will help us to correct action, a study of economics is also essential, so that we shall have a thorough understanding of the operations of the present system, which we are endeavouring to abolish. Amongst other articles of interest is one by H. W. Haynes, of South Africa, on the colored question. The article was written on the suggestion of Casey, who, with Bill Smith, passed through South Africa on the road to Moscow. Haynes says that Smith was much struck with what he saw of colored labor in South Africa, and to an extent which tended to modify his views on the White Australia question.

"FROM MARX TO LENIN."

The above is the title of a book written by Morris Hillquit, the American Socialist. It is an exceptionally well-written and most interesting study of the Russian Revolution, and the views with which its advent has been accompanied.

The whole subject is well dealt with, and the book should be read by all working-class students.

"AN A.B.C. OF WORKING-CLASS PHILOSOPHY."

The new pamphlet of the above title by B. H. Molesworth is about the best introductory pamphlet to the study of Socialist Principles, and as such destined to fill a long-felt want.

Its size made impossible the full discussion of the subject, but the author has done this in a bigger book, to be published later. The larger work is really an expansion of the points made in the pamphlet.

It is interesting to note that another W.E.A. lecturer's book, "Karl Marx and Modern Thought," by G. V. Portus, gets a leading article of favorable comment from the Melbourne "Argus," whilst the favorable comment on Molesworth's pamphlet is to be found in working-class papers only.

CHARLIE REEVES.

Before this issue is in circulation we believe J. B. King will have been released. Let us not forget Charlie Reeves. The release of King should see the birth of a release movement for Charlie Reeves.

TOM BARKER.

Tom Barker was to be at the Red Trade Union Congress in Moscow in July, representing unionists of Argentine and Uruguay. In a letter Tom mentions that Joe McCue died at Greenock in April. He also mentions Quinton is doing three months in Hull. "My experience is that the I.W.W. is right, and I am going on with it," he says.

"The revolt against existing government is always right in the eyes of the rebels, always wrong in the opinion of the attacked. No action can be absolutely right or wrong."—J. Dietzgen.

"A law is originally dictated by some individual need, and then mankind with its universal needs is supposed to balance itself on the thin rope of this one rule."—J. Dietzgen.

Sept. 7, 1921.

Why Study Social History?

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

What is history? It is the story of evolution. Universal history includes Geology—the story of the formation of the earth's crust; Botany—the story of the growth of the earth's plants; Biology—the story of the development of the earth's animals; Sociology—the story of the development in society of the earth's chief animal, man.

Social history, then, is not a list of dates nor an account of kings. It is not even the story of a few great men. It is certainly not merely an account of wars and battles. It is the story of the development of men and women in society from age to age. It includes a description of the life of the people in each period, and an account of the development of that life from period to period. Especially should it take account of the causes of that social development and its direction.

Progressive development, evolution, has been found in all spheres of history. Darwin discovered evolution in Biology. Marx and Engels discovered evolution in sociology. Society has continuously changed and progressed ever since the most highly-developed animal came down from the trees and became man. Now, Marx and Engels not only discovered social evolution, they showed the cause of it. The cause of all changes in society is to be found, they pointed out, in the changing material conditions of society. That is to say, the material environment of man has continuously changed and forced man to adapt his social organisation to his changed material environment.

For primitive man, his material environment was mainly geography—the climate, the vegetation, the wild animals, the proximity to the sea, etc. Moreover, change in geographical features is very slow and therefore society in primitive times progressed at snail's pace. These physical features obviously form part of the material conditions of any people. But physical features form the part of

man's material conditions which has decreased in importance as the centuries have advanced. When man invented the first tool a new section of material conditions appeared. The first tool was a means of production, and from the time of its invention till now the instruments of production have increased in quantity, in capacity, and in complexity. To-day these means of production form a very complex industrial system for the production, distribution, and exchange of the necessities of life. But just because this industrial system is so vast, it to-day forms the chief section of man's material conditions. Therefore it is chiefly changes in the industrial system which cause changes to follow in the rest of the social system. Changes in the means and methods of production have for many centuries been the chief cause of all social change and progress.

Man cannot live without certain necessities. To obtain these necessities is vital. All other activities and other institutions of man must not only not obstruct the methods of obtaining these necessities, but also they must, as far as possible, assist those methods. Therefore, when man's industrial methods change, all other activities and institutions of society have also to change so that they may not obstruct, and so that, if possible, they may help the new necessary methods of production.

To understand the life of a people at any period, then, we must understand the methods of production of that period and see how the whole life of the people was adapted to suit those methods. To understand the changes in the life of the people from period to period, we must know the changes in the methods of production which caused the changes in all the other activities of society.

But why bother studying social history at all? Because from the experiences of the past we can gain useful knowledge which we can apply to the present and

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to the future. The personality or character of each individual is the result of experience. Whose experience? The experience of himself and of his ancestors. That is to say, it is the result of environment and of heredity. So also is the character of society the result of the experiences of its present and past environment. In order, therefore, to understand society to-day, it is necessary to understand the experiences of the past. Particularly is it necessary to understand the direction of past social development, so that we human agents in our endeavors to improve social conditions will apply our energies in the right direction. If we do not know and understand the tendencies of natural development we will only waste our endeavors, because activities outside of the bounds set by material conditions and opposed to the general direction of social evolution, will be useless. Social progress, as has been pointed out, develops along certain lines determined by nature. If we do not understand those lines we are struggling in the dark.

But especially should the workers to-day study history, because they are the human agents through whom the next step forward in human progress must be made. Since the development of private property in the means of production, society has been divided into classes, and the social progress which has been made necessary by the developing means of production has come through the agency of the subject classes engaged in a struggle with the master class in each period. With the proletariat, therefore, to-day lies the task of carrying through the next forward step. To enable it better to become conscious of its class mission it should study social history. In order thoroughly to understand the significance of its mission it should know just what place this next step forward will fill in the whole of social history. In order to understand the causes making this next social revolution necessary, it should study history. In order to understand the direction which its efforts should take, it should study the whole trend of evolution. In order to gain some facts upon which to base its ideas of the methods by

which it should struggle to fulfil its mission, it should study the examples of social revolution in the social history of the past.

In prehistoric days, primitive man evolved slowly through savagery and barbarism to civilisation. The way in which the slowly-changing material conditions of those early humans caused their gradual social progress forms an instructive page in sociology. But it is not that which we are here going to relate. This series of articles on industrial history will begin with the period of feudalism.

As far as Western (European) civilisation is concerned there have been three main systems of society—primitive communism, feudalism and capitalism. We know very little in detail about primitive communism. There was no private ownership of the means of production, and therefore there were no class divisions. The work was performed co-operatively, and the product was pooled for the use of the small community. The material conditions, of course, determined the whole social system. All their political institutions, for example, were built upon a co-operative basis. There was a general assemblage of all persons to make arrangements for the good of the small community. But although there were no class divisions there were innumerable tribal divisions. As the food to be obtained by hunting diminished and as population grew, tribes proceeded to fight for the right to use hunting grounds. This led to the evolution of military leaders. Later, as tribes resorted to a new means of obtaining food, namely agriculture, the practice of private property for various reasons also grew. Naturally those who were military leaders had authority over the other members of each small group. They, owing to their military power, were able gradually to take chief advantage of the growing practice of private property, and to exclude most others from any share in such property.

By the time we have much knowledge of history in Europe a new social system, feudalism, was in being. It was based upon the economic foundation of the private ownership of land. Feudalism, then, was a social system based upon the priv-

ate ownership of land when land was the chief means of production. It existed more or less generally over Europe during the Middle Ages ("middle" because they formed the period in the middle between the ancient and the modern worlds). In examining feudalism and its change into capitalism it is as well to confine the investigation to one country. By thus confining our view we can investigate the historical development in more detail and with clearer understanding.

Of the possible countries it is probably best to examine the system in England,

The Color Question in South Africa

By HARRY W. HAYNES.

South Africa, with its peculiar problems, is an interesting study for Communists. A vast country, with almost unlimited potentialities, rich in mineral wealth, and with a wonderful climate, holding on the one hand a large population of natives living in a condition of tribal communism and from that condition brought directly into capitalism's industrial mill as wage-earners, to return to the "kraal" after a longer or shorter period of wage-slavery; and, on the other hand, a small population of whites which has overgrown its functions of overseer and disciplinarian, causing it to blindly attempt to prevent the natural evolution of an intelligent and virile race, eminently fitted to survive, by perpetuating useless and ridiculous "colour bars" in industry; bars which to-day are "more observed in the breach than in the observance." Rapidly indeed has the "white m'lungu" lost his status, and, as he descends, colour prejudice becomes more inflamed and bitter—a circumstance taken full advantage of by capital, which is, of course, merely a very ordinary application of bourgeois state-craft.

To get to the root of South Africa's "colour question" it is necessary to outline briefly the process of normal development, so classically illustrated in this

because in the first place the social system in Australia has been a projection of that in Britain, and, secondly, because in Britain the process of change from feudalism to capitalism, and the development of capitalism, have proceeded more gradually. Because it has proceeded gradually, the various phases of the development can be better examined.

This series of articles, then, on Social History will trace chiefly that history in Britain.

[For further reading: Mark Starr, "A Worker Looks at History" (pp. 1-14).]

country. As a mere outpost of Holland the Cape of Good Hope was not of great significance, but later, when British Imperialism took a hand, development proceeded along stereotyped lines at an amazing rate. In forcing its civilisation and method of Government upon a more backward race, with different ideals and aspirations, and totally unfit as yet to govern under the strange form, it was essential to establish an "overseering" caste of whites, which should act as disciplinarians and technical teachers of the lower race, to the end that the wealth of the conquered country could be obtained with ever-increasing efficiency. This overseering white caste, then, was established and, protected by white man's forces and means of suppression and oppression, rapidly absorbed the psychology necessary to the schemes of the ruling class across the seas. It considered itself totally different and superior to the conquered race. It grew contemptuous of the "nigger," and a tradition grew up which caused certain forms of toil to be considered wholly and solely "kaffir work," while the white destiny was considered to be that of an immortal privileged caste or, as the late Sir George Farrar expressed it, "aristocrats of labor."

For a time the country was a white

man's paradise. The native was content to remain a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the "baas," whose function it was to direct operations in a clean linen suit, judge any misdemeanour, and occasionally have a rebellion to impress the white man's superiority upon the native mind. Circumstances were degenerating in their ease, and the overseering caste increased rapidly in numbers. Concurrently with this the requirements for capitalistic expansion and progress advanced the natives tremendously. They learnt more and more technique, they learned even to read and write, and a number reached a point of progress which raised them to the level, technically, of the overseer himself. Native colleges were established, and it was remarked that the native could assimilate bourgeois education and pass matriculation examinations with less trouble than white students. They commenced to have aspirations of their own and took keen interest in their daily work as helper to the white man, or, to use a South African phrase, "semi-skilled" laborers. In short, they became, in larger and larger numbers, able and willing to do the "skilled" work hitherto looked upon as belonging exclusively to the superior white man. Thus the overseering caste, increasing in numbers, was brought face to face with the fact that its avenues of employment were becoming gradually closed to it, and we find a realisation of the danger in the "color bar," i.e., laws presumably directed to preserving the artificial position of the superior caste, which confined black men to certain fields of labor agreed upon to be "unskilled." The Craft Unions being "all white," still wage sporadic war on color, as branches of labor considered white fall, from time to time, before the triumphant progress of the black man. The encroachment upon these white spheres of labor continues along normal and natural lines, and more and more whites become "indigents" as the white overseering function goes into the limbo of memories. As examples of this we have only to note that while the first big miners' strike (1907) came about by reason of the white miners' refusal to "run" more than twenty-five hammer boys, or two rock-drills, to-day the

number of boys and machines run by one overseer is practically unlimited. White miners' wages have fallen, and black men perform all the skilled work of hand-drilling and machine drilling, plus a growing proportion of timbering, pumping and general work incidental to the industry. The gold-mining industry of South Africa—the largest in the world—is run cheaper than in any other part of the world (with the exception, perhaps, of the small fields in Mysore, India), and that in spite of the fact that the cost of living is the highest in the world. Although it is true that the white "miner" demands a high rate of wages—which, however, he doesn't always get, owing to the Americanized system of contracts—on the plea that mining in South Africa is a deadly occupation because of the prevalence of phthisis, which kills a miner usually in about three or four years—it is also true that the black man drills hard rock by hand at one half-penny an inch, and is under a system which presents him with a "loafer" ticket if he fails to get 36 inches in a shift, for which he receives no payment whatever. It is safe to say, however, that any native hammer boy can hold his own with a practical man from abroad on a week's work, drilling.

In the Cape several skilled trades have fallen "in toto" to the black man, plastering and tailoring for instance, and in Natal there is scarcely a trade that is safe from the advance of the competent black, while every office, legal and mercantile, employs its black clerks, and the civil service has its black staff working side by side with the white. It is necessary to mention here, to clarify what follows, that a native "boy" (who is a full grown man) can usually be obtained for less than one-tenth of the wage required by a white man in unskilled jobs, and a slightly higher rate where the job verges on the skilled. Thus, South Africa has developed along normal lines. The native is following the road beaten by our own ancestors in the dim past, and he will win out just as we won out—by his own effort and growing consciousness. In the meantime the white worker finds himself, to his utter amazement, being forced more and more back from his artificial position to a point

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at which he must compete with his black prototype at a disadvantage. Thus color prejudice becomes embittered and is unceasingly fanned by capitalism with its usual tools—press, pulpit, politicians and craft union. All over Europe to-day prospectuses are “going the rounds” inviting capital to South Africa where, to quote one that has come to hand, “there is a vast field of docile labor, and trade union interference is of no consequence.” This cheap, docile, labor is being forced into industry from the “kraals” by the simple expedients of “equitable” land adjustment commissions (the last arbitrated 87 per cent. of the land to the small white com-

Simple Lessons in Economics

By E. S. HANKS.

(No. 2.)

RAW MATERIAL AND VALUE.

When the statement is made that “the average amount of socially necessary labor” in their production determines the value of commodities, a question sometimes asked by persons not thoroughly grasping the above, is—“What about the raw materials in the commodities?” Everyone must know that the finished output of one trade becomes the raw material of the next. Take, for example, a country sawmill. There they cut down trees and saw them into lengths. Let us assume that it is blackwood. These lengths of blackwood, the finished article of the sawmill, becomes the raw material of the furniture trade, along with numerous other commodities—nails, screws, leather, stain, etc., etc. You can apply this illustration to other kinds of raw material for yourself. And it is almost unnecessary to add that, to the labor in the lengths of sawn blackwood, leather, stain, etc.—to the value of any raw materials—is added all further labor which is expended in making the required commodity. Likewise with machinery. All the value of the machines of production, which are

munity and 13 per cent. to the large black, the 87 per cent., of course, being practically all the land of any agricultural value), and Maxim guns, as at Bullhoek a fortnight ago. The time has nearly arrived when capital will throw off the mask and abolish the color bar, and Communists in this country are striving against a tremendous weight of white “opinion” to break down the ridiculous tradition still lingering in the minds of the poorest wage-slaves in the community, in time to permit of the organization and education of the real South African proletariat, who has no color, and who now steps upon the stage in the last act of the world drama.

worn out, is added to the value of the commodities they have been worn out in making. If, on the average, a certain number of machines are worn out in producing, say 1000 commodities, then the value of these machines is spread over the 1000 commodities. This is known in the business world as “depreciation,” and all firms see that the amount added for “depreciation” (wear and tear of plant) is sufficient to replace the worn-out plant. Competition between the various firms keep the “depreciation” to about its correct figure. Long business experience permits of estimates being, broadly speaking, correct.

MONEY AND PRICE

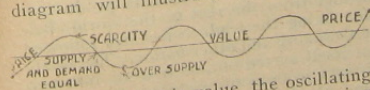
When you exchange a sovereign for some commodity, you are aware that, generally speaking, you are exchanging value for value—a certain amount of socially necessary labor in gold for the same amount of labor in the commodity. The same would be true if you exchange boots for butter, coats for calico, potatoes for carrots, etc. Direct exchange like this is called barter, and all trade commenced with it. As time went on, a certain commodity was used with which to express the value of all others. This

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selected commodity is called money. It has been hides, salt, shells, slaves, iron and numerous other things at different periods of history, but to-day, in most countries, it is gold. Gold is only money because it is used to express the value of all other commodities.

When we express the value of any commodity in terms of gold—i.e., in terms of money—we then have **price**.

We find that, to express the price of a commodity—say, suit £5, boots £1, table £10—is simply to state that the labor cost of producing them is the same as the labor cost of producing the amounts of gold, called their prices. This would always be true but for the interference of another factor—viz., **Supply and Demand**. Most persons have seen an auction sale. When there are a great number of people wanting to buy certain articles, and the auctioneer has only a few to sell, the bidding for these articles will be very brisk—their selling prices will be high. But when the auctioneer has a large number of articles to sell, and only a few buyers wanting any at all, then the bidding will be poor, their selling price will be low. And so the Australian market, or the world market for that matter, is like a huge auction sale. When commodities are scarce, their prices tend to rise above their value, and when there is an over-supply, their prices fall below their value. If one takes a time when supply and demand are equal, commodities sell at their value, but the times they are **selling above** is **balanced** by the times **selling below**, so that, taken over a period of, say, ten years, broadly speaking, one may say that commodities, as a whole, sell at their values. The diagram will illustrate what is meant.



The straight line is value, the oscillating line is price. Scarcity is seen causing prices to rise above value (**Demand**), and over-supply causing prices to fall below value (**Supply**). Where supply and demand are equal, you will notice price and value are equal.

In the diagram, it is assumed that value is stationary. Of course, value (the straight line) can itself vary, but then the oscillating line of price will merely follow and vary about it.

Working people do not notice these movements as quick as they appear in the diagram, but that is because the quantities bought by them are too small to be effected by the smaller jumps up and down. For the reader of these articles to get a better idea of how prices really do vary up and down, the “Age” or “Argus” or another daily journal should be read for a month, and the various quotations compared in columns such as “Market Reports,” “Trade and Finance,” etc.

So we may sum up this lesson by saying, **Price is value expressed in terms of money affected by supply and demand.**

[Footnote.—It has been assumed, for this article, that all money quotations are in gold only. Silver, notes and copper have been ignored in order to devote a special article to their relationship with the only real money, which is gold.]

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

The British Bureau of the Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions has its headquarters at 8 Victoria Buildings, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester. A communication from them this month shows their committee to consist of Tom Mann (President), Noah Abbott, R. Coppock, A. A. Purcell, Ben. Smith, Robert Williams, Ellen Wilkinson, etc., etc.; corresponding secretary, George Peet; organising secretary, Edward Lister.

“We know from actual experience that there are more pious thieves than infidel robbers.”—J. Dietzgen.

“All intellects partake of the nature of the general intellect, and no intellect can step above or below the general nature without losing sense or reason.”—J. Dietzgen.

The Logic of Revolutionary Progression

Reprinted from the Glasgow "Socialist."

[We print the following article from "The Money Market Review and Investor's Chronicle," 30th April, 1921, to positively impress upon the workers and all Marxian students the grave condition that Capitalism finds itself in to-day. Only instead of saying "Power of Labour," we would say "Labour-Power." Also, in reference to: "We invest in goods and draw interest in goods," we find the Marxian theory of value vindicated to a detail. The article itself demonstrates the coming crash of modern Capitalism. And, as the author says, it is now only 150 years old. "The wild berries of Karl Marxianism" are having their effects all right.—Let us intensify the sowing process.—Editor.]

OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

Is there a Real Danger of Collapse?

In an ably-written, well-reasoned book Mr. J. S. M. Ward, B.A., discusses the question, **Can our Industrial System Survive?** Few people, I fancy, quite realise the danger. Survive! they will say; well, it has got to survive somehow. People must do business, else how are they to live? Their faith in "our muddling through somehow" has become ingrained. But the present world conditions involve a real peril of a complete breakdown; and unless wisdom, statesmanship—and some luck—come to our aid, we may easily topple over the brink. Had the recently threatened general strike taken place, it is almost certain that the country would never again have regained its former industrial prosperity.

What is known as "The Industrial System" is by no means the ancient, heaven-sent institution that so many imagine. It is only about 150 years old. During that period the economic conditions of the world have undergone a remarkable change. Before that, every country was practically self-supporting in the matter of food-stuffs and other essentials of living, the trading between countries being confined to a few articles of luxury and rarity. Industry in Europe was carried on under what was known as the home

or domestic system, as it still is in many countries.

But towards the end of the eighteenth century a change of vast import began, a metamorphosis of European conditions. Owing to the advance of science, and the consequent invention of machinery, in which Great Britain was the pioneer, the domestic system began to give way to the factory system. Mass production in large factories with the aid of machinery gradually took the place of, and in time completely obliterated, the domestic system.

It was then that the real cleavage between capital and labour began, and was finally consummated to the point of complete stratification. On the one hand, land and capital gradually became the possession of the few, who organised and controlled industry, and captured the machine of government and legislation; and on the other hand there was the great mass of workers, without land, capital or responsibility, who had nothing but their power to sell to the highest bidder. That this system resulted in an immensely higher rate of production is not open to question. That in its early days the factory system was practically tantamount to slavery is, I think, equally beyond question. The consequences to the social structure as it has gradually developed we are experiencing to-day; and of the possible consequences to human progress as a whole we can only speculate.

But another consequence of vast importance resulted which few of us at all realise. Gradually but surely Western Europe took up a position in production distinct from the rest of the world, Britain taking the lead, to be later followed by Germany and other nations. The world got itself sorted out, as it were, into two distinct sections of producers. On the one hand, the bulk of mankind were engaged in exploiting the soil—in producing food-stuffs and extracting raw materials. On the other hand, the people of Europe were employed in converting raw materials of the rest of the world into manufactured articles, which they sent back

as finished commodities ready for consumption. For these important and highly skilled services they obtained in exchange foodstuffs and other necessities—change of timber, hides, and many other things—at the same time liquidating their indebtedness for the raw materials which they imported for turning into manufactured goods.

In addition to this, European nations rendered other services to the rest of the world. They became the carriers of goods and materials overseas, Britain taking the lead in this also; and as a consequence evolved a class of merchants who trafficked in buying, selling, and delivering the goods of the world, for which services they were also paid in food and other necessities and luxuries. The world traffic came in time to be balanced and adjusted by means of credit machinery, through the intermediary of a highly elaborated banking system, in which again Britain took the lead, and was remunerated for these services also in food and other materials. The trafficking overseas and over wide land areas necessitated a system of insurance against accidents and personal integrity, and in this Great Britain once more took the lead.

Finally, the manufacturing nations, with Britain at their head, produced a quantity of manufactured goods which, in process of bargaining, were estimated of greater value than the food and materials which they demanded in exchange for immediate consumption. For the reason, apparently that the services rendered by Europe are of the intellectual type, they are, relatively to labour expended, remunerated at a much higher rate than those of the production of food and materials, though the latter are essentially of the more necessary type. This surplus of goods was sent abroad as investments, thus, e.g., clothing, boots, tools, cutlery, and a hundred and one of other useful things were sent to be consumed by workers abroad, which provided for their needs while they were employed in building a railway, opening a mine, or in some other remunerative undertaking.

In return for this the investors received bonds, entitling them to an annual tribute in food and other materials, accruing as a result of the new railway or other undertaking made possible of accomplish-

ment by the aid of the investors who provided certain necessities and comforts for the consumption of the workers while they were engaged in erecting and completing the undertaking in question. Thus the new railway may have opened up an easy means of transit from a fertile agricultural area, or the new mine may be yielding a valuable mineral. I have thought it necessary to put this in somewhat redundant fashion for the reason that the common conception of investment and interest is so utterly at variance with the economic reality. People think of investing so much money—most of them think of it as gold—and of drawing money in interest. But the money of commerce, particularly of international commerce, is banking credits. In reality, we invest goods, and draw interest also in goods.

In all this Great Britain was much favored by her possession of coalfields, her geographical position, and her extensive seaboard and good harbours. Perhaps it would not be too much to claim that her climate, insularity, and political institutions tended to breed a race of independent, enterprising citizens, dogged and persevering. In other respects her soil and resources are by no means above the average. In the result a condition of things grew up in Western Europe which may well be termed highly artificial. Great Britain particularly, a small island which could scarcely have maintained more than a dozen millions of people on the resources of her own soil, found herself able to feed and maintain forty-two millions! This she accomplished by drawing her food and other necessities from all over the world in exchange for turning their own raw materials into manufactured goods, and for other services above enumerated. It must further be borne in mind that the machinery whereby these exchanges were effected is of an extremely delicate and sensitive character, and that Britain was its chief manipulating centre.

All this is fairly common ground to the student of economics; but to the man in the street it is "terra incognita." With a large part of Europe industrially crippled, with the currency and exchanges all over the world in a state approaching

chaos, is there not a real danger of the whole of the artificial industrial system toppling into ruins? Our author discusses it with ability and discretion, and is by no means optimistic. He says:—

Europe is dying for lack of our goods, but Europe cannot produce the goods she must if she is to pay for ours. So our export trade is going and our industries are dying. Our men are being thrown out of work, and are left to exist as best they can. That is what the decline of Europe means to us, and this is only the beginning. What will be the end?

This country stands a greater risk than any other by reason of the immense disparity between her inherent resources and her population—and it is time we all realised the extent of the danger. Labour and Capital would then more readily seek for an adjustment which would obviate a catastrophe which may otherwise prove to be ir retrievable.

C. J. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MICK SAWTELL OR MARX?*

To the Editor, "The Proletarian."

Comrade,—Mick Sawtell in the last issue did not answer his critics, but said he would strengthen his own case. He did not point out our mistakes (if any), nor answer my questions.

He seems to recognise the dialectic process as far as philosophy is concerned, but as regards the method of production he says that changes are the result of ideas. Now, if the Cosmic Consciousness is the source of ideas, then this supernatural power must differ for different epochs and communities, and vary with different geographical positions.

It is agreed that man makes his own history, but then the question arises: How does he make history? To answer this we must have a theory, the test of the theory being: Does it work? Does it explain the facts? A supernatural theory, whether it be God or the Cosmic Consciousness, will not work; such theories do not explain the changes. They are themselves changed. To come down from the clouds, the Materialist Conception of History stands the test of Does it work?

Does it explain the facts? The M.C.H. alone explains why society changed from Primitive Communism to Feudalism, Feudalism to Capitalism, and the growth of the necessity of changing capitalism. The theory also explains that wars are caused not by ideas but by the prevailing economic conditions. Ideas change with the change of material conditions.

Mick Sawtell has also said that inventions are the result of ideas; but what gives rise to the idea? Nothing but material conditions. Necessity, a prevailing material condition, is the mother of invention. Take, say, Watt and his steam engine. The invention by Watt would have been an impossibility had he lived in a savage tribe ignorant of iron. Take the last war and the inventions for destruction—a necessity of war—or take Italy, a country with practically no coal deposits, so necessary for the production of power; in that country the material conditions are there for the production of some cheap power not dependent on other countries. Hence the constant development of electrical inventions; recent reports say that discoveries just made will revolutionise industry.

From this it should be seen that ideas arise from the material conditions and not from something supernatural. Those wishing to understand history and how the emancipation of the proletariat will come about should study the Materialist Conception of History, and the critics of Marxian theories before "going behind Marx," should understand his theory.—Yours for Communism,

H. W. CRONK.

Burnley, August 8, 1921.

"Since the prophet Daniel scattered ashes in the temple and unmasked the servants of Baal, other idol worshippers have continued to stimulate the people to daily sacrifices, in order to steal the victuals at night."—J. Dietzgen.

"It may be honestly claimed, I think, for the Soviet administration that it has a better record in its relations to art and culture generally than any other government in the civilised world."—H. N. Brailsford.

The Outline of History by H. G. Wells

A Criticism: by R. W. Housley

(Reprinted from "The Socialist Standard.")
(Continued.)

As Mr. Well's history approaches modern times it lays greater stress than in earlier epochs upon changes in economic conditions and their profound effects upon social and intellectual life. The reason is, of course, the fact that the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries—the most striking and momentous economic change in the annals of man—is so conspicuously at the root of all the characteristics peculiar to "modern society" that its importance cannot be overlooked nor an account of its shirked.

At the close of Chapter XXXVI, 12, after dealing with the "Enclosure Acts" and the beginnings of the factory system, we find this, for the most part, fine passage:—

As the Industrial Revolution went on, a great gulf opened between employer and employed. In the past every manufacturing worker had the hope of becoming an independent master. Even the slave craftsmen of Babylon and Rome were protected by laws that enabled them to save and buy their freedom and to set up for themselves. But now a factory and its engines and machines became a vast and costly thing measured by the scale of the worker's pocket. Wealthy men had to come together to create an enterprise; credit and plant—that is to say, "Capital"—were required. "Setting up for oneself" ceased to be the normal hope for a worker artisan. The worker was henceforth to rise from the cradle to the grave. Besides the artisan and merchants and the money-landlords and merchants and lent dealers who financed the merchants and the State, their money to the new wealth of industrial there now arose this new wealth of industrial capital—a new sort of power in the State.

Many so called Industrial Historians do not state the facts so clearly and frankly as does the above quotation. In a later chapter Mr. Wells deals at greater length with the Industrial Revolution, but while it is itself described in a fairly satisfactory manner, some of its effects upon society are missed. Little mention is made (probably by design, as will be seen later) of the horrors and miseries of the new factory system, nor of the child slaves of the factory lords. The cycles of industrial crises—among the most conspicuous phenomena of the 19th century—are not mentioned at all.

Mr. Wells treats briefly of the early trade unions, but, strangely enough, omits to make mention of the Chartist movement. The life and brilliant, though Utopian, schemes of Robert Owen are dealt with at some length as being typical of the Utopian school of thought. Although the author's misconception of the Marxian theory leads him to make some very foolish criticisms, he provides the following testimony to Marx's foresight and clarity of thought:—

A sense of solidarity between all sorts of poor and propertyless men, as against the profit-amassing and wealth-concentrating class, is growing more and more evident in our world. Old differences fade away, the difference between craftsman and open-air worker, between black-coat and overall. . . . They must all buy the same cheap furnishings and live in similar, cheap houses; their sons and daughters will mingle and marry; success at the upper levels becomes more and more hopeless for the rank and file. Marx, who did not so much advocate the class war, the expropriated mass against the class war, the expropriated few, as foretell it, is being more and more justified by events. (Chap. XXXIX, 2.)

In an earlier chapter the author points out that "The 'solidarity of labor' is, we shall find when we come to study the mechanical revolution of the nineteenth century A.D., a new idea and a new possibility in human affairs."

In the light of the three quotations given above what shall we think of the following extract from an article by Mr. Wells in the "Sunday Express," 14/11/20? "Das Kapital (by Marx) a cadence of wearisome volumes about such phantom unrealities as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. . . . when I encountered Marxists I disposed of them by asking them to tell me exactly what people constitute the proletariat. None of them knew. No Marxist knows." Is this only confusion of thought of an extraordinary variety, or is it deliberate journalistic humbug and lying?

A point which is worthy of comment and appreciation because it is so rare to find it recognised by a non-Marxian writer, is the fact that Mr. Wells sees

in the economic needs of the capitalist class the factor which produced "popular education." After mentioning the sectarian night classes and Sunday schools of the early 19th century he says: "The earlier, less enlightened manufacturers, unable to take a broad view of their own interests, hated and opposed these schools. But here again needy Germany led her richer neighbours. The religious teacher found the profit-seeker at his side unexpectedly eager to get the commonality, if not educated, at least 'trained.' The student of English magazines of the middle and later Victorian period may trace the steadily spreading recognition of the new necessity for popular education. . . . At the back of this process was the mechanical revolution . . . insisting inexorably upon the complete abolition of a totally illiterate class throughout the world." (Chap. XXXIX. 2.) Surely Mr. Wells missed a golden opportunity here of demonstrating the truth and utility of his great theory of "nomadization"?

(To be Continued.)

THE RULE OF THE WORKERS. REMARKS OF LENIN.

The "Weekly People" reprints from a translation from the "Bulletin Communiste" of May 5th, the following remarks of Lenin in a speech on "The Three Forces," delivered at the All-Russia Congress of transport workers:—

"On crossing your hall I came upon a placard bearing the inscription: 'The rule of the workers and peasants shall not end.' On reading that strange placard, which I recognise was not put up in the usual place but in a corner—without doubt some one will understand that it was wrong and will remove it—the thought occurred to me: 'So, then, even on the most elementary and fundamental things, there exists among us misconceptions and false ideas.' Indeed, if the rule of the workers and peasants is not to end, that signifies that there will never be Socialism, because Socialism is the suppression of the classes; but as long as some are workers there are classes and consequently there cannot be true Socialism. While considering that after three

years passed since the Revolution of November there exist placards of that kind among us, although, if you will, withdrawn to a corner, the thought strikes me that there are yet some exceedingly profound misconceptions in our maxims, the most frequently indulged in and the most frequently used."

THE LADDER TO COMMUNISM. (Reprinted from "The International," Johannesburg.)

At a meeting of Communist factory groups at Moscow, Lenin said: As regards actual economic relations, we observe here in Russia five different economic systems. The first is the patriarchal system, where the peasant works only for himself. The second is small trade, where he brings his own products to the market. The third is the capitalist, where a small amount of private capital is formed; the fourth is state capitalism, and the fifth socialism. If one observes the economic life of Russia one sees all five systems existing alongside of each other. The reason for that is that our great industry is not yet re-established, and that the socialised factories receive only a tenth of what they require. The general decay of the country, the shortage of fuel and raw material, the unsatisfactory transport situation, have brought it about that small industry exists alongside of socialism. Under such circumstances state capitalism amounts to the unification of the small industries. It is natural that uncontrolled trade means the growth of capitalism, but we do not fear this capitalism. We do not fear it because we achieve an immediate increase in production, and that is what we need. In this way a state capitalism will form itself which we do not fear, because we shall determine the boundaries in which it will grow. This capitalism will be under the control of the state. When the state holds all factories, all undertakings, and all railways in its hands capitalism gives us no anxiety. The Soviet power must look all things quietly in the eyes and call everything by its proper name. A capitalism which develops under control while the proletariat has the power in its hands in no way contradicts the idea of Communism.

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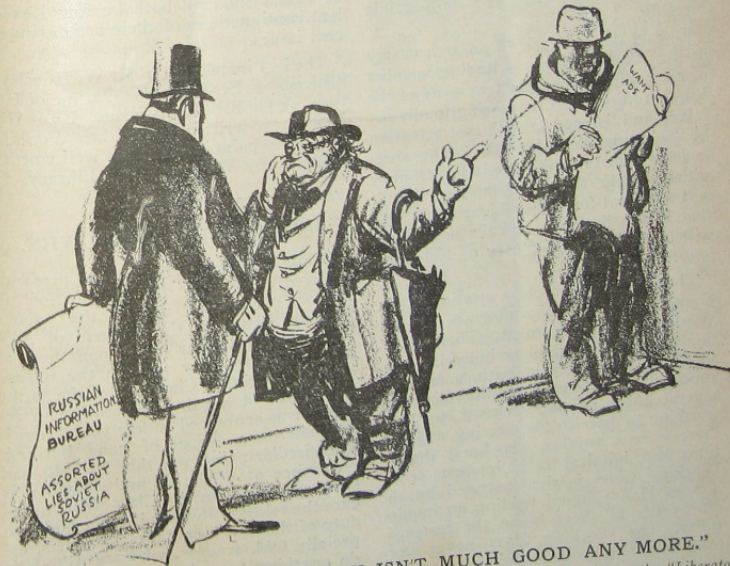
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"THAT STARVATION STORY ISN'T MUCH GOOD ANY MORE."
(Adapted from the "Liberator.")

October 7, 1921.

The
PROLETARIAN

Lord Northcliffe and the Trades Hall

HAD the correct attitude of the Working Class been understood to any degree in working-class circles we would not have been submitted, as we were recently, to the shameful spectacle of a considerable sized group of Melbourne union officials giving an attentive hearing to an enemy of the Working Class, who, assisted by an individual or individuals upon whom suspicion rests because of their actions in the matter, was able to get into the Trades Hall Council Chamber to hold a Capitalist propaganda meeting.

Behold the spectacle of an arch enemy of the Ruling Class, a leading member of the Russian Working Class, being fondly received and listened to with rapt attention by "working class leaders." The spectacle is one to make Capital gloriously satisfied with the understanding that it will not want for Labor Lieutenants, and that in the hour of Capital's need there will be in Australia plenty of Kerenskis and Scheidemanns.

That Northcliffe held a meeting in the Council Chamber is a disgrace to the Working Class movement. That the actions of the individual or individuals responsible did not meet with unanimous approval is evidenced by the fact that several union officials refused to have anything to do with the meeting, and that there were a number who knew the actions were inimical to the interests of the Working Class is demonstrated by the Trades Hall Council holding an inquiry afterwards to sheet home the responsibility. The Working Class, never more than now, require to examine the credentials of certain individuals gaining a foot-

ing in their ranks, and who pose as staunch Working Class advocates. Beware of agents of Capital!

This Issue

Trotsky's speech on the "World's Economic Position" will be read with great interest. Of one thing we can feel sure, the position of Capitalism in the world has not been made securer since the great war's effects began to shake its foundations. Trotsky's survey of the situation makes this point clear. The position between England and America, the proposed disarmament conference, etc., etc., makes one remember 1912, when Germany and England were snarling and getting ready in similar fashion.

E. S. Hanks' contribution on Economics, and B. H. Molesworth's description of Feudalism, will both be found excellent continuations of their articles in recent issues.

The last instalment of R. W. Housley's criticism of H. G. Wells' "Outline of History" is published this issue. Until History be re-written from the Working-Class viewpoint, the book is well worth a place in any Working Class Library.

JAILED! THE REASON WHY.

While this issue was going to press we received, too late for publication in full, a circular under the above heading, issued to the workers of Australia. The circular calls upon them to assist in every way to gain the release of James Nicholls, Chairman of the Strike Committee at South Johnstone, who recently was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on a charge of cane burning. The circular points out that Nicholls had no chance at the trial, and that he is simply a victim in the Class War, to secure the release of whom it is the bounden duty of the Working Class. Readers, especially Qld. readers, who are willing to do anything to assist in this matter, are urged to get into touch with Geo. Buckingham, Cairns.

October 7, 1921.

Bill Haywood in Moscow

By LEWIS GANNETT.

(The following is portion only of an article reprinted from September "Liberator.")

Moscow is chock-full of talk about "tactics." In some countries the Reds are being urged to work inside the old trade unions rather than from outside organisations, and many would like to make it a definite policy of the Red Trade Union Internationale to oppose dual union organisations such as the I.W.W. I asked Bill what he thought of this talk.

"Don't amount to a pinch of snuff," he answered. "Not in the United States, anyway. I see in this Red Internationale the culmination of the aims and aspirations of the I.W.W., but I can't see it through anything except the I.W.W. For fifteen years the I.W.W. has carried on the most vigorous kind of campaign in the United States. We haven't overlooked any part of the A.F. of L. We're not going to. But we're not going to try to save the A.F. of L. or anything it stands for. We want to educate the members of the A.F. of L. or as many of them as can be reached, to take up their work in a revolution-ary way. There are some fellows around here who say that there are 159,000 good Reds in the A.F. of L. Anybody who says that is a damned fool. A revolution is a real person. He's a man who has an economic foundation, a knowledge of where he's working from and what he's working toward. He's not a MacNamara, nor even a West Virginia coal miner, though a West Virginia coal miner is a thousand per cent more a revolutionist than the sluggers of Chicago. Out of the coal miners we can make revolutionists—by God, they're fighting for their lives, their jobs, for the mines, for a place in the mines—which can grow into control of the mines. And that means association of the industries, which can grow into the overthrow of capitalism. But the Chicago gang have no other thought than a gambler's stakes."

I recalled to Bill that he had told

Max Eastman before he left America that Russia had done four big things any one of which was worth a revolution by itself—expropriation of industry, education of children, relief to women in motherhood, and transfer of the land to the peasant.

"That's it," said Bill. "What is there to add to it? What more do we want in America? Expropriation of industries. Here it has been complete. The stock exchange and its nest of gamblers has been wiped out, the Duma and the Czar's Council extinguished, the banks closed and liquidated, the factories and railroads appropriated—in a word, everything's in the hands of the workers. The bourgeoisie who haven't accepted the new conditions have either left the country, or are in concentration camps, or are down there on the market selling the family jewels, silk socks, silver cigarette cases and picture frames; some of them have died. Everything is done for the children—education for industry, for art, their own theatres and libraries, everything. The children of Russia have a tremendous advantage over the children of America; they are not only being taught with their heads, but their hands and feet and bodies are being taught to express what their heads get. They've got the Montessori System backed off the map. In a few years the children of Russia will be so far advanced over the children of the rest of the world that people coming here, when they meet a child on the street will say: Why, what a precocious child! But the truth will be that the visitor is undeveloped.

"And there's more to that peasant proposition than I realised. The peasants form 85 per cent. of Russia, and to-day they are absolutely free from domination by capitalist or monarch, and they are crawling from under the cover of religion—which is really a fifth gain worth two or three revolutions: to release a

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nation of people from what they call in Russia the opiate of religion.

"I haven't changed my mind; the things I heard about in New York I've seen here, and they're real; they're worth the revolution. I'm more enthusiastic every day; I've been in Moscow

two months, and I haven't heard of a death by starvation, of a murder, a raid on an illicit still, on a saloon, a gambling den, or a house of prostitution, and I haven't seen a drunk or a prostitute. By God, boy, this is the most wonderful city in the world."

Sedition !

(Reprinted from "The Worker," organ of the National Workers' Committees, Scotland.)

"I do not hesitate to tell you that you ought to set yourselves against the constituted authority in the land. . . . Drilling is illegal. . . . The Volunteers are illegal, and the Government know they are illegal, and the Government dare not interfere with them. . . . Don't be afraid of illegalities; illegalities are not crimes when they are taken to assert what is the elementary right of every citizen, the protection of his freedom, and if anyone tells me I should be ashamed of myself, I tell him it is the motive I live for. . . ."—Sir E. Carson, Sept. 7th, 1913.

"We will shortly challenge the Government. They may tell us, if they like, that it is treason. We are prepared to take the consequences."—Sir E. Carson, July 27th, 1912.

"Men of the Ulster Volunteers, I purposely address you that way, as I have given up making political speeches, and I want to speak only to those who are prepared to fight. The time has come when the men upon whom reliance must be placed are not those who cheer, but those who drill. Go on and be prepared."—Sir E. Carson, Oct. 1st, 1913.

"I rejoice wherever I go to see that the Ulster Volunteer movement is gaining ground in every part of Ulster, and I will tell you why. . . . It is because you are dealing with a Government which understands one argument—the argument of force."—Sir F. E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor of England), Sept. 20th, 1913.

"I hope to see at an early date those

men who have undergone the necessary discipline and drill armed with real rifles. On the day on which there will be in Ulster 100,000 disciplined men armed with rifles, wherever else Home Rule may be talked about, it will never be talked about in Ulster."—Sir F. E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor of England), Oct. 4th, 1913.

"We have been ridiculed, jeered, and laughed at by our political opponents in England. Well, they can go on jeering and laughing, and we can go on drilling and practising shooting, and we will see, in the end, who is right."—Sir E. Carson, Oct. 5th, 1913.

"Guns and ammunition have been coming in for a long time, but the measures taken on Sunday (the landing of a cargo of German arms at Larne) were necessarily on a large scale, because we are getting near the crisis, and our men are now drilled and prepared for the arms."—Sir E. Carson, April 28th, 1914.

"And now, men, keep your arms, no matter what happens. I rely upon every man to fight for his arms to the end. Let no man take them from you. I do not care who they be, or under what authority they come, I tell you, 'Stick to your arms.'"—Sir E. Carson, June 6th, 1914.

It is officially announced that the King has been pleased to approve that the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, K.C., be appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary in the room of the Right Hon. Lord Moulton, deceased.—Daily Press.

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Feudalism

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

(For first article of this series, see the September Number.)

About the 5th century the Angles, Saxons and other tribes set out in small groups of vessels to cross the North Sea. They landed on the eastern coast of Great Britain. This movement of tribes was similar to other movements on the mainland, and was caused by changing material conditions there. For the purpose of the sea journey, the landing and the subsequent fighting, it was necessary for each group to have a leader. For a long time these Anglo-Saxon tribes fought the British, whom they gradually drove westward into the mountains. But, in addition to fighting the British, the invading tribes fought against one another, and this period of continuous fighting lasted for some centuries. By the time that some stable social system evolved from this period of chaos, we find the people living under the social system known as Feudalism. The land was no longer owned in common. There were grades of military leaders, including lords, barons, earls, and kings. Below the lord, most of the people were slaves. Only those who were free who owned land. The local unit of the feudal system was the Manor, which we must now proceed to examine.

The manors were small patches of cultivation in the midst of forests or bogs. They were scattered over the country, and on each lived a village community. In order to examine these manors, we must look, first, at the village framework, or, as we may call it, the agrarian shell. Secondly, we shall go on to look at the people who lived inside this framework or shell.

The Framework or Shell.

No two manors were exactly alike, but the land of the manor, as a rule, was divided in the following way:—

1. There was, first of all, the Demesne

land, which was the private property of the lord of the manor.

2. Then there was always a section of the land set apart as common land, which was used by all members of the community, lords and serfs, in common as pasture land.

3. Another section of the land was divided off as meadow-land, from which hay was obtained. This was divided into strips at hay-time, each family receiving one or more strips.

4. The remainder of the village land was used for agriculture. Usually it was divided into three fields. Each year only two of these fields were used, the third lying fallow. The two fields which were used in any one year were divided into numerous strips one acre in size. These acre strips were distributed annually amongst the villagers, and no one family in the village received two acres side by side. If, for example, William received acre No. 1, he would not receive also acre No. 2, but probably acre No. 52 in some other part of the field. The reason for this was that if any family had two or more strips side by side it might have all the best land, while another family might have all the worst land. Therefore, in order that all might share and share alike, the group of acre strips in each holding were scattered all over the field. The villagers (serfs) worked co-operatively, taking turns, for example, in the ploughing. Those who possessed oxen took it in turn to supply them for the necessary work, while a few ploughs were owned by the community in common.

On the Demesne land was erected the manor house in which lived the lord and his fighting men. The serfs lived in cottages grouped somewhere on the manor lands in a village. Each family had a

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cottage, with a small piece of land surrounding it. Lastly, somewhere on the manor lands was always a church and church buildings, erected on a section of the land belonging to the church. Later, in many cases, the church gained the ownership of the whole manor, and so became the "lord of the manor."

The People Who Lived on the Manor.

1. The Lord of the Manor.—As explained before, the lord probably evolved out of the leader of the tribal groups during warfare. He continued in this manorial period also as a military chief. He held his lordship of the manor from an earl on condition that he rendered military service to the earl. The earl himself held numerous manors from the king on condition that he rendered military service to the king. But the point here in regard to the manor is simply that the lord was the hereditary ruler of this village community. He owned the Demesne land as his absolute property, and was able to exact tribute from the serfs who used the remainder of the manorial lands.

2. The Lord's Fighting Men.—Each lord, in rendering his military service to the earl, had to bring with him a troop of fighting men. Also, the lords continually fought amongst themselves, one trying to seize his land from another. In such a state of society, where a certain number of people had to be in continual readiness for fighting, it was essential that there should be a division of labor between farmers and fighters. One section of the community grew the food, while the other did the fighting. This is the origin of the large Demesne land. The Demesne, in the first instance, was set aside as that portion of the land which was needed for the production of the necessities for the fighters. Only gradually was this gained, as his special property, by the lord. Even after he did so acquire it as his property, he had to provide the necessities of life for his fighting men.

3. The People Who Lived in the Village.—These were serfs, and, for the

most part, were divided into two sections—villeins and cottars. Each serf received a cottage for the housing of himself and his family. The villein received, in the annual distribution, 30 of the acre strips mentioned above, while the cottars received only 5. The villeins, but not the cottars, possessed oxen. But, in return for these cottages and acres, serfs had to pay both services and rent to the lord of the manor. The early custom of tilling the land for the fighters, as explained above, had by this period developed into this exaction by the lord of compulsory service from the serfs.

The payments extracted were, as a rule, the following:—

1. Labor service on the lord's Demesne. The villeins were obliged to work three days per week, and cottars, because they held only five acres, one day per week on the lord's land.

2. Additional days' labor were exacted from the serfs at busy times—for example, seed time and harvest. That is to say, at just those times when the serfs particularly needed to work on their own land they had to work longer on the lord's land.

3. They had, in addition to rendering this labor service, to pay part of the produce of their own acres to the lord. In days when money was practically unknown, this payment was made in produce (corn, eggs, etc.).

Serfs, then, quite definitely, were slaves, because:—

1. In the first place, they were tied to the soil. They were not allowed to leave their manor. They lived and died in the village where they were born.

2. Tied to a particular manor, the serfs were forced also to give to the lord everything which they produced from their own acres beyond the few necessities which were needed to maintain the lives of themselves and their families. Also, as explained above, they had taken from them quite openly their surplus time—for example, three days a week from the villeins. The cottars were really better off than the serfs, because, although they possessed only five

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acres, they had to work only one day a week for the lord, and, therefore, had plenty of time to work, as thoroughly as possible, their own acres. They also had time to work for villeins and for freemen farmers, who occasionally possessed land on the outskirts of the village. As payment for such work, the cottars received, in the earlier centuries, not money but produce.

3. Against any injustice in regard to their holding or the services which they had to render, the serfs had no redress, because, in all civil disputes, they had no appeal beyond the lord's own court.

4. Many other feudal dues were exacted from the serfs. To mention just a few: He had to take his grain to the lord's own mill, and pay for its grinding; his children could not marry without the consent of the lord; he could not exchange any of his tools without the lord's consent, etc.; and for his consent to anything the lord levied a toll of produce. Again, the serf could not divide his acres. He had to leave them, as a whole, to one heir. Also, he had to obtain the lord's consent to the drawing up of a will, naming his heir.

The manor had practically no contact with the outside world. The economic environment of the manors made trade, except in a few articles, such as salt, and small quantities of metals, almost impossible. The manors, therefore, had to be almost self-sufficing groups. Also, because of the economic impossibility of an exchange of goods with the outside world, and because there were practically no means of preserving any accumulation of the produce of the manors, the purpose of labor use, not profit. The product of labor was, destined for the use of the small manorial community. That is to say, the material conditions of the time determined that production should be for the use of the means of production (land) by the lords, of course determined that they should use a bigger share of the product than any of the serfs. As always, the ownership of the means of production by a class enabled that class to exploit the labor of the rest of the community. But conditions

did not allow the lords to accumulate to any extent. When there was a good harvest, all persons on the manor shared in the large yield, and when there was a famine, the lords had to allow some share of the small supply to the serfs for fear that there might not be sufficient serfs left alive to till the land. Actually, life during the Middle Ages down to the 11th century was a terrific struggle against Nature to obtain sufficient necessities to maintain life. Life was one of material squalor. Not only the serfs, but also the lords, lived in filth, while the lords and serfs were shrouded in mental darkness. Ignorance and want kept all in a status not very much higher than that of the brutes. The smallness of production can perhaps be realised better when it is remembered that an ox was then only the size of a present-day calf; the amount of wool derived from a sheep per year was, on the average, 2 oz.; one acre of land yielded only 6 bushels of corn, of which two had to be kept for the next year's seed; the houses were mere log huts, and the floors were merely straw scattered on the earth; clothes were made of flax, wool and hides obtained from the village fields. Naturally, disease was always present.

(Further reading on this subject.—Starr, "A Worker Looks at History," Chapters III. and IV.; Gibbins, "Industrial History of England," Period I., Chapter II., and Period II., Chapter I.; "English Economic History Documents," Section I.)

HOURS OF LABOR.

In a will case in Melbourne courts last month a farm laborer gave evidence that he had worked for the deceased, and that he had usually got up out of bed at 1.30 a.m. to start milking at 2.30!

"THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF KARL MARX."

By M. Beer.

This work, containing a summary of Marx's teaching, can be recommended to all Working Class students. The book is divided into the following parts:—Introduction, Parents and Friends, The Formative Period of Marxism, Years of Avigation and Varying Fortunes, The Marxian System, and Conclusion.

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Simple Lessons in Economics

By E. S. HANKS.

No. 3.

VALUE OF LABOR-POWER—COST OF LIVING.

Labor-power is the commodity which has the greatest interest to the working class. It is by the sale of this commodity that they live. It is subject to the same economic laws which govern the sale of other things on the market. In "Value, Price and Profit" (Kerr and Co.), pp. 74-75 (A.S.P. edition, pp. 60 and 61), Marx says of labor-power: "Like that of every other commodity, its value is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to produce it. The laboring-power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessities must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine, will wear out, and must be replaced by another man. Beside the mass of necessities required for HIS OWN maintenance, he wants another amount of necessities to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers. Moreover, to develop his labor-power, and acquire a given skill, another amount of values must be spent."

The "value of labor-power" will be better understood by the Australian worker by the term "cost of living." The Arbitration Court, if it has done nothing else, has clarified to the minds of the Australian working class exactly what determines wages. "Cost of living" of an arbitration award, or "value of laboring-power" of Marx, is summed up by Marx in "Value, Price and Profit" (Kerr and Co.), p. 76 (A.S.P. edition, p. 62): "After what has been said, it will be seen that the VALUE OF LABORING-POWER is determined by the VALUE OF THE NECESSARIES required to produce, develop, maintain, and perpetuate the laboring-power."

Wages, then, are determined by the "cost of living." Supply and demand act also, to a certain extent. For example, a scarcity of workers in any particular industry will cause the wages of

that industry (price of labor-power) to rise a little above the value of labor-power (cost of living); unemployment, or over-supply of labor-power, causing wages to drop a little below. Wages, however, do not drop far below the cost of living before we find what the daily press calls "industrial unrest"—that is, struggles on the part of the workers to reach their old standard. In countries where a low cost of living exists one will find low wages (in money); and where a high cost of living exists will be found high wages (in money).

Where Wages Boards and Arbitration Courts, etc. exist, these tribunals always use as a basis for their awards the cost of living of the worker, his wife and average family of the particular type of worker who happens to be appealing to them.

Thus their action may be summed up as follows:—

They give legal expression to what is already an economic law.

As the "cost of living" has been on the increase since the Arbitration Court was established, this factor has led to a widespread belief among the working class that these tribunals exist only to deal with appeals for increases in money-wages. This fallacy will soon disappear, with the advent of a falling cost of living. This fall is occurring in England, and is about due here. Within the last few years the Arbitration Court has fallen into disrepute with increasing numbers of workers. A few general reductions of wages should prick the bubble for the remainder.

NOTE.—Care must be taken in the use of the terms labor-power and labor.

Labor-power is the energy which you sell to the employer. Example: Bricklayer's labor-power is the energy or strength and knowledge to lay bricks, which this worker wants to sell by the day at a certain price.

Labor or Labor-time is the time worked on any article, as 3 hours' labor in a hat, 1 hour's labor in a hammer, etc., or 8 hours' labor in a brick chimney.

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The World's Economic Position

Can Capitalism Recover?

A SPEECH BY L. TROTSKY.

Reprinted from "The International," Johannesburg.

At the Second Session of the Congress of the Comintern, opened on June 24th in the Andreev Hall, in the Nikolaeff Palace in the Kremlin, at 7:45 p.m., Comrade Trotsky said, in part: "In our manifestoes at the First and Second Congresses we described the then prevailing economic position without, however, making a detailed examination and analysis of economic relations. Since that time a certain change has taken place in the relation of forces, which in no way can be evaded. The question as to whether this change is a radical one or not is a superficial one. It must be stated, however, that at the present moment the bourgeoisie feels itself, it not stronger than it did a year ago, at any rate stronger than it did in 1919. It is only necessary to examine the most important sections of the capitalist press during the last few months of this year in order to see to what extent the bourgeoisie State consciousness has become firmer, how it has become less susceptible to panic in face of the world danger of Communism, in spite of the fact that it realises that the Communists have grown during this period from small isolated groups into a large mass movement.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

"The years after the war were characterised by an unparalleled rise in the revolutionary movement. In March, 1917, Tsarism was overthrown in Russia. In May, 1917, a strike-wave spread over England. In November, 1917, the Russian Proletariat seized political power. . . . In November, 1918, the overthrow of the German and Austro-Hungarian monarchies took place. A strike movement spread over a number of European countries. In 1919, the Hungarian Soviet Republic arose. At the end of 1919, a strike wave spread among the metallists, miners and railwaymen of the United States. France achieved its highest state of political tension in May, 1920. In September, 1920, the proletarian movement developed in Italy for the seizure of factories. The Czech proletariat in December, 1920, resorted to mass political strikes. In March, 1920-21, the

workers of Central Germany rose, and the British miners commenced their gigantic strike. At the same time, the past year is marked by a number of defeats of the working class. In August, 1920, the Red Army offensive on Warsaw ended in failure. In September, 1920, the movement of the Italian proletariat ended without result. . . . The revolt of the German workers also ended without definite successes in March, 1920. . . .

SHALL WE REVISE THE PROGRAMME?

"The question arises before the Comintern and the whole working class as to what extent the new political relations between the bourgeoisie and the working class corresponds to the actual relation of forces. Is there sufficient ground to assume that the place of political shocks and class struggles will be taken by a prolonged period of re-establishment and growth of capitalism? Does it not follow from this, that we should revise the programme and tactics of the Communist International?"

"In coming to the review and analysis of the economic situation, I want to observe that this is a very complicated task, for the very statistics which should lie at the basis of such an analysis bears the traces of the prevailing economic chaos."

THE ECONOMIC POSITION.

Trotsky proceeded to give an analysis of the economic position of the European countries before the war and at the present time, stating that the national wealth of the countries participating in the war was valued before the war at 2400 milliards of German gold marks, and the annual national income was calculated at 300 milliards. According to authoritative economists, the war has destroyed thirteenth of the whole of the world of the not less than 50 per cent. of the whole of the national wealth. . . . This process of impoverishment is best of all illustrated by the existing housing crisis in all the countries which have been dragged into the war. The building industry is one of the most important branches of national economy proved to be completely

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neglected. This impoverishment of humanity is distributed equally among individual countries. In one zone there is Russia, in the other the United States. But of Russia as a non-capitalist country one must speak separately. Therefore, the first place in our analysis must be taken by Germany.

STATE BANKRUPTCY.

In quoting Richard Calvert's book on State Bankruptcy, he said: "In 1907 the number of people employed in producing the material wealth of Germany was 11,300,000, now only 4,800,000 are employed, i.e., only 42 per cent. of pre-war time. In agriculture, instead of a harvest of 15,000,000 tons of the pre-war period, we get in 1919 6,600,000; in 1920, 5,200,000. In the building industry also, Calvert points out a worsening of the situation by more than 50 per cent. The State debts of Germany have grown to 250 milliard gold marks. The amount of paper money has increased by more than 16 times, while the actual value of the mark is not more than seven pfennigs of pre-war time. The national wealth, which before the war was valued at 225 milliard gold marks, is now valued at 100 milliards. The national revenue yielded only 16 instead of 40 milliards—i.e., Germany has become 60 per cent. poorer. . . ."

FRANCE THE PARASITE.

Continuing, he said it is much more difficult to deal with France. The figures are more often concealed, and when they are given, they are too often false. The national revenue of France is expressed by the following figures. The amount of cattle has decreased by five million heads, the quantity of wheat by 23 million quintals, coal by 16 million tons, but if we count Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar, by 6 million tons. Steel casting has decreased by more than half. . . . The State debt from 1913 to 1921 increased tenfold. The circulation of paper money has increased seven times. . . . France is simply the most parasitical country in Europe and the world. . . . It exists only by robbing Germany and the colonies, and Germany loses twice as much as is being acquired by France. Such is the position of France, which is now undoubtedly playing the leading role in Europe. England was affected by the war less than any other country in Europe. If the agriculture improved somewhat short space of time, and was due to extraordinary subsidies from the State. The coal industry, the mainstay of the British economy, decreased 20 per cent. since the war. . . . Foreign trade generally has decreased one-third of its pre-war volume. As regards the British State debt, it has increased eleven fold—the British war budget increased for the same period three times, and, finally, what is more characteristic for England, which is losing, and perhaps has already lost, its former exceptional world position—is that the pound sterling—the sovereign—which, by its name, symbolised the world preponderance of the

British currency, has lost all its halo, and is deposed by the American dollar, in comparison to which the pound at the beginning of this month lost 24 per cent. of its real value.

THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.

"If three of the most important capitalist States of the pre-war time were ruined by the war—American industry developed tremendously at their expense and the cost of the impoverishment of Europe. In America, the coal industry increased more than 10 per cent., the production of oil doubled, and now America produces 45 per cent. of all the coal in the world, 30 per cent. of the world tonnage, and possesses 85 per cent. of all the motor cars in the world. . . . It is interesting to note that though the United States comprise only 6 per cent. of the total population of the world, and 7 per cent. of its total area, they possess at the present time 20 per cent. of all the gold, 25 per cent. of all the wheat, 50 per cent. of zinc, 45 per cent. of coal, 60 per cent. of aluminium, copper and cotton, 66 per cent. of oil, 70 per cent. of Indian corn, and 85 per cent. of all the motor cars. At the same time, the indebtedness of the United States amounts to 18 milliard dollars, and increases daily by 10 million dollars. . . ."

JAPAN.

"We witness the same growth in Japan. The latter has also utilised the war for the purpose of extending its world market, but her development is incomparably less striking than that of the United States, and is very artificial in a series of industrial enterprises. . . . The war resulted in an almost unbounded market for the main branches of industry and a complete protection from competition. The production of means of production was replaced by the production of means for destruction. The recovery of stock exchange activities, the rise in prices, and the unusual growth of speculation, resulted in an apparently satisfactory situation in 1919 and 1920. . . . But does this singular situation mean a new organic epoch of capitalism? Many comrades were inclined to believe this, basing themselves on quotations from Engels and Marx, when speaking on the revolution of 1848, as the result of the crisis of 1847, and referring to the reaction of the following years as the result of the economic recovery of 1850 and 1851. Such ideas can only be treated as misconceptions. . . . The present epoch must not be looked upon as an era of organic development of capitalism. . . . It may be asked, 'Would you say, then, that the establishment of capitalist equilibrium is impossible?' Theoretically, No. The situation has not changed materially since the first and second congress. . . . But it is very important to take into consideration the actual conditions which make impossible the restoration of capitalistic equilibrium.

THE CLASS WAR.

"Opportunists love to talk of an automatic restoration of capitalistic development. This means their total failure to realise at what a tremendous rate the clash of class interests

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is developing side by side with the industrial crisis. While commodity production has fallen, class differentiation and the intensification of the class struggle are marching ahead with giant strides. The rate of this process is so rapid that we are confronted, not with a single working class, but with a whole aggregate of different layers of workers. Along with the elements politically trained in the traditions of the labour movement, we have by immense class of workers brought to life by the war, including a great number of women, who have only recently stepped on the stage of the class struggle. Alongside of those sections of the working class who at times show a high degree of tactical circumspection, we have layers caught up by the up-tide of the revolution, and eager for aggressive action; but without fully realising all the consequences of such action. On the other hand, there is also an abrupt change of the whole situation within the bourgeoisie. While the forefront of the political struggle and political power in the bourgeois countries is manned by the trusted cohorts of the bourgeoisie, the non-trusted elements of the petty bourgeoisie are sinking into relative and absolute poverty, sinking down the social scale and lining up with the open opposition to the trusted bourgeoisie. . . . If the immediate aim of the imperialist war was to replace the numerous national states by one world-wide state, we must say that those responsible for the war failed to achieve full success. The outcome of the war is just in the opposite direction; of the formation of a number of small states in Europe was the result, which proved that the growth of imperialism were unable to divide Europe into relative and absolute poverty. This has given rise to a series of ceaseless international crises in the political field. France plays the part of the leading state in policy which is at every step with England's to the inter-growing ever more antagonistic to the interests of France, especially as regards Germany.

BRITAIN v. AMERICA.

"If we may speak of an automatic clash of interests anywhere, it is exclusively in connection with the relations between England and the United States. To begin with, two American workers produce as much as five Englishmen. The United States own 45 per cent. of the world's coal supply and above one-third of petroleum. In the case of petroleum, third of petroleum. It is one thing to speak of the geological forecast of the potential oil supply; it is quite a different matter when speaking of actual oil supply. American economists already sound the alarm that the supply of American oil ten years' time will be exhausted, which will spell the stagnation of the colossal motor car traffic, and shipping facilities now amounting to six times the auto-transportation of the globe. We must add to this the indebtedness of Europe to America, the successful attempts on the

part of the latter to concentrate in its hands the entire cable system of the globe, the unusual rapid growth of her marine tonnage, which even now amounts to 35 per cent. of the total tonnage of the world. When we take all this into consideration, it will be perfectly easy to understand not only the motives behind the political alliance between England and Japan, but also all the consequences of this alliance. In 1924 the American navy will exceed in tonnage the combined navies of England and Japan. But since Britannia rules the waves, he will rule the world who rules the ocean—and herein lies the meaning of all England's world policies—one does not need to be a prophet to say that we are nearing an armed clash between the United States and England, and in this case it is almost the first time in history when the time of a conflict of this kind can be foretold with almost calendar precision.

THE NEXT WAR.

"England is faced with the alternative either to finally abandon its world supremacy or to stake her fate and all her national wealth on the fortunes of war. . . . Thus we can, without a doubt, say that our description of the world situation seen at the First and Second Congress remains valid. No social equilibrium has been established, not even partial equilibrium has been achieved in the international proletarian stands, as it stood faced by the growing imperialist conflicts on the one hand and the growing social antagonism on the other. The ruin of the productive forces of Europe, the growth of the workers' movement in the East, the growth of social antagonism in America, all leads to consolidation of the working class, to the continuous gaining of experience in the class struggle; all this speaks of the correctness of our tactics and methods of the correctness of our tactics. It is necessary for us to carefully examine our tactics to adapt them to the conditions and needs of each country separately, and in this lies the main work of our congress. Our fundamental task is to form out of the Communist Party a Party of Action. It must stand at the head of the struggling masses, it must clearly and precisely formulate fighting slogans of social democracy. It must adopt, broadly, the strategy of the class struggle, to learn to manoeuvre with the various sections of the working class, with the object of teaching them new methods of struggle, striving to create them, for the moment of the open collision with the opposition forces, an invincible army. Every respite must be used by the Party Committee to learn the lessons from the struggles of the past, to deepen and widen class contradictions past, to national and international scale to unite them in the openness of aims and action, in the manner to overcome all obstacles in the road to the Dictatorship and the Social Revolution."

October 7, 1921.

The "Cancer" of Communism

By H. Valesky.

(Taken from "Moscow" of June 26th, 1921.)

There is an anecdote about a comrade representing a very small but Simon-pure and somewhat sectarian Communist party in a country cursed with a bulky opportunist mass-party. When asked whether there was a left wing in the opportunist camp, or some trend of revolutionary opposition, to the leading officialdom of the party his answer was, "What, a left wing in this outfit of social traitors! Why, it is too rotten for anything of the kind!" "In that case," his interlocutor replied, "a Communist Party, on its own, must be still worse . . ."

Indeed, if a Communist Party is to take up the fight against an opportunistic party comprising a considerable part of the proletarian masses, the aim of this fight must be to wrench off the organised masses from under the sway of their leaders, to sow unrest and disruption in their ranks, and create within that party a trend of opinion and feeling with the motto: "Down with the renovating of Capitalism. We're against co-operation with governments! No shirking or cowardly backing out before a class fight! We are disgusted with this everlasting betrayal of the most vital interests of the proletariat!" The best means to be employed by the Communist Party, to gain a hold over the organised ranks in hostile camps, must not be confined to verbal denunciation and to word lashing of the crimes committed by the leaders; the means, rather, should consist in tactics of revolutionary action, showing the proletarian masses in a clear and tangible form what to do, and how to do it, to achieve real emancipation for the working class.

Paul Freeman's Death

The following paragraph appeared in "Rosta Wien," and may be taken as an official notification of the death of Paul Freeman:—

"THE ACCIDENT ON THE KURSK LINE.
Moscow, July 26th (delayed).

An aero train, carrying amongst its passengers several delegates to the congress, had a smash on the Kursk line. The inventor was killed, as well as the following delegates: Otto Strupp (Germany), Helbrich (Germany), Hewlett (England), Constantinov (Bulgaria), Freeman (Australia), and Artem Sergeiv (Chairman of the Russian Miners' Union).

FAMILY LIFE IN RUSSIA.

On the above subject, very interesting are the writings of Alexandra Kollontay in "Soviet Russia." In August and September numbers she deals with Prostitution, Marriage, and the Family. All students of the working class who understand the Materialist Conception of History will find her writings extremely interesting. In this connection her pamphlet, "Communism and the Family," pointing to the dissolution of the old form of family life, can also be recommended.

"THE NEXT STEP."

By A. B. Piddington, K.C.

As Hanks in his article points out, the political discussion of the cost of living in the last decade or so forces upon the dullest of minds the knowledge of the Commodity status of Labour Power under Capitalism. "The Next Step," by A. B. Piddington, K.C., is in this connection a valuable little booklet. The whole subject is thrashed out in its pages, which are in the main devoted to a case for the endowment of children out of a tax upon employers, according to the number of their employees, such endowment to be paid to mothers. Mr. Piddington effectively, even if unintentionally, shows that Mr. Higgins and his Court were but tools of the Master Class.

"THE A.B.C. OF COMMUNISM."

By N. Bucharin and E. Preobrazhensky.

Readers will be pleased to know that supplies of this book, a few chapters of which were printed in earlier numbers of the "Proletarian," are due to arrive shortly. So far the first volume only has been printed. Readers are recommended to get this work.

October 7, 1921.

The Outline of History by H. G. Wells
A Criticism: by R. W. Housley

(Reprinted from "The Socialist Standard.")

(Concluded.)

In the final chapter of the history proper an account is given of the "imperialism" of the European "Powers," and of the political events which led up to the "Great War," followed by a brief, but excellent, record of the military side of the war itself. In dealing with earlier wars, Mr. Wells makes much of "the Powers" as social forces, discusses their "rivalries," and constantly refers to the "traditional policy" of this Power or that. All this is in the approved style of the usual bourgeois "historian." The social forces upon which these "rivalries" and "traditional policies," nay, even the very existence of the "powers" themselves, are based are almost entirely unrecognised.

The author deals in the same barren way with the "Great War." To him it was the inevitable outcome of rampant "nationalism" and "imperialism," but what these were the inevitable outcome of he does not tell us. Here, again, "nomadisation" might have been pressed into service. That war is a necessary result of the capitalist method of production, and that nationalism and imperialism are but theoretical and political expression of two successive phases of this system, Mr. Wells fails to recognise. More satisfactory by far is the account of the material, social and mental effects of the war. Here Mr. Wells gets nearer to bedrock economic facts. He is greatly influenced by, and quotes lengthily from, the "Economic Consequences of the Peace," by J. M. Keynes.

In the final chapter of his work our historian ventures a forecast of the future of society. He sees the ideal community of the future as a "Community of Knowledge and Will." This,

if interpreted as a community of knowledge and interest is quite an acceptable forecast. The various details of this society which Mr. Wells enumerates we need not trouble about. Criticising utopias of the distant future is a waste of energy. Vividly he points out the possibilities inherent in the machine. "This—and the disappearance of war and the smoothing out of endless re- and contentions by juster social and economic arrangements—will lift the burden of toilsome work and routine work, that has been the price of human security since the dawn of the first civilisations, from the shoulders of our children. Which does not mean that they will cease to work, but that they will cease to do irksome work under pressure, and will work freely, planning, making, creating, according to their gifts and instincts. They will fight nature no longer as dull conscripts of the pick and plough, but for a splendid conquest."

He discusses the possibilities of and tendencies towards this ideal community, but the fact that he denies the socially constructive importance of the modern class struggle drives him to the conclusion that the only hope lies in a great revival of moral enthusiasm (which he mistakenly calls "religion"), combined with "education." We also believe in the efficacy of education—revolutionary education amongst the world's proletariat. But Mr. Wells' "education" is a universal instruction for social service. We also believe in that, but see and point out that it is an impossible dream in a society grounded on exploitation and class-rule. Such a scheme of education can, and will, only be

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achieved after the Socialist Revolution—not before.

It is Mr. Wells' opinion that the ruling class of to-day can be persuaded by reasonable humanitarian arguments or by far-sighted self-interest to bring about a "re-adjustment" of society which will gradually abolish exploitation and class distinctions. This opinion we cannot share. It is opposed by the whole teaching of history. No ruling class, when faced by discontent and revolt, ever acted in such a manner. To expect our present rulers to do so is to wallow in superstition rather than stand four-square to science.

Mr. Wells has guided us through latter-day history upon a plan of his own. He has emphasised the stupidity and ignorance of our ruling-class and its political representatives, but his standard has been an idealist, not a realist, one. Gladstone, a typical capitalist statesman, is declared, for instance, a "grossly ignorant man." But W.E.G. can only be considered ignorant in a relative sense. Everyone is ignorant by some standard of wisdom. Gladstone did what was expected of him by the class he represented. He conformed to the conditions imposed upon him. He was sufficiently wise for his task, and no wiser. Thus he became the most popular and revered statesman of his age—he became "great."

But the great "sin of omission" on the part of Mr. Wells is that he fails to point out—in the present writer's opinion, deliberately refrains from pointing out, for he must know of it—that for greed, stubbornness, and rapacity in the defence of their interests—even their most grossly material interests—the capitalist class of the present order have shown themselves worthy successors of the slave and serf-holders of preceding periods, whilst for political craftiness, the earlier ruling classes were "children at the game" in comparison with the modern bourgeoisie.

Why does Mr. Wells make no mention whatever in his review of the nineteenth century, of the Paris Commune? This was no mere political episode, but an object lesson in sociology, and, as

such, one of the most significant occurrences of the century. Mr. Wells is no "drum and trumpet" historian, but to him, as to the common run of bourgeois historians, the Commune is taboo. With its 100,000 working-class victims, the Paris Commune tears aside the veil of hypocrisy and humanitarian cant which envelop the social relations of our day and reveal naked the power-lust of the capitalist class. The more recent history of the class struggle in Russia, Finland, Germany, and Hungary but confirms and strengthens our view. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive that Mr. Wells, with his knowledge, really believes in the tactic of moralising the capitalist class. In the present writer's opinion, Mr. Wells knows better. But, as an experienced and "successful" writer and journalist, camouflage (to be polite) is one of the tools of his trade.

In conclusion: It is one of the minor tragedies of capitalism that in this "scientific age" the scientific history of our race has yet to be written. Material in abundance lies in the archives, museums, and libraries of the world, and the theoretical means thereto have existed for close upon a century. But the capitalist class forbid. Let us work mightily for the great day when those social parasites which thus paralyse the activity of that supreme product of evolution—the intellect of man—will be banished with the dead and gone into the limbo of the past.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

THE "A.B.C. OF WORKING CLASS PHILOSOPHY."

By B. H. MOLESWORTH.

We would draw attention again to the value of this little pamphlet. Its simplicity and order in presentation of its matter makes it an excellent pamphlet for class work.

THE "SHOP BOOK."

This is the title of a new magazine which Chas. Kerr and Co. are publishing. Many readers will remember that the most popular Working Class magazine printed in English, prior to the last war, was Kerr & Co.'s "International Socialist Review." "The Shop Book" aims at filling the place the Review held in the Working Class movement.

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COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM.

By BISHOP BROWN.

This book appears to be having a wonderful sale in America. Practically every working-class paper is advertising it. The Bishop is of the Episcopalian faith, and denounces the Church. Interesting to note that he quotes considerably from the Socialist Party of Great Britain's pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion."

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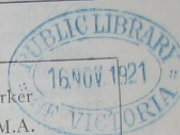
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- Jailed—The Reason Why. Aristocrats and Patriotism. Brailsford on Russia, etc., etc.

THE COMING WAR

JAPAN IS SPENDING ONE-HALF OF ITS BUDGET ON THE MAINTENANCE OF ITS ARMY AND FLEET. IN THE IMPENDING STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN IS GOING TO PLAY ON THE SEA THE SAME PART AS THAT PLAYED BY FRANCE ON LAND DURING THE WAR WITH GERMANY. JAPAN TO-DAY IS MAKING USE OF THE ANTAGONISM BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA, BUT WHEN THE FINAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN THESE TWO GIANTS FOR WORLD HEGEMONY BREAKS OUT, JAPAN IS GOING TO BE THE BATTLEGROUND OF THAT FIGHT.

—L. Trotsky and Prof. Varga. (See Page 10.)

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water, tearing away huge logs. Small boys are in everybody's way, wet from their yellow hair down to their sunburnt feet, but as enthusiastic as small boys ever are in the business of destruction. Pulling, chopping, wrestling, prising and tugging, these people are clearing their great river of her incubus, and making her banks accessible to the hundreds of barges that are lying in the rivers, and in the great expanses of Onega and Ladoga. And we see everywhere along the banks great stacks of timber torn from these wrecks, heaped up and steadily growing. Most of this work is done in the evening when the routine of the day is over, by voluntary labour. And here and there we see groups of people with a wagon, conveying this timber to the fuel depots for the coming of winter.

We pass over a bridge and we see for a quarter of a mile that the whole road is up—they are putting down new tram rails. I examine the old rails, and I find that in places they are worn down to the thinness of a half-crown. Not hardly a day too soon, for the Petrograd tram service is an excellent one, and a credit to the administration. Many of the trams are newly painted, and the undergear is apparently in good order. The passengers queue up themselves and take their seats in an orderly fashion, and the soldier on guard on the next corner does not display the slightest interest in either the car or the passengers. No fares are paid, and only persons with workers' cards are permitted to ride. I thought that they should surely send down some of Petrograd's tramway administrators to Moscow to straighten up tramway matters in that city.

Our attention was called to several large chimney stacks emitting heavy smoke. There has not been a smoke problem in Petrograd for many years, but it seems as if there will be one soon. I remembered then that we had passed, on our trip up from Moscow, seven goods trains between Vishera and Petrograd. Overseas trade is slowly helping to generate new blood in the hearts of Russia's industrial life.

We walk down the harbor. The "Transbalt," a large Russian ship—once a hospital ship—is flying the "Blue Peter," and her sides are lined with faces, the

faces of German war-prisoners on their way back to the Fatherland, after six years of exile. To-morrow the "Transbalt" leaves for Stettin. Then we see the Russian ships, "Karl Marx," "Sophie Peroskaya," "Delegate," "Proletarian," "Bela-Kun," "Revolution," "Zinoviev," "Bakunin," and many others bearing names significant of world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And tied up in a quiet corner we find the "Saltburn," an English ship, that has evidently been there since the latter days of 1917.

Further down towards the Gulf we see the foreign ships tied up to the wharves. There are six Germans and one Swede. Large heaps of agricultural implements are stacked on the waterfront. In the sheds are carefully tabulated and stored great quantities of herrings, rice, flour, sugar, and other foodstuffs. The handling gear is still in very poor order, and most of the work is done by hand, but the ships get away to time. Last Sunday there was congestion in the yards, and 5000 Communists invaded the place, and in the course of the day they loaded all the accumulation into railway waggons, and left the ground clear for the workers on Monday morning. This was a different type of Voskresnik—Sunday voluntary work—than those I had often witnessed in Moscow, in which the volunteers shovelled snow very indifferently. But then the Petrograd proletariat is much more practical, I believe, than their fellow workers in Moscow.

Out in the Gulf we could see the white sails of many yachts gleaming as they took advantage of the long hours of twilight. The sun is not yet set, and he has tinged the sky with a red flame. The dome of St. Isaac's stands red golden high over the Red City, the trams have stopped running, an occasional light flickers from a window, and the last of the workers from the wood-piles have gathered their axes and saws, and are sauntering homewards.

They say that Russia will have another hard winter, but Petrograd is proving that Russia is finding her feet, and that out of chaos order and system cometh.

Red Petrograd, July 27th, 1921.

Best regards,

TOM.

November 7, 1921.

The Decay of Feudalism

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

(For former articles in this series, see September and October numbers.)

The master class in feudal society was divided into sections according to the amount of land held. The king in theory owned all the land in the country. He let large groups of manors to earls, or, as they were called, tenants in chief, on condition that in return they should render him military service whenever he called upon them for it. The earls then sublet single manors or small groups of manors to lords on condition that the lords rendered them military service when called upon. These lords were the "lords of the manors" who have already been explained.

The feudal state was made up of the king, the feudal assembly of nobles and a few permanent officials. The state weapon was the feudal army, which could only be formed when at any rate some earls were willing to pay their military service to the king. The state, as a matter of fact, was a very weak institution, entirely at the mercy of the large landowners or "nobles." For the most part under feudalism, political power was used directly by the individual landowners, and not indirectly through a central state institution.

The Norman conquest of Britain in the year 1066 changed the feudal system there very little. The Norman master class for the most part replaced the English masters. The serfs were little con-lish masters. They had sufficient intelligence to know that it mattered very little to them whether their masters were Englishmen or Normans. So long as the feudal system remained they were exploited in the same manner by either set of masters. The same change was made as a result of a One change was made as a result of the Nor-group of lawyers accompanying the Norman conquest to Britain. Feudalism in England had developed as a matter of custom, but these lawyers wrote all existing customs upon parchment and entered them as statute laws. Naturally they recognised might as right, and in the new written laws gave the lord of each manor private property rights as owner of the whole of

the manorial lands.

Although themselves a product of feudalism, yet the Norman kings from the beginning set out to break the political portion of feudalism by reducing the power of the earls and lords. They attempted to set up a central government which would draw to itself some of the powers wielded by the local barons. The kings first of all attempted to take away from the local magnates their local courts, and their powers of waging war amongst themselves. The king in this particular policy was really expressing the needs of a very slowly developing industrial and commercial class. From the 11th to the 15th century the king became by slow degrees the political instrument of a growing capitalist class, although neither the king nor the capitalist class were conscious of the fact. The rise of the new class will be traced in a later article. In France the king remained the instrument of the feudal landowners. The feudal state in France was used until the 18th century as an instrument against the rise of the capitalist class. But in England the state very early became the instrument of the rising class as against the feudalists. The latter for some centuries struggled to maintain their control of the state with varying success. Magna Charta was one of the temporary victories by the earls and lords. It laid down certain "rights" for the "freemen of England." These "freemen," of course, were the lords and earls.

The cause of the gradual change in political and other social conditions between the 11th and 15th centuries was the gradual change in the methods of production and distribution. New tools of industrial production and the possibility of a wider area for exchange caused the development of industrial towns and markets. These in turn created the capitalist class. The interests of this new class were served by some, but not by all, the kings down to 1485.

Consideration of the rise of the capitalist state must be left for a later article.

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The first beginnings of change can be seen in the growth of towns. In the towns themselves developed a class of master craftsmen, but first of all we must notice the effect of the development of these towns upon the life on the manors themselves.

The development of towns in Britain was materially assisted by the Norman Conquest. Commercial intercourse between Britain and the mainland immediately increased. Not only did Norman lords sail to and fro, but also Jews and other merchants. Consequently we find that—(1) Particularly as a result of the coming of the Jews, the supply of coin in the country increased and gradually coins found their way even into manorial economy. Very slowly payment in coins replaced payment in produce. (2) The second result of the coming of Jews and merchants was a gradual development of trade. Not only did merchants arrive at London and other sea-ports, but they travelled over the country. They were able to travel simply because the central government of the Normans was able under most Norman kings to provide greater security along the few high roads. At first these merchants travelled in groups by means of caravans, and soon had selected a number of suitable spots as resting places on their journeys. The manors near by such resting places gradually developed into small towns. Such manors were situated in geographical spots suitable to the resting of caravans, such as a junction of two high roads, a ford across a river, etc. At such a place the merchants in the caravans would require some craft specialists for repair work to their caravans, harness, tools, etc., and they would pay for such specialist work. In addition the caravan itself was a trading centre for manors in that district. The development of craft specialists heralded the coming of industry.

Another cause of the development of some manors into small towns can be seen in the large monasteries and in the castles. The large number of people dwelling in such institutions required craft specialists, and required also more produce very often than could be obtained from their own lands. There grew up therefore in such an institution a de-

mand firstly for craft specialists, and secondly for surplus produce from surrounding manors. The nearest manorial community to the institution would become the home of certain craft specialists, and these men in their turn soon required to purchase from the farming section of the community many of their necessities of life.

From whatever cause it arose, the growth of a specialist craftsman class provided immediately a market for the surplus produce of the manorial community. The craftsman specialising at his craft is an example of a second great division of labor, namely that between the farmer and the craftsman, that is to say, between the country and the slowly growing towns.

After 1066 then, from these various causes, markets developed throughout the country, at which the surplus produce of the manors could be disposed. It was becoming possible for the people in the manorial communities, both lords and serfs, to produce for sale. As a result production for profit gradually replaced production for use.

As soon as it became possible to produce for profit, both lords and villeins were anxious to increase their production for this purpose. Now that there was a chance to dispose of any surplus produce at a market the villeins wanted to spend the whole week on their own land and be "free" to produce for profit. They became increasingly dissatisfied at having to spend several days each week working on the lord's land. At the same time the lords desired that as much as possible should be produced from their Demesne lands, so that they, too, might sell any surplus at a profit. Seeing that the serfs were working on the Demesne lands unwillingly, the lords realised that more would be produced by willing workers. Therefore, in gradually increasing numbers they agreed to release the serfs from labor on the Demesne lands on condition that the serfs paid rent for their acres instead of this labor service. But the serfs were in this way freed from work on the lord's land only in those cases where other workers were available and willing to take their places. These other workers willing to take their places and work for a wage paid by the lord came from the

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ranks of the cottars and the younger sons of villeins. They were the first wage slaves.

That is to say, gradually the feudal method of production on the lord's demesne lands by means of serfs rendering labor service in return for their acres was replaced by the capitalist method of production by means of wage slaves. These wage slaves were persons who sold their labor-power to the lord for a certain number of hours per day and days per week in return for a wage paid by the lord. The wage paid was of course a portion of the total amount produced from

the lord's land by the individual wage slave. At two points a cash contract was entering the social system. Rent instead of service was being paid for the use of land, a money wage was being paid for the use of labor-power.

The manorial system was slowly but surely decaying. The economic basis of society so far as its agricultural section was concerned was developing features of a coming capitalism. The change of course was only gradual, and extended over the 13th and 14th centuries.

Reading: Gibbins, pp. 40-41; Starr, pp. 48-51.

Brailsford on Russia

(Henry Noel Brailsford, author of "The War of Steel and Gold," spent two months in Russia last year. This was, of course, prior to the famine conditions of this year, which affected badly some portions of Russia. His two months were mostly spent in the Vladimir district, and the results of his investigations of small town and village life in that district he gives in his book, "The Russian Workers' Republic." The following excerpts are a few sentences and paragraphs taken from different parts of the book, which, on the whole, is one of the most interesting of the recent publications on Russia.)

"The peasant, even the poorest peasant of the sterile central regions, is living better and eating more than ever before. I was a guest several times in peasant houses and in communal or 'Soviet' farms. The abundance and good quality of the food was in some of them surprising, even if one assumes that the generous hospitality traditional in Russia had spread an unusually lavish table."

"The peasants are building, and building rather extensively. Everywhere one saw new houses, and they were usually bigger and better constructed than the old."

"Industrial Russia has passed, and is still passing, through a painful crisis of

adaptation. Rural Russia, save in the more savagely devastated districts, is obviously and certainly more prosperous than ever before. This green Russia, be it remembered, outnumbered industrial Russia in population by nearly ten to one."

"In many villages the peasants are now forming 'artels' (co-operative groups) for common cultivation. The long, narrow strips, a few yards, disappear. The separate holdings are amalgamated into big fields. Instead of the alternate tillage and fallow, one sees a six or eight field system, with a proper rotation of crops. For the first time machinery is being used, scarce though it is. Eight tractors belonging to the department were used for the first time this season. Some hundred and fifty-six villages in this province have adopted the 'artel' system since the Revolution."

"This must be said emphatically for the Russian Communist Dictatorship, that it is preparing its own eventual disappearance. It is ripening the whole Russian people for responsibility and power by its great work for education. It has striven, amid inconceivable difficulties, for the prompt enlightenment of the whole nation. It has, moreover, based its entire system of education, not on any principle of passivity, receptivity, and discipline,

but rather on 'Self-initiative' and activity."

"I saw near Petrograd a big boarding-school formerly reserved for the children of the nobility. To-day about three in four of its inmates are the children of manual workers. They were in their bearing and manners, as refined as the children whose parents belonged to the 'intelligentsia,' as eager to study, and as keen to enjoy the pleasures of art and knowledge to which an admirable staff of teachers introduced them. They were learning handicrafts as well as sciences and languages, and whether they exercise a trade or a profession when they leave school, they will be cultivated men and women, capable of disciplined thought and aesthetic pleasure."

"The guiding idea of the Soviet Republic is to give the children a preference in everything, from food and clothing to less tangible goods. The explanation of this deliberate policy is not sentimental. Communism is a Messianic doctrine which lives for the future and acts with long-sighted vision. Its ambition is to base the greatness of the world's first Socialist Republic upon a generation of children who will be mentally and physically the superiors of the men and women of to-day."

"I talked one night in the train with a Red Army Officer, a simple but active-minded man, who had been a baker in civil life. 'What can you expect of us?' he said. 'We grew up as slaves. The capitalist system has ruined us, mind and body. This generation is hopeless. You will see the greatness of Russia only when our children grow up, reared in a socialistic society.' That thought penetrates the whole revolution."

"The Department of Education is also concerned with the general interests of culture and art, and ministers to adults as well as children. The Director thought that not more than 25 per cent. of the adult population is still illiterate. In one small industrial town alone—Murom—1500 illiterate adults took lessons and

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passed the examination last winter. Before the Revolution, in this province, 20 teashops with reading-rooms managed by a temperance society, 50 libraries opened by a Zemstvo, with 2 theatres and ten cinematographs, exhausted the opportunities for popular education and diversion. There are now, under the Soviet, 58 people's clubs, 677 libraries, 141 village reading-rooms, 334 organised lecture courses or schools for adults, 930 "culture circles" (which read and discuss standard books), 119 theatres, 39 cinematographs and 42 amateur choirs and bands. There are also 11 music schools, 10 art schools and 6 museums, where there were 1, 3 and 1 respectively. The reader must not interpret these words by Western standards. A reading-room is usually a peasant hut adapted for the purpose; a library may be a room with bookshelves in a mill; a theatre is usually a wooden shed with benches and a stage, but is sometimes cleverly decorated. These cheap and simple expedients serve their purpose. For the theatre the Russian workmen have developed a passion, and it is by far the most popular medium for the transmission of ideas."

"It may be honestly claimed, I think, for the Soviet administration that it has a better record in its relations to art and culture, generally, than any other government in the civilised world."

"The reasons for keeping the Communist party select are as potent as they ever were. The Revolution is still fighting for its life. When an army wavers, Communist volunteer battalions are thrown into the breach. When a regiment lacks steadiness, a stiffening of Communists is introduced into its ranks. When a factory works ill, a few Communist workmen are transferred to its staff. When a village is disaffected, one or two Communists are sent to live in it. They are the leaven, the active, nervous, conscious element, in the sluggish Russian body."

The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialised means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property.—F. Engels.

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Aristocrats and Patriotism

(The following is a short extract from a large book, "My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution," by M. Philips Price. The author is here speaking of a period in early revolutionary days in Russia, and the house to which he refers is that of Count Sergei Tolstoy, eldest son of Count Leo Tolstoy, which became a "quiet meeting-place for forlorn aristocrats.")

"At their house, however, they gathered during August and September quite a number of interesting people. They came mostly after dark with their cloaks over their faces; often they were disguised, and they slept sometimes on the sofa in the drawing-room and then disappeared before the sun rose. They were generally expecting midnight searches in their own dwellings by the officials of the Extraordinary Commission. I remember Prince Trubetskoy, the ecclesiastical historian and Cadet politician. Prince Voltorian also occasionally turned up, and so did various relations of the Countess, who were connected with General Skoropadsky, the Pro-German Ataman of the Ukraine. The youngest daughter of Leo Tolstoy, the Count's sister, also came in sometimes. She had been active in the Red Cross during the war, and was inclined to be pro-Ally. Listening to their conversation, one could get a fairly good impression of the mental attitude of the Russian aristocracy and middle classes of these times. Some would be pro-Ally and some pro-German. But it was quite an unimportant matter to them which side won the war in Western Europe. For them there was only one question: how then there was only one question: how to reconcile England with Germany and to secure the support of both for the over-throw of the Soviets. The pro-Germans thought the Central Powers would, even if defeated, be able to reach Moscow and relieve them. They prayed that the Allies, if victorious, would give the Germans a free hand to settle with the Com-

missars once and for all. The pro-Allies saw no objection, provided that Ludendorff's operations in the East were strictly controlled. Sometimes their eyes were turned towards the Far East. "Do you know," said one of them to me, "there is a rumour that the Japanese are advancing to the Urals and will be here before Christmas?" His eyes sparkled at the thought of getting back to his estate again with the assistance of the yellow men's bayonets. And when it seemed that the Japanese were not hurrying to move east of Lake Baikal, this same "patriotic" son of the Russian aristocracy asked me if I thought the French could spare sufficient African troops, or the British some Indians, to come up across the Caucasus and enter Central Russia. Germans, Allies, Japanese, Chinese or niggers—all were welcome in Russia, if they would only re-establish these aristocrats in their ancestral privileges and punish their peasants with a law of blood and iron. What I overheard in this house convinced me that national feeling is only a very superficial factor in human psychology. Beyond a certain point fundamental social prejudices alone are operative in the formation of will-power.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become an historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realisation were there.—F. Engels.

Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding the existence of classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions.—F. Engels.

International Relations

By L. TROTSKY And PROF. E. VARGA.

27. The economic condition of the world in general, and the decline of Europe in particular, presages a long period of hard times, disturbances, crises of a general and partial character, and so forth. The international relations inaugurated by the war and the Versailles Treaty are rendering the situation more and more hopeless. The trend of the economic forces tending to sweep away national boundaries and convert Europe and the rest of the world into one economic territory gave birth to imperialism; but, on the other hand, the scuffle between the contending forces of this imperialism led to the creation of a multiplicity of new national boundaries, new custom-barriers and new armies. With regard to State administration and economy, Europe has been thrown back to the medieval state.

The soil which has been exhausted and laid bare is now being called upon to feed an army exceeding in numbers that of 1914, the hey-day of the "world in arms."

28. The policy of France which is playing a dominant part in Europe to-day, is based upon the following two principles:

The blind rage of the usurer, ready to pounce upon and strangle an insolvent debtor and the greed of the predatory heavy industry striving to create favourable conditions for industrial imperialism to supplant financial imperialism with the aid of the Saar, Ruhr, and Upper Silesian Coal Basins.

But this striving runs counter to the interests of England, whose aim it is to keep the German coal away from the French ore, which, if brought together, would create the conditions necessary for the reconstruction of Europe.

29. Great Britain to-day has reached the high-water mark of her power. Having retained all her dominions, she also acquired new ones; nevertheless, it is just at this moment that it is becoming most evident that the dominating international position of England stands in

contradiction to its actual economic decline. German capitalism, which from the standpoint of technique and organisation, is much more progressive than that of England, has been crushed by force of arms. The United States, having taken possession of both Americas, has now come out as a triumphant rival even more menacing than Germany was. The productivity of labour and of industry in the United States, owing to its superior organisation and technique, is now above that of England. Within the territory of the United States, from 65 to 70 per cent of the world's petroleum is being produced upon which depends the automobile industry, tractor production, the fleet and aviation. England's dominant position in the coal market which used to be almost a monopoly has been shaken. America has now assumed first place and her European export is ominously increasing. America's commercial marine has nearly come up to that of England, neither is the United States content to put up any longer with England's monopoly over the Atlantic cables. Great Britain has taken up a defensive position with regard to her industry, and is now resorting to protective legislation against the United States under the guise of combating the "unwholesome" German competition. Finally, while the English fleet, comprising a large number of battleships of the old type, has been checked in its latest development, the Harding administration has taken up the Wilsonian programme of naval construction intended to secure the superiority of the American flag on the sea within the next couple of years.

The situation has become such that either England will be automatically pushed back, and, in spite of her victory over Germany, will become a second-rate power, or she will be constrained in the very near future to gather up all the power she had inherited from former

times and engage in a mortal struggle with the United States.

This is just the reason why England is maintaining her alliance with Japan and is making concessions to France in order to secure the latter's assistance or neutrality at any rate. The growth of the international role of the latter country within the European continent during the last year has been caused not by a strengthening of France, but by the international weakening of England.

Germany's capitulation last May on the indemnity question signifies, however, a temporary victory for England, including as it does a supplementary guarantee of further economic decay of Central Europe, without in any way excluding seizure by France of the Ruhr district and Upper Silesian basin in the near future.

30. The antagonism between Japan and the United States, which was temporarily veiled by the former's participation in the war against Germany, is now tending to come out into the open. In consequence of the war, Japan has approached the American coast, having secured for itself a number of islands on the Pacific which are of great strategic importance.

The crisis of Japanese industry, following upon its rapid expansion, has again put to the front the problem of emigration. Being very thickly populated and poor in natural resources, Japan must export either her goods or her men, but, whether she does the one or the other, she gets into collision with the United States: in California, in China, and in the Yap Islands.

Japan is spending one-half of its budget on the maintenance of its army and fleet. In the impending struggle between England and the United States, Japan is going to play on the sea the same part as that played by France on land during the war with Germany. Japan to-day is making use of the antagonism between Great Britain and America, but when the final struggle between these two giants for world hegemony breaks out, Japan is going to be the battleground of that fight.

31. Both the original causes that called

forth the recent great slaughter and the chief combatants that took part in it marked it as a European war, the crucial point of which was the antagonism between England and Germany. The intervention of the United States only widened the scope of the struggle, but it did not divert it from its original direction. The European conflict was being settled by world-wide means. The war settled the English-German and German-American quarrel in its own way, but it did not solve the problem of the relations between the United States and England. Now, however, this problem has been put forward prominently as one of the first order and the question of the American-Japanese as one of the second order. Thus the last war was in reality only a prelude to a genuine world war which is to solve the problem of imperialist autocracy.

32. This, however, forms only one focus of international policy, which has yet another focus located in the Russian Soviet Federation and the 3rd International, brought about by the war. All the forces of the world revolution are arraying themselves against all the imperialist combinations.

Whether the alliance between England and France is going to be maintained or broken up, whether the Anglo-Japanese treaty is going to be renewed or not, whether the United States are going to join the League of Nations or not—all this is of little value so far as the interests of the proletariat or the securing of peace is concerned. The proletariat can see no guarantee for peace in the vacillating, predatory, and treacherous combinations of capitalist powers, whose policy turns to an ever increasing extent around the antagonism between England and America, fostering that antagonism and preparing for a new bloody outbreak.

The fact that some of the capitalist governments have concluded peace and commercial treaties with Soviet Russia does not mean that the bourgeoisie of the world has given up the idea of destroying the Soviet Republic. What we are witnessing now is nothing but a change, a temporary change perhaps, of the forms and methods of struggle. The uprising

caused by the Japanese troops in the Far East may serve as an introduction into a new stage of armed intervention.

It is altogether obvious that the longer the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat will go on, the more inevitably will the bourgeoisie be impelled by the contradiction of the international economic and political situation to make another bloody denouement on a world-wide scale.

If this should come to pass, the "restoration of capitalist equilibrium" consequent upon a new war would have to proceed under conditions of economic exhaustion and barbarity in comparison with which the present state of Europe might be regarded as the height of well-being.

33. In spite of the fact that the late war

has furnished terrible evidence of the fact that "wars are unprofitable"—a truth lying at the bottom of bourgeois and socialist pacifism—the process of political, economic, ideological and technical preparation for a new war, is going on at full speed all through the capitalist world. Humanitarian anti-revolutionary pacifism has become an auxiliary force to militarism.

The social-democrats of every variety and the Amsterdam Trade unionists who are trying to make the workers of the world believe that they ought to adapt themselves to the economic and political conditions resulting from the war, are rendering the imperialist bourgeoisie most valuable services in the matter of preparing a new slaughter which threatens to completely annihilate civilisation.

Simple Lessons in Economics

No. 4.

By E. S. HANKS.

Wages (the value of labor-power) are determined by the cost of living. Since it has been shown that all commodities on the average sell at their value, how is it possible for profits to be made by capitalists? This question could not be answered satisfactorily by economists until the time of Marx. Some stated that the capitalists charged 10 per cent, over the value for their commodities. But if one capitalist gained 10 per cent. by selling, then he would immediately lose it again by buying, and thus at the end of the transaction, he would be in the position of "as you were."

Marx tells us that if you cannot explain profit on the basis of commodities selling at their value, you cannot explain it at all. And it is on the above basis that the analysis must be made. Great profits may be made from commercial swindling (otherwise known as "business speculation"), also from the scarcity of certain commodities caused by war, drought or

other disasters. However, these are merely incidental cases, and, usually, amount to certain capitalists gambling their fellow capitalists out of portions which, otherwise, they would have held. But how did the capitalists obtain this wealth in the first instance? The above cases can merely explain in their hands; never can it explain the source of that wealth.

A more apt example is gambling at a racecourse. Certain people receive profit out of this source, but it is self-evident that it is a reshuffling of wealth already produced. If the whole community ceased working and tried to live by gambling alone, then, in a short time, the existing wealth would be consumed, and there would be nothing left to gamble with. Likewise, with commercial speculation. From the above, it will be seen that, to explain profits, one must study the places where wealth is produced—the workshops of

the world. How then is profit, or more correctly, Surplus Value, produced?

Surplus Value is the scientific name for rent, interest and profit when these are lumped together and spoken of as one. The wages of workmen are determined by the "cost of living." If the labor process of any of these workmen was examined, it would be found that they continue working after they have replaced their wages, and just because they work over and above the time necessary to replace their wages, they create a surplus which the boss takes for himself, and out of which he pays rent to a landlord for his factory, etc., and interest to a bank or other money lender on whatever money he has borrowed for his business.

If the working man labored in the factory or mine, etc., just a sufficient time to replace his wages, then certainly there would be no surplus value—for the exploiting class; as for example:—The labor time necessary to produce the commodities composing the "cost of living" of John Brown is 2 hours (on the average). Thus, his wages = 2 hours' socially necessary labor or £1.

We follow John Brown to the factory at 8 a.m. John, taking the raw materials supplied by Boss & Co., and using their plant, added two hours of his labor to this material. If John ceased work now (10 a.m.) the position would be:—

Labor in raw material supplied by Boss & Co., 2 hours, or ..	£1 0 0
Labor in plant worn out by John, also supplied by Boss & Co., ½ hour, or	0 5 0
John added 2 hours' work, that is, an amount equal to his wages, 2 hours, or	1 0 0

Labor cost of finished article, 4½ hours, or	£2 5 0
If Boss & Co. sell (exchange for gold) the finished article at its value, they get £2/5/- for it.	

Though Boss & Co. have gained nothing, you will note they have also lost nothing. But note especially, John does not go home at 10 a.m. Boss & Co. bring him more raw material, and John works 6 hours more (that is, assuming

an 8-hour day only), thus three times repeating the diagram below:—

Labor, in raw material supplied by Boss & Co., = 2 hours, or	£1 0 0
Labor in plant worn out by John, also supplied by Boss & Co., = ½ hour, or	0 5 0
John adds 2 hours, but having already received his wages, gets nothing in return = 2 hours, or	1 0 0

Labor cost of finished article = 4½ hours, or	£2 5 0
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So you see John added 8 hours (£4) per day of his labor, of which the boss gave him 2 hours, or £1, and kept 6 hours, or £3, himself. Mr. Landlord also calls on Mr. Boss, and Mr. Boss hands over as rent £1 out of the £3 which John produced for him. Later, Mr. Moneylender calls on Mr. Boss, and receives as interest on a loan another one of the three pounds produced by John. Thus the surplus value which John creates is "whacked up" by Boss, Landlord, and Moneylender.

If Boss, as sometimes happens, has sufficient capital without borrowing and owns the land, then he pockets the whole surplus value himself. Instead of taking John, take the whole working class, and you will understand where the luxury of the idle rich class comes from. Of all the wealth produced three-fourths goes to them.

Next issue the figures of the Commonwealth Year Book will be utilised to demonstrate how surplus value is produced.

"Of all classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.—"The Communist Manifesto"—Marx and Engels.

"This idea transforms man into an attribute of reason, while in reality reason is an attribute of man."—J. Dietzgen.

Jailed—The Reason Why

1. THE TRIAL OF JAMES NICHOLLS, just concluded in Cairns, on a charge of burning standing cane, coupled with a sentence of five years jail, is one of those cases in which the evidence does not warrant a conviction.

2. It is the purpose of this manifest to enlighten the public on the circumstances connected with the case, and the events leading up to his arrest and conviction.

3. This man, James Nicholls, who was sentenced to five years' jail on the 17th September, 1921, had been prominent as Chairman of the Strike Committee at South Johnstone.

4. In no uncertain manner he displayed all the characteristics of a champion of solidarity, and one who would not stoop to treachery in any industrial trouble, standing out fearlessly in the cause of industrial freedom.

5. His ideals are those which at all times must inspire the workers to act against oppression, and the attacks of unscrupulous job-hunters and parasites.

6. As these champions are few, it behoves every worker to see to it that men of this calibre are not left to the mercy of capitalist persecution and jails.

7. As soon as the dispute took place in the South Johnstone cane area between the cane-cutters and the farmers, the persecution of those interested on the cane-cutters' behalf began.

8. We now proceed to a brief summary of the dispute and subsequent events. A gang of cutters were fined £5 or one month for a breach of the award, namely, ceasing work. A meeting of the A.W.U. Members was called, and well attended, to deal with the trouble.

9. At this meeting of A.W.U. Members other complaints were made by other gangs not being able under the rates prevailing to make a standard wage, as laid down by the award; also the accommodation act was not given effect to—sanitation, etc.

10. The meeting decided that the mill hands as well as the cane-cutters should cease work until a guarantee of 28/- a day, which is a condition of the award, was conceded, and that no more prosecutions should take place; also that the accommodation and health act was carried out.

11. This lays before you the basis of the struggle. From this point, then, we follow subsequent events, and the conviction of James Nicholls.

12. When the strike committee was formed, J. Nicholls, who was then Vice-President of the A.W.U. in that locality, was elected president of the strike committee. From then he was, according to the farmers and politicians, held responsible as the sole cause of the South Johnstone strike, and means were used to intimidate him and get him removed from the area.

13. The A.W.U. Officials of the far-northern branch immediately opposed the action of the

strike committee, and used their influence to get cutters to take the place of those on strike.

14. Backed up by the leading politicians and press, a campaign of calumny and vilification of Nicholls and those represented on the strike committee was launched. This campaign of slander and vilification was launched at the time of Nicholls' arrest on a serious charge.

15. In a speech given by the Premier he invited all unions to use any means to exterminate these "extremists and criminal element," as he termed them. The strike committee was in words practically outlawed. It is quite obvious that a man of Jim Nicholls' calibre (sincerity of purpose and indomitable courage) was to be the target of the powers to be.

16. Nicholls made no secret of his intentions on the day that it is alleged he committed the crime of firing cane, and he with others walked along the tram line which is used as a public thoroughfare to the barracks, where his clothes were, to get a change of clothes, and on his return along the same route, still in company with the other men, it is sworn that he committed the offence.

17. Farmers allege that they were diligently on watch for fires, and saw him pass along in the morning, and that on his return in the afternoon fires sprang up almost simultaneously in three or four places on different properties.

18. In the evidence given by these crown witnesses who were so diligently watching, none of them saw him leave the tram line, and one woman only stated that she saw Nicholls come out of a cane paddock, notwithstanding the evidence of the men who were with Nicholls, to the contrary.

19. We submit to you that in the face of this evidence, where, it is alleged by one witness out of others who were there on watch, that he was off the tramline, and in face of Nicholls' witnesses who swore he never left them. Is that evidence sufficient to condemn him on?

20. We draw your attention again to the words of politicians and A.W.U. Officials, and by the way he is also convicted for common assault on Farrell, President P.I., local centre of the A.W.U., and sentenced to 12 months' jail for it.

21. We conclude, is it not a plain case of a man having no chance when the whole machinery of State, aided by union officials, went to such an extent as to first verbally outlawing a man and then utter words of appreciation when the sentence of five years is imposed.

22. We ask you, does anything in connection with Nicholls' trial and conviction point to any other conclusion than a miscarriage of justice?

23. We appeal to you to assist in every way to gain the release of a worthy and well-known citizen of the community.

24. WORKERS! LET YOUR SLOGAN BE THE RELEASE OF JAMES NICHOLLS.

(Signed) G. BUCKINGHAM,
Secretary Release of Nicholls Committee.

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A Party and a Policy

THE lessons of the World War-conditions and its aftermath, including the Russian Revolution, are taking us some time to fully grasp. But we have learnt enough already to be able to see the necessity of our travelling in certain directions. The curtain has been lifted somewhat, and we have been permitted to glimpse the process of a revolution. Having this to guide us, and taking into account local conditions, we have to set ourselves the task of formulating a policy to suit Australian conditions. The circumstances of Australia are not exactly similar to the circumstances of any other country, and although, because we face the same social problem, we are compelled to adopt the same general principles as comrades in other lands, nevertheless, upon Australian Communists devolves the responsibility of adapting these principles in a manner best calculated to suit Australian circumstances.

In the first place though, we should have a united Communist Party at the earliest possible moment. Both parties claim adherence to the same general principles, and it cannot be claimed for either party that it would not be stronger by the acquisition of elements from the other party. We believe the two together would have a very strong nucleus of fairly equipped working class students, whose influence would be quite sufficient to equip themselves and the rest of the membership for the work ahead. The one party has doubtless within its ranks everywhere elements somewhat raw, but there are a great number of its members who realise this fact and the necessity for improvement in that direction. It cannot now be said that there is any longer justification for the existence of two parties.

A united party could then proceed to the formulation of a suitable policy for this country. Such a policy would necessarily possess certain well defined features. Firstly, by far and away the most important work ahead is the development of as many as possible students with a thorough grasp of Marxian principles. Without this we may as well close up. Unless this educational

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The South-African farmers will have nothing to do with political conflicts at all. This attitude of the Dominions resulted in robbing English imperialism of its freedom of action towards the United States of America.

The constant sharpening of economic rivalry between the United States and Great Britain has put the question to both rivals whether this rivalry—in an atmosphere of great political antagonisms—will not result in an increase of armaments and ultimately lead to another world war.

In another world war England would find herself in a much more dangerous situation than in 1914-18. England without being in a position to count on the unconditional support of the Dominions, will in all probability find France among her enemies. The endeavours of France to rule the entire continent of Europe with the help of the vassal states of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Roumania, as well as her eastern policy, bring her into an ever growing conflict with England. English imperialism has rendered the destruction not only of the naval but of the land forces of Germany possible. The disarming of German capitalism has made French militarism a ruling factor on the continent. France, in the present state of development of long-distance guns, aviation and submarines, would not only be able to blockade England completely but might even be venturesome enough to attempt the invasion of England. This state of affairs forces the English government to attempt an understanding with the American government. The result of such an understanding would be the birth of an Anglo-Saxon capitalistic trust whose centre of gravity would be in America. This trust would be directed against Japan.

IV. THE ISOLATION OF JAPAN.

Japanese imperialism has grown rich at small cost as war contractor to the Allies during the war. It took advantage of the fact that owing to the war, England was incapable of supplying her colonies with a sufficient quantity of goods. At the outset of the war, Japan prevented the participation of China in the war, by diplomatic means took Kiauchau and the province of Shantung away from German imperialism and put herself in Germany's place. Japan supported inner unrest in China and took advantage of it in order to play the part of an ostensible organiser, but in reality in order to make herself the ruler of the enormous empire which slowly proceeds towards unification by way of feudal dismemberment under the leadership of the bourgeois. The results of the world war render doubtful Germany and the exit of Russia in her quality of an imperialistic power capable of allying herself with Japan for a common plundering expedition, have forced Japan to count exclusively on the support of England in case of a conflict with the United States.

V. THE EAST ASIAN PLANS OF THE UNITED STATES.

By reason of the necessity of a colossal extension of their sphere of economic influence, the United States of America consider China and Russia (Siberia) as big markets which are to be conquered as a favourable opportunity for investing American capital.

Considering the unique position of America as creditor of the entire civilised world; considering the competition of American industry not only with Japanese but with English industry as well, the United States are opposed to all special rights and privileges which have been won by other imperialistic States like England, France and Japan in China and may be won by them in Siberia. America is attempting to crowd Japan out of China with the slogan of the "open door," a slogan put forward by the American secretary of State, John Gay, as early as 1909. From the attitude of America on the question of the Chinese radio stations and the Yap cables, it is clear that she is prepared to take up the fight on the whole front. This attitude of the United States threatens the interests of England but much less so than the interests of Japan for the reason that England, being a capitalistically stronger country, can fight American competition much easier than Japan; and also because the question of the Pacific coast is a vital one for Japan, whereas for England it is only one of the more important questions of international politics. If England has to choose between Japan and the United States of America, she will surely choose America. On this background the Washington conference shows up as an American attempt to rob Japan by diplomatic means of the fruits of victory.

VI. THE PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

The conditions for the limitation of armaments in the Pacific or for the distribution of its waters as naval bases of the several naval powers depend on the results of the negotiations on the subject of the issues in the Pacific Ocean. England will take the part of Japan and will endeavor to come to a compromise rendering it possible for her to keep up the alliance with Japan and to include America formally in this alliance. The military weight of an alliance with Japan in the case of a war with the United States is very great; but the conflict weight of this alliance in case of a this end, Japan will be given certain rights in China. America will also get a share in the exploitation of Mesopotamian oil wells, etc. Should England succeed in creating such a particularly close connection with Japan within the limits of the Anglo-American-Japanese alliance. These three armaments will then decide the degree of naval armament permissible to other States. But should no understanding be effected on the questions at issue, both the

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economic and the armament conflict will grow sharper.

At the first opportunity, England and the United States will form a trust and spoil Japan of the results of the war in China as well as in Soviet Russia to the advantage of the United States. This understanding however—like the peace of Shimonski at which Russia, Germany and France attempted to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory over China in 1894—will serve as a starting-point for new political groupings and fresh complications in world politics; in the opposite case, the process of the sharpening of political antagonism will develop faster still. These antagonisms can never, however, be quite put out of the way. The economic antagonism of England and America will always remain a dominant factor in world politics, neither will the Anglo-Japanese antagonism cease to exist. The antagonism of England and France will continue. And to all these antagonisms between the capitalistic victors must be added the antagonism born out of their relations to the defeated capitalistic countries, as Germany for instance, to the colonies and finally to Soviet Russia, the State which has opened a breach in the state system of international capitalism.

VII. THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The attempt to draw the question of the limitation of armaments in continental Europe into the discussions at the conference has no chance of success. Although a limitation of armaments constitutes no danger whatever for France considering the complete disarmament of Germany, still France will not consent to give up her efforts to become the first military power in Europe, the essence of the imperialistic policy being the ruling of the continent of Europe. Besides France there are several other States which other treaties received treaty of Versailles and other hostile population.

In Poland there are great masses of Ukrainian, Russian and German inhabitants. Ukrainian, Russian and German similar to the Czechoslovakia offers a picture similar to the former Austria-Hungary, besides the Czechs there is a numerous Magyar and Magyar population. Roumania has a considerable Bessarabian subjects in mass. A considerable part of the Bulgarian nation has been adjudged to Roumania and Yugo-Slavia. In the near east France, from her bases in Africa and Syria, is threatening England's flank at her most sensitive spot, the Suez Canal.

France is endeavouring to hamper English policy in the East. This policy consists of creating a connection between India and Egypt by forming a great Arabic State completely dependent on English imperialism. To arrive at a state of affairs in which France consents to limit her armaments, England must first come to an understanding with France in all questions of world politics.

How little the capitalist States themselves

believe in the possibility of disarmament is shown by the fact that the English government at the same time that it accepted in the heartiest manner Harding's proposal to begin negotiations about disarmament in Washington in the month of November, assigned 30 million pounds sterling for new warships because "Japan is building 8 dreadnoughts to be launched in 1925 and has already assigned the sums for the next eight dreadnoughts, and because the United States of America in the year 1925 would dispose of 12 giant battle ships."

The Executive Committee of the Communist International exposes the character of the Washington conference. This conference will be unable to come to any results on the disarmament question, and will not contribute to bringing peace among the nations. This conference is only an attempt to defend the interests of the stronger Anglo-Saxon imperialist pirates at the cost of China and Soviet Russia. This character of the Washington conference is outlined all the sharper by the fact, that Soviet Russia was not invited, thus robbing her of the opportunity of exposing the despicable game that is to be played there with the fate of nations.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International warns the working masses and the oppressed nations hoping that any diplomatic combinations whatever will be capable of emancipating them from the menace of an armed capitalist peace. Nor will this conference liberate them from exploitation by the capitalist States. The Executive Committee of the Communist International summons all Communist Parties and all Trade Unions affiliated with the Red Trade Union International to sharpen their fight against the imperialist States whose conflicts of interest will lead to a fresh world conflagration if proletarian revolution does not disarm the capitalist class and create a real peace covenant of the workers. The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls the attention of the working masses of the world to the intricate working masses in Washington against Soviet Russia.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International invites the masses of China and Corea, and the people of East Siberia, to join their forces more closely with Soviet Russia, the only State which is endeavoring to build up relations with the nations of the East on a foundation of equal rights and brotherly aid.—"Rosta Wien."

UNITY.

Communist Party branches throughout Australia look to Sydney Communists for Unity.

Militarism

By W. A. BONGER.

We may be very brief upon the correlation of militarism and the present economic system. This correlation is so clear that there are few persons who deny it. The motives which, under all earlier modes of production, have engendered wars are principally of an economic nature. But besides these there have been at times others; but we have not to enquire here what was in the last analysis their correlation with the mode of production of that day. The relation between capitalism and war is always so close that we can find in the economic life the direct causes of the wars waged under the empire of capitalism.

As we have seen above in our exposition of the present economic system, a part of the surplus-value that comes to the moneyed class is invested as new capital. The continually increasing amount of capital does not readily find investment in full in a country where capitalism is already in force. This is why the moneyed class desires to invest a part of the surplus value in countries whither capitalism has not yet penetrated. If the inhabitants of the country chosen as field of operation are opposed to this, or if the same country is coveted by other capitalistic powers, the resulting antagonism generally leads to war.

In the second place, the producers can sell in their own country only a part of the increasing quantity of their products; whence come their efforts to find an outlet into other countries. But as capitalism expands with increasing rapidity over the whole world, the difficulty of finding a country in a position to buy, or to which capitalism has not yet penetrated, becomes greater and greater. Encounters with other capitalistic powers pursuing the same end are the inevitable consequence.

It is upon the State that the task is imposed of finding new territories where capital may be invested, or new outlets for goods which do not find purchasers in the country where they are produced. Beside the duty of the State to maintain a certain

order in a society confused and complicated through the nature of our economic life (civil and criminal jurisprudence), there is its more important duty of warding off other groups of competitors, or even at need attacking them by force of arms.

But the army serves not only to act against the foreigner, it has equally a domestic duty to fulfill. In the cases where the police cannot maintain order the army reinforces them. The army must especially then be active at the time of great strikes, when so-called free labor is to be protected, that is, when employers are trying to replace the striking workmen with others who, in consequence of their poverty, or their lack of organization, put their personal interests above those of their comrades. Also it has its part to play in connection with great political movements, like that to obtain universal suffrage, for example.

Our present militarism is, therefore, a consequence of capitalism. The double duty of the army proves it; for its function is to furnish the bourgeoisie with the means of restraining the proletariat at home, and of repulsing or attacking the forces of foreign countries.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

Now that the Australian delegates are back from Moscow, efforts are to be made to definitely link up the Australian Trade Union Movement with the Red Trade Union International. However, in particular, we understand, will get busy in this direction. It is his intention to deliver his report to the various Trades and Labor Councils, and to reprint in book form the whole of the decisions arrived at by that Congress. Militant workers everywhere should be on hand, in the unions to which they belong, to assist in this work.

An Attempt to Prevent and an Attempt to Hasten the Development of Capitalism

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

(For previous Articles in this series see the September, October and November Numbers.)

In the last article the beginnings of the change from feudal to capitalist methods of productions on the manors was explained. At first everyone, both the lords and the serfs, were satisfied, but suddenly a great calamity overtook society. It was a plague known as the Black Death, and it reached England in the year 1348. As a result of the plague about one-half of the population died. How did this effect the changing social structure? We find that immediately after 1348 the lords no longer desired any change from the old system, and in fact immediately attempted to force a return to the old conditions. This was because there was now a scarcity of laborers. Only about one-half the number of wage laborers were available, as compared with the year before the plague. The lords, therefore, could no longer count on a ready supply of wage slaves to replace any serfs who gained freedom from their labor service. Therefore the lords refused to grant any further changes on the part of the serfs from labor services to payment in rent. In many cases, they attempted even to cancel any agreements to this effect, which they had previously made, and to force all serfs to return to their labor services. Particularly did the lords attempt to regain the forced labor of the serfs because even those wage slaves available were so small in number that they were able to demand higher wages. A rise in the nominal money wage was determined by the same economic conditions which mined by the same economic conditions which forced all prices upwards at that time. But in addition to this, wage slaves were able to raise the price of their commodity, labor-power, higher than its value, because, for one, the supply of labor-powers on the market was smaller than the demand for them. The demand being greater than the supply, the market price was temporarily pulled above the normal or natural price. This was one of rare occasions when the supply of labor-power was generally in all industries was lower than the demand for it. Usually there are far too many wage slaves on the market in relation to the demand for them. The lords in 1349 were not

able to force the old conditions back upon the serfs and wage workers. They, therefore, appealed to the Parliament of those days. This institution, developing out of the old assembly of feudal lords, was still composed mainly of the great landowners, and it passed the first labor legislation in the "Statute of Laborers," 1349. The full text of this Act can be read in Economic History Documents, p. 104-167. The preamble states that "because a great part of the people, and specially of the workmen and servants, has now died in this plague, some, seeing the necessity of lords and the scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they receive excessive wages." Therefore it was enacted that "every man and woman, of whatsoever condition, free or servile, able-bodied and under the age of sixty years, not living by trade nor exercising a certain craft, nor having of his own whereof he shall be able to live, or land of his own, in the tilling whereof he shall be able to occupy himself, and not serving another man, shall be bound to serve him who shall require him." That is to say, every person, man or woman, who is to say, every person, or a freeman owning was not a craftsman or a freeman owning was land as his own private property, was to be compelled to work. Moreover, the Act further required that such persons should receive only the wages which were paid in the year before the plague. The Act also levied penalties under which a worker who refused to work under the conditions laid down by the Act or who left his employment "without reasonable cause," was to be imprisoned, while the master who paid a wage higher than that paid before the plague was to be fined only a sum equal to double the wage paid. Further, any master who had agreed to pay higher wages was to be no longer bound by his agreement. This Act also laid down that craftsmen were to be paid for their work only a sum equal to that which had been paid in the days before prices had risen. The clause dealing with these craftsmen is interesting in that it shows just how far specialisation had advanced at that time. The clause mentioned the following craftsmen:—"Saddlers, skippers, following shoemakers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, masons, tilers, boatmen, carters, and other artificers and workmen." In regard to

Simple Lessons in Economics

No. 5.

By E. S. HANKS.

In studying surplus values (which, as said before, is rent, interest and profit in one) much may be learnt from the figures given in daily newspapers in articles not meant for working-class consumption. Just at the outbreak of war the "Age" in a special article made an appeal to investors or chemists to combine and develop several new industries in Australia. In outlining what a splendid investment it would be, the following statement was made:—

"A start must be made in Australia, and the sooner the better. An increase in the tariff duty on the imported materials would give an impetus, and the union of the scientists and manufacturers—a union which would be most acceptable to a great number of our best chemists—would get the industries well under way. We have the men, we have the materials, we have any necessary capital—what we have not is the union of science and industry. The average annual wage of an Australian workman is less than half the average annual value of his production. Now, if imports to the extent of £8,000,000 take place this means that industries created would mean about £3,000,000 to workmen, and the rest to the scientists and manufacturers."

Thus according even to the "Age" the working-class is exploited to the extent of more than half of what they produce. Actually, there is a greater degree of exploitation than the above cutting shows.

The basis taken for the value of output of the working-class is that of the factory prices, but the prices realised in the final sale to the consumer are not shown. Below is shown the usual journey of a commodity.

1. Manufacturer to wholesale warehouse.
2. Wholesale warehouse to retail shop.
3. Retail shop to final consumer.

In the above case it is the final price (at which the commodity sells) which is oscillating about value. And as there is, broadly speaking, little, if any, necessary labor ad-

ded to the commodities in their journey from the factory to the consumer, it follows that the gains made by the wholesaler and retailer are part of the surplus value generated in the factory but realised in exchange. As this is a point very confusing to students, a few quotations from the Commonwealth Year Book, No. 12, will be used as an example. During 1917 the amount of manufactured output is given for Australia as £206,386,646. This is shown as made up of the following parts:—

Raw Materials	£132,283,096
Fuel and Light	4,054,940
Salaries and Wages	36,618,218
All other expenditure, interest and profit	33,430,392
Total value of output	£206,386,646

From this it would appear that the working-class received a larger portion than went as surplus value, as—

Salaries and Wages = 17.4 per cent. of total.

Interest, Profit, etc. = 16.20 per cent. of total.

But the student must bear in mind that these figures give only the prices at the factories (Marx's "Price of Production.") Wholesalers and retailers have yet to realise their portion of the surplus value. To the amount taken by the manufacturer must also be added that taken by the wholesaler and that taken by the retailer. And it is at this point that no help can be had from the Year Book, because these tables are not given therein.

Mr. Piddington at a recent enquiry placed the amount added to the manufacturer's price by retailer and wholesaler as varying from 30 to 100 per cent, a good portion of which is surplus value. Thus it will be seen the degree of exploitation is far greater than the figures of the Year Book indicate.

The "God" Matter

By A. FROST.

In the course of a letter in "The Proletarian" (7/7/21) a correspondent gives a short exposition of philosophic materialism, seemingly with the delusion, which is not uncommon, that it is the proletarian philosophy. Such materialism is a bourgeois philosophy, an archaic survival, what Engels calls the shallow and vulgarised form, in which the metaphysical exclusively mechanical materialism of the 18th century exists to-day in the teachings of the itinerant spouters. Moreover, it betrays certain features characteristic of religious habits of thought when viewed in the light of historical materialism.

According to this theory, "it is not men's consciousness that determines their life, but their social life that determines their consciousness." Now, what is the commonest and most conspicuous feature of bourgeois, in fact, of every society above the level of savagery? Distinctions of rank of social status, and, since civilisation, class distinctions. These ideas of inequality, which explained the commonest everyday social relations, also served to interpret natural phenomena. These conceptions are clearly seen to dominate the oldest cosmologies, those of religion, with its heavenly kings who ruled the universe in much the same way that their servants, the earthly kings, ruled their less extensive realms. These habits of thought are still prevalent, and may be observed, not only in religion, but in many other, and sometimes very unlikely, spheres. For the bone-head, as well as the skull of the bourgeois, is filled with ideas of superiority, inferiority, subordination, which he takes with him everywhere, even into the domains of science and philosophy. Therefore, even when he becomes a philosophic materialist, he still must have his gods, so he believes "that matter is all-in-all; that 'mind,' or 'spirit,' or 'soul' is a mere by-product of the material process. . . .

Matter being the fundamental factor of the universe, apart from the universal substance and ether, of which it may be an emanation."

Thus the gods of the philosophic materialist are Matter (crude, physical matter), and the Eternal Father of Matter, the Ether. And further inquiry would reveal the other member of the Trinity—the Holy Ghost of Precedent. For, if we ask why matter is superior to mind, the reply is that matter preceded mind, it is the cause, whereas mind came later, and is only an effect, "merely a by-product." It follows that every effect is but a by-product of its cause; I am only the effect, the mere by-product of my father; communism a mere by-product of capitalism. Of course an effect cannot be understood, apart from the cause that produces it; communism is only a Utopian dream unless it is understood as the outcome of capitalist development. But it is equally impossible to understand a cause apart from the effect it produces; unless it be regarded as a transition stage to communism, capitalism itself, and all past history appears as nothing but a "wild whirl of senseless deeds of violence."

This exaltation of cause above effect, of matter above force and mind, is as anti-proletarian as the belief in social and supernatural superiors from which it is derived. "Our conception of matter and force is, so to speak, democratic. One is of the same value as the other; everything individual is but the property, appendage, predicate or attribute of the entire nature as a whole. . . . The Socialist materialism understands by matter, not only the ponderable and tangible, but the whole real existence. Everything that is contained in the Universe—and in it is contained everything, the All and the Universe being but two names for one thing—everything this Socialist materialism embraces in one conception, one name, one category, whether that cate-

gory be called the actuality, reality, nature or matter.*

But it is not only, nor even chiefly, among bourgeois and bone-heads that this anti-dialectic philosophy, with its reverence for crude matter, is met with. It seems to have become the special philosophy, at least in Australia, of the majority of the class-conscious proletariat. Though all ideas of social superiority and inferiority have been outgrown, nevertheless, the old habits of thought, to which they gave rise, still survive. But there is probably another and more potent influence at work upon certain important sections of the proletariat, which give their minds this rigid mechanical trend. The economic enslavement by the machine—by which, of course, the capitalist is himself enslaved, but in a different manner—and the whole routine of their existence, especially in the workshop, is literally but a by-product of the machine process. The speed and character of the movements which are the work of the operative are rigidly controlled by the pace and nature of the inanimate machine of which he is but the animate part. The effect is even greater upon mechanics and engineers, whose job it is to understand and supervise machines and mechanical processes which naturally produce correspondingly mechanical mental processes and habits of thought that must conform with the mechanical standards thus set. Thus does the discipline imposed by the machine enslave and stultify the worker, both physically and mentally.

But, whatever may be the explanation of this anomaly—class-conscious proletarians with a bourgeois philosophy—the remedy is as plain as the fact that it is the only remedy: a careful study of those classics of which every Socialist so well knows the titles, viz., "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (especially Chapter II.), "Feuerbach," and "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism" (especially Chapter VII.), by Engels, and the works of Joseph Dietzgen. They are the foundation of Scientific Socialism.

*Dietzgen.

THE RETURN OF THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATES FROM MOSCOW.

Lamb, Rees, Smith, Howey and Earsman have all arrived, and yet to come are Casey and Quinton. The late Paul Freeman was also a delegate from Australia.

As might be expected, one delegate was impressed very much by one aspect, and another by some other aspect of affairs in Russia, but all agreed that the Communist Party of Russia was a wonderfully organised party, and had become responsible for a gigantic task in re-constructing Russia for Communism. They were all much impressed with the immense educational work being done there in order that Russia's next generation shall be a more intelligent, capable, and active factor for the construction of a Communist Society. In Moscow, except for the changed character of the institutions of all kinds, one saw similar activity and life to that to be seen in Berlin, London, Melbourne or Sydney. But delegates might look in vain for drunkards, brawls, riots, or unemployed workers. The peasants were reckoned to be 100 per cent. better off than they were in pre-revolutionary days, and peasants form the vast bulk of the millions of Russia. The chief problem of the future is to develop machine production and Industrial life, from which alone can we expect a Communist Society to appear.

AMERICAN SUPREMACY.

The "Westminster Gazette's" correspondent at Washington remarks upon how wonderful is the influence America holds at the Disarmament Conference. He says that old European quarrels flame up only to be again subdued on one or the other quarrelling powers finding itself getting in bad with America.

Nothing wonderful about it. In pre-war days, when the position of dominance now held by America was enjoyed by Britain, all powers did her pleasure as they now do America's. A change of top

The Materialist Conception of History

By M. BEER.

From "The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx."

In broad outlines, this conception may be illustrated somewhat as follows:—

Primitive human groups lived under Communism, and were organised according to blood relationship. Their deities have the characteristics of their natural environment, and reflect the physical effects of this environment upon primitive mental life of the "savage"; their religion, their morality, and their laws promote the communal life and the tribal discipline. Feudal society is based on the possession of land by the nobles and on the industrial labour of the corporations of the town. The inherited religious ideas are soon transformed in accordance with the dominant interests of these historical periods (primitive Christianity became a State religion); all religious, ethical, and philosophic ideas antagonistic to these interests were fought and persecuted. The middle-class society, which is based on personal property, is endeavouring to sweep away all vestiges of communal and corporation rights, to set free the individual, to mobilise labour and property, to abolish Feudalism and the old Church and monasterial institutions, and to put in their place the individual relation between man and God, or the personal conscience (the Reformation) introducing individual rights as well; it struggles against the independent sovereignty of the feudal domains, and labours for a unified national territory, ours for a unified national territory, which will afford greater scope to trade and commerce; it supports Absolutism, so long as the latter is in conflict with the feudal lords; and when, afterwards, Absolutism is a hindrance to the development of middle-class society, this also is fought and a constitutional monarchy or a republic demanded. And all this takes place, not because certain human intelligences, by reason of more intense thought, or enlightenment, or the pricall of a supernatural power, are primarily at work, but as a consequence of

the influence of the material basis, of the economic foundation of society upon the mind, which translates and transforms these external realities into religious, juridical, and philosophic conceptions:—

"It is not the consciousness of men which determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.—(Marx, Preface to "Critique of Political Economy.")

Man, even the most heroic, is not the sovereign maker and law-giver of social life, but its executive; he only follows out the tendencies and currents set up by the material foundation of society. Nevertheless, a great deal depends upon the executive officials. If they possess comprehensive knowledge, energetic nature, and outstanding capacities, they are able, within the boundaries drawn for them, to accomplish great things, and to accelerate the development.

"Up to the present the philosophers have but interpreted the world; it is, however, necessary to change it."—(Marx, "Theses to Feuerbach.")

We have referred in various places to interests. We are not to understand by this personal, but general social or class interests. Marx is not of the opinion that everybody acts in accordance with that every body will fare. This is not Marx's personal welfare. This is not Marx's personal doctrine, but that of the middle-class moral philosophers, like Helvetius (1715-1771) and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), who regarded pleasure and pain of the individual as the measure and motive of his actions and conduct. Marx is rather of the opinion that men often, in the most important events of their lives, act contrary to their personal interests, as in their feelings and thoughts they identify themselves with that which they hold to be the interests of the community or of their class. According to Marx, individual interest generally plays a slight part in history. He is pre-occupied with the collective interest of

social production. Only the latter does he hold to be determining in the formation of the intellectual superstructure.

Up till now we have only spoken of various forms of production and society, and their corresponding mental systems. But we do not yet know why and how one form of production and society becomes obsolete and gives place to another, that is, how and why revolutionary changes are brought about. Or, in other words, we have hitherto considered the statics of society; we will now look at its dynamics.

The revolutionary changes in society depend on two groups of phenomena, which, although casually connected with each other, yet work differently. One of these groups of phenomena is technical, and consists in changes in the productive forces. The other group, which is the effect of the first, is of a personal nature, and consists in struggles between the social classes. Let us consider the first group of causes.

As the productive forces expand, through greater skill on the part of the worker, through discoveries of new raw material and markets, through the invention of new labour processes, tools and machines, and through the better organisation of trade and exchange, so that the material basis or the economic foundation of society is altered, then the old conditions of production cease to promote the interests of production. For the conditions of production: the former social classes, the former laws, State institutions, and intellectual systems were adapted to a state of the productive forces which is either in process of disappearing, or no longer exists. The social and intellectual superstructure no longer corresponds to the economic foundation. The productive forces and the conditions of production come into conflict with each other.

This conflict between the new reality and the old form, this conflict between new causes and the obsolete effects of bygone causes, begins gradually to influence the thoughts of men. Men commence to feel that they are confronted with a new external world, and that a new era has been opened.

Social divisions acquire a new significance: classes and sections which were formerly despised gain in social and economic power; classes which were formerly honoured decline. While this transformation of the social foundation is proceeding, the old religious, legal, philosophical, and political systems cling to their inherited positions, and insist on remaining, although they are obsolete and can no longer satisfy mental needs. For human thought is conservative: it follows external events slowly, just as our eye perceives the sun at a point which the sun has in reality already passed, as the rays require several minutes of time in order to strike our optic nerves. We may recall Hegel's fine metaphor: "The Owl of Minerva begins its flight only when twilight gathers." However late, it does begin. Great thinkers gradually arise, who explain the new situation, and create new ideas and trains of thought which correspond to the new situation. The human consciousness gives birth to anxious doubts and questionings, and then new truths; leading to differences of opinion, disputes, strifes, schisms, class struggles, and revolutions.

THE O.B.U.

The Council of Action formed by the All Australia June Congress of Trade Unions has decided to go ahead with the O.B.U. form of organisation. Not only have they decided in favour of such action, but they are suggesting definite proposals for its accomplishment—proposals that in the main are being adopted by Sydney O.B. Unionists. The Council of Actions proposals will doubtless come before Unions and Trades Councils in the different States, and thus Communists will be afforded an opportunity for good work of a propaganda nature, as well as in keeping the question a live one. The working class is more ripe than ever for such a change, and we should do our best to facilitate it.

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Unity

WHAT we said last month on the question of unity and the work ahead becomes more and more apparent as we witness day by day events occurring which indicate that in this country we are up against industrial conflicts of some magnitude. During these conflicts the lesson will assuredly be driven home of the necessity of a much more vigorous Communist movement. The small influence which Communists now exercise in the organised working class will need to be multiplied a hundred-fold almost before we can expect to influence much the struggle here. We believe that the required work could be done by a United Communist Party much better than it is being done now. Reports from Sydney, however, are to the effect that the Communist Party of Goulburn-street, has protested to Moscow against the Moscow decisions in-structing the parties to come together. In next issue we will endeavour to publish the points upon which the protest is made, and a short statement, if possible, from each of the parties. Notwithstanding this development, the work must go on, and Communists everywhere, in spite of the difficulties of disunity, should get to work in making our-elves efficient Communist students and in permeating the ranks of the working class to the end that the class struggle may be waged to the victory of the working class.

A POPULAR ANTI-COMMUNIST QUESTION.

When a speaker talks on the subject of the Russian famine, Anti-Communists in the audience almost always ask the question, How far is the present Russian Government responsible? Such a question is to be expected from supporters of Capitalism, but when it comes from working-class circles should be a wholly the result of ignorance. Such a questioner (one of the latter type) fails to recognise that the Russian peasant,

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in the main, works with very primitive tools, with which he is unable to produce, in the best seasons, a decent surplus; that Russia passed through a three or four years' European war, in which a big drain was made upon her resources and upon her manhood; that, following upon the chaotic period in which the workers and peasants seized political power, Russia experienced a blockade by outside powers, also several attempts at counter revolution, during which the famine area was devastated; that, following closely upon its devastation by counter revolutionists, came an awful drought, in which not a grain of corn could be produced, and, as Margaret Thorpe says, in much of the area not a blade of grass could be seen. Were it not for the present Government in Russia being what it is, many millions of people would have been left throughout the famine area to die and rot away.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

"American Labor wants neither Proletarian nor Plutocratic Dictatorship."

So Gompers is reported to have said. In so speaking, Gompers was explaining that American labor was withstanding the efforts of the Communists of America to get them to stand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Gompers shuts his eyes to the fact that what American labor now experiences in the "great democratic republic of the West" is a plutocratic dictatorship, as dictatorial as any dictatorship the world has ever experienced. The plutocratic class of America does not hesitate to enforce its will by guns, bayonets, bombs, and poison gas. He also shuts his eyes to the fact that Communists of America but work for a temporary dictatorship of American labor in order to abolish the dictatorship of the plutocrats, and that American labor has to decide for one dictatorship or the other. But perhaps his eyes are wide open to the fact that in propounding a "middle course" for American labor, he is but doing his bit as an important cog in the great machinery American plutocrats use to buttress their dictatorship and keep American labor in subjection.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN DISPUTE.

At the time this is being written there seems to be every possibility of a big industrial upheaval in Johannesburg and districts. In the cables, much mention is made of the colored labor question. Readers will remember that in the September number of "The Proletarian" we printed, on this question, a very informative article by Harry W. Haynes, a South African comrade. For the benefit of those who are not in possession of the September number, and for a better understanding of the present dispute, we mention here some of the points made by Haynes in that article. Formerly, the black man was wholly employed upon unskilled work. White men did the overseeing, and the jobs where skill was required. But the development of industry has been accompanied by a development of black labor, which has been raised to the point of its being able, to an ever-increasing extent, to replace white labor in the skilled trades. Right through South Africa can be witnessed the advance of the black man into the white man's former preserves. Not only is this so in the skilled trades, but it is also the case in many parts in legal and mercantile offices and in the civil service. And this black labor which is replacing the white is paid a mere fraction of the wage white labor required. Haynes concluded his article with the following words:—"The time has nearly arrived when capital will throw off the mask and abolish the color bar, and Communists in this country are striving against a tremendous weight of white 'opinion' to break down the ridiculous tradition still lingering in the minds of the poorest wage-slaves in the community, in time to permit of the organisation and education of the real South African proletarian, who has no color, and who now steps upon the stage in the last act of the world drama."

The threatened upheaval is doubtless part of the reduction in wages campaign which most countries are now experiencing, but the colored problem in South Africa will have a large influence therein.

January 7, 1922.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

By L. Kameneff.

The proletariat not only seizes power; in grasping it, the proletariat gives to it such a character, such a degree of concentration, energy, determination, absoluteness, infinitude, as according to the words of the programme, "will allow it to crush all resistance on the part of the exploiters." That is the fundamental feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is, therefore, an organisation of the State and a form of administration of State affairs which, in the transitional stage from capitalism to Communism, will allow the proletariat, as the ruling class, to crush all resistance on the part of the exploiters to the work of Socialist reconstruction.

It is thus clear that the question itself of the necessity, the inevitability of a proletarian dictatorship for every capitalist country is connected with the question as to whether the resistance of the exploiters to their expropriation by Socialist society—or, more precisely, by society marching towards Socialism—is inevitable.

In the same way, the question regarding the degree of severity of the dictatorship, the extent and conditions of the limitation of the political rights of the bourgeoisie and limitation of political liberty in general, the application of terrorist methods, etc., is indissolubly linked with the question of the degree, forms, stubbornness and organisation of resistance by the exploiters.

Anyone who expresses a doubt as to the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a necessary stage towards Socialist society, thereby expresses a doubt of the bourgeoisie showing any resistance to the proletariat at the decisive hour of the expropriation of the exploiters.

The Conquest of Political Power.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the annihilation of the power of the bourgeoisie. The power of the bourgeoisie lies in the bourgeois State-apparatus, with its capitalistic army led by its bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, the prison governors and judges, priests, State officials, etc. The conquest of political power means not only a personal change in the Ministry, but the annihilation of the enemy State-apparatus, the conquering of real power, the disarming of the bourgeoisie, counter-revolutionaries, the White Guard, and the arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the workers' Red Guard; the setting aside of all bourgeois judges, and the organisation of proletarian courts, the taking away of the management from reactionary State officials, and the setting up of the new proletarian managing organisation. The conquest of the proletariat lies in the disorganisation of the enemy, and the organisation of proletarian power; it consists in the pulling down of bourgeois and the re-building of a proletarian State-apparatus. Only after the proletariat has won the victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can it make use of its earlier antagonists in getting them to work, under control, at the building up of the Communist structure.—"The Communist International."

DEMOCRACY.

"Pure democracy" is the mendacious phrase of a Liberal who wants to dupe the working-class. History only knows a bourgeois democracy which replaces feudalism, and a proletarian democracy which replaces bourgeois democracy.—N. Lenin.

"If we are not to indulge in mockery over commonsense and history, then one cannot speak of 'pure democracy' so long as different classes exist. One can only speak of class democracy.—N. Lenin.

The New Economic Policy in Russia

By J. LARIN.

The decrees of the Council of People's Commissaries of April 7 concerning the food tax and free trading, and of May 13 concerning domestic industry and co-operation, were the practical expressions of what latterly it has been the fashion to call the new economic policy.

The accumulation of these measures and regulations have called forth in the anti-Bolshevik camp the conviction that the Communists are abandoning the very foundations of their policy, and consequently have themselves become disillusioned in the October-revolution of 1917. Our enemies affirm at public meetings that the three main features of the economic policy of Bolshevism in its very essence had to be the following:—

(1) The complete nationalisation of all industrial productions.

(2) The complete suppression of private trading and even of co-operation, leaving the co-operative movement the duties only of the distributive apparatus of the food commissariat.

(3) Complete State monopoly of all agricultural products (levies).

Our enemies justify these assertions by referring to the practice prevalent in the years 1919 and 1920, still fresh in everyone's memory, and say: What was the use of the hopes and programmes of the Bolsheviks, why then, when the Bolsheviks themselves have renounced their fundamental aims? It is not in order to abandon Lenin and Trotsky in power both the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries will do quite as well.

These affirmations are absolutely incorrect. In reality, what is taking place now in the straightening of our line of action, a return to that programme which prevailed amongst us nearly all the first year of our power, and the influence of various causes, about which we shall speak later, deviations were afterwards made from the old correct path, which ended the year 1919 and 1920. Now, when the end of the war has given the party the possibility of quietly summing up the situation, and when the food and fuel crisis of the beginning of 1921 has given an impetus to the summing up of the problem in the clearest possible way—to-day there is taking place the elimination of all excesses on the old correct policy which grew up in the stress of war, and a straightening of our path is taking place. The programme of Bolshevism consisted, and

still consists, in the overthrow of the power of capitalism, in the establishment of political and economic dictatorship of the working class until complete attainment of Socialism, and in the gradual reconstruction, after the shattering effect of the world war, both of Russian economic life and of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The nucleus of our economic policy is nationalisation—i.e., transference into the possession of the party of the working class organised as the public authority. Nationalisation of the former capitalist industry and transport, in order with its help to guarantee the proletariat an economic basis for its political action: later of so reorganising and extending the technical basis of production as to afford the possibility of socialising the whole of economic life (including agriculture) and considerably improving the lot of the population.

Such was, and remains, our programme of action and the corresponding principal line of policy (the nationalisation of industry and transport and placing them at the disposal of the workers' Government). This bed of the proletarian stream we have had to beat out (in the temporary conditions of Russia) in a country where the majority of the population is composed not of workers, but of small and middle peasants, who constitute four-fifths of the population. The peasant is an owner of private property, working on the basis of individual, not of social, production. He requires profit from his private enterprise in order to develop it on a wider scale than is necessary to feed his own family (i.e., so that there should be enough food for the workers and raw material for industry). In order to bring about this state of things he requires a certain liberty of action, and even a partial freedom in dealing with his produce, and by utilising them to secure the necessary crafts and auxiliary trades required for peasant enterprise (smiths, millers, wheelwrights, etc.). Consequently he requires freedom for small industry.

This characteristic of the economic conditions of the principal mass of the population was perfectly well known to our party, even at the time of the October revolution of 1917; and consequently the forms and methods by which the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be achieved in the economic sphere were marked out very firmly.

They were deliberately limited to what was actually essential to allow us to proceed along the path to our principal aim, and they did not attempt to eliminate those factors, the exist-

ence of which was essential if the peasant class were to continue as a class of petty proprietors; and consequently if there were to be peaceful co-operation between the Workers' Government and the peasant majority.

In the sphere of industry this meant the nationalisation of only large and medium sized capitalist industries. We do not attempt to proclaim anything approaching "the complete nationalisation" of all industrial production." Indeed, at the beginning of 1918 I made a proposal, and it was accepted, altogether to forbid the nationalisation of enterprises by any local or central organ whatsoever, except the Council of People's Commissaries and the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council.

In the summer, in June, sending a draft decree concerning the nationalisation of Russian industry (adopted on June 28) from Berlin with Comrade Krassin, I included in it a special provision that only undertakings with a capital of not less than half a million roubles were subject to nationalisation. This point was adopted. Craft, domestic, and every other form of small industrial activity (i.e., all that was of immediate importance for the peasantry) was deliberately avoided both by the legislation and the practice of the first year of our power. The writer was one of those who inspired the economic policy of that day, and therefore is able to insist, not on the accidental but the deliberate nature of this caution. It is sufficient, for example, to refer to the introduction to my pamphlet published by the Petrograd Soviet on December 27, 1917, entitled "Workers and Peasants under the Russian Revolution."

In relation to trade (i.e., the so-called "freedom of disposal"), in exactly the same way neither in intention nor in practice during the first year of the Bolshevik administration was there complete prohibition either of co-operative or of private trading, which is absolutely inevitable when many millions of small privately owned firms exist in the State. Private trading is powerless to prevent the growth of Socialist economic life when conditions exist for the development of large-scale industry and transport, which have been nationalised and are in the hands of the proletarian Government. Summing up our year's work and our plans for the future, we publish the decree of November 21, 1918, concerning the organisation of supply. This decree had been drafted by the opening of shops which had been independently used by local authorities, and laid down that the task of the nation was to trade in the products only of the nationalised factories. Trading in the products of domestic, craft, and small private industry remained free both for individuals and for the co-operative societies. Our policy in this respect also was a consistent policy, based upon a Marxist (scientific) understanding of the petty bourgeois economic conditions, in the midst of which we had to beat out the road to Socialism, based on large-scale industry. But here we met with political reasons which para-

lysed our policy in practice—and these reasons must be sought for, not amongst the peasantry, and not amongst the workers. The town bourgeoisie itself simply refused to trade, and refused to carry on its small undertakings. The laws remained, but the stores and workshops became empty, as the owners would not any longer "risk their capital under the Bolsheviks." During the first months after the October revolution of 1917 the petty bourgeois trading and production continued by force of inertia. The owners hoped that the Bolsheviks were every moment on the point of falling. The Bolsheviks did not fall, and the owners one by one ceased their organising activity. Let us wait until the collapse, they said, before taking any risks. This was the time when shipowners on the Volga almost ceased to repair their vessels, timber merchants ceased to cut wood, etc. (to this day we are forced to burn seasoned wood instead of dry, because, in the case of a considerable portion of our stores, a whole year was lost, and the regular practice of the fuel industry was infringed, by which the wood was left to dry in the forest for a whole year after being cut).

It is quite another matter now, in 1921, when the middle class has become convinced of the stability and strength of the Soviet Government. To-day they will trade and re-open workshops as much as you like, once they are given permission. Then it was otherwise, and wily-nilly, or, more accurately, unwillingly, the State was forced gradually to take on its shoulders an immeasurable and unnecessary burden in the shape of the replacement of the entire distributive apparatus, and of the direct organising of nearly the whole of industry, let alone private workshops with a few tens of workers and employees. Only with the autumn of 1920, after the final defeat of the counter-revolution (Wrangel), after the idea of the stability of Bolshevism had been definitely hammered into the brains of the man-in-the-street, did conditions arise under which the Government of the proletariat could again relinquish all these duties, and not be afraid of coming up against that economic sabotage of the middle class which took place before (when it preferred to register in mass as employees in Soviet institutions, there to await the collapse of the odious new order, instead of continuing the organisation of its own commercial and industrial enterprises. The self-elimination of the bourgeois middle class from its share of organising life began in 1919, and particularly in 1920, to take legal shape as well.

By the irony of fate, the last step in this direction—the nationalisation of all enterprises with more than five or ten workers—was undertaken by the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council (more by inertia than after reasoning thought) only when the possibility of straightening the line and of returning to the programme of action of the years 1917 and 1918 had begun to become clear—as late as

December, 1920. This decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council has now been set aside by the decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of May 13, which restores those relations with small-scale industry that existed in 1917.

In this way, as far as the first two "main features" are concerned—nationalisation and trading—all the time there have been doubts as to theory; and, even if the practice of 1919 and 1920 deviated from the theory, this was called forth by the unfavorable turn of events, and brought us only harm. Our business is to nationalise only the factories, large works, mines, railways, and shipping—and not to make a monopoly out of every home-made wooden spoon and every boat on the river, every flower-shop, every fashionable hat shop, for the dictatorship of the proletariat does not at all consist in the imposition on the proletariat of the obligation to carry out all the work of organising for the whole of the community. On the contrary, a sensible dictatorship will display itself incidentally just in this: that it is able to utilise and force into the fundamental economic current the organising forces and efforts of other social layers and sections of layers. In the present case, it is quite clear that the direction of the economic life of the country will be determined by those who have in their hands transport, industry, and political power, and not by those who control home-made wooden spoons or small timber, and the senseless disintegration of millions of scattered small farms. The establishment of accurate limits for the nationalisation of industry, and for trading in the products of industry during the whole period

The Dialectic

By M. BEER.

From "The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx."

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a new conception of the world had begun to make its way. The world, as we see it, or get to know it from books, was neither created, nor has it existed from time immemorial, but has developed in the course of uncounted thousands of years, and is still in process of development. It has traversed a whole series of changes, transformations, and catastrophes. The earth was a gaseous mass, then a ball of fire; the species and classes of things and beings which exist on the earth have partly arisen by gradual transition from one sort into another, and partly made their appearance as a result

of sudden changes. And in human history it is the same as in nature; the form and significance of the family, of the State, of production, of religion, of law, etc., are subjected to a process of development. All things are in flux, in a state of becoming, of arising and disappearing. There is nothing rigid, constant, unchanging in the Cosmos.

In view of the new conception, the old formal logic could no longer satisfy the intellect; it could not adequately deal with things in a state of evolution. In ever-increasing measure it became impossible for the thinker to work with hard-and-fast conceptions. From the beginning of the

nineteenth century a new logic was sought, and it was G. W. F. Hegel (1770—1831) who made a comprehensive and thoroughly painstaking endeavour to formulate a new logic in accordance with the universal process of evolution. This task appeared to him to be the more urgent, as his whole philosophy aimed at bringing thought and being, reason and the universe, into the closest connection and agreement, dealing with them as inseparable from each other, regarding them as identical, and representing the universe as the gradual embodiment of Reason. "What is reasonable is real; what is real is reasonable." The task of philosophy is to comprehend what is. Every individual is the child of his time. Even philosophy is its time grasped in thought. No individual can overleap his time' (Pref. to Phil. of Law.) It is evident that, in his way, Hegel was no abstract thinker, divorced from actuality, and speculating at large. Rather he set himself to give material content to the abstract and purely ideal, to make it concrete, in fact. The idea without reality, or reality without the idea, seemed to him unthinkable. Accordingly his logic could not deal merely with the laws of thought, but must at the same time take account of the laws of the cosmic evolution. Merely to play with the forms of thought, and to fence with ideas, as the old logicians, especially in the Middle Ages, were wont to do, seemed to him a useless, abstract, unreal operation. He, therefore, created a science of thinking, which formulated not only the laws of thought, but also the laws of evolution, albeit, unfortunately, in a language which offered immense difficulties to his readers.

The essence of his logic is the dialectic. By dialectic the old Greeks understood the art of discourse and rejoinder, the refutation of an opponent by the destruction of his assertions and proofs, the bringing into relief of the contradictions and antitheses. When examined closely, this art of discussion, in spite of its contradictory and apparently negative (destructive) intellectual work, is seen to be very useful, because, out of the clash of the opposing opinions it brings forth the truth and stimulates to deeper thought. Hegel seized hold of this expression, and

named his logical method after it. This is the dialectical method, or the manner of conceiving the things and beings of the universe as in the process of becoming, through the struggle of contradictory elements and their resolution. With its aid, he brings to judgment the three original laws of thought which have already been alluded to. The principle of identity is an abstract, incomplete truth, for it separates a thing from the variety of other things, and its relations to them. Everybody will see this to be true. Let us take the proposition: the earth is the earth. Whoever hears the first three words of this proposition naturally expects that what is predicated of the earth should tell him something which distinguishes the earth from other things. Instead of this, he is offered an empty, hard and fast identity, the dead husk of an idea. If the principle of identity is at best only an incomplete truth, the principles of contradiction and the excluded middle are complete untruths. Far from making a thought nonsense, contradiction is the very thing which unfolds and develops the thought, and hence, too, the object which it expresses. It is precisely opposition, or antithesis, which sets things in motion, which is the mainspring of evolution, which calls forth and develops the latent forces and powers of being. Had the earth as a fiery, gaseous mass remained in that state, without the contradiction, that is, the cooling and condensation, taking place, then no life would have appeared on it. Had the State remained untroubled, and the contradictory principle, tocratic, and the contradictory principle, middle-class freedom, been absent, then the life of the State would have become rigid, and the bloom of culture rendered impossible. Had Capitalism remained without its proletarian contradiction, then it would have reverted to an industrial feudalism. It is the contradiction, or the antithesis, which brings into being the whole kingdom of the potentialities and gifts of nature and of humanity. Only when the contradictory begins to reveal itself does evolution to a higher plane of itself and existence begin. It is obvious that we are not concerned here with logical contradictions, which usually arise from unclear thinking or from confusion in the presentation of facts; Hegel,

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and after him Marx, dealt rather with real contradictions, with antitheses and conflicts, as they arise of themselves in the process of evolution of things and conditions.

The thing or the being, against which the contradiction operates, was called by Hegel the Positive, and the contradiction, the antagonistic element, or the antithesis, he called the Negation. As may be seen from our example, this negation is not mere annihilation, not a resolution into nothing, but a clearing away and a building up at the same time; a disappearance and a coming into existence; a movement to a higher stage. Hegel says in this connection: "It has been hitherto one of the rooted prejudices of logic and a commonly accepted belief that the contradiction is not so essential or so inherent a characteristic (in thought and existence) as the identity. Yet in comparison with it the identity is, in truth, but the characteristic of what is simply and directly perceived, of lifeless existence. The contradiction, however, is the source of all movement and life; only in so far as it contains a contradiction can anything have movement, power, and effect."

The part played by the contradiction, the antithesis, or the negation very easily escapes a superficial observer. He sees, indeed, that the world is filled with a variety of things, and that where anything is there is also its opposite; e.g., existence—non-existence, cold—heat, light—darkness, mildness—harshness, pleasure—pain, joy—sorrow, riches—poverty, Capital—Labour, life—death, virtue—vice, Idealism—Materialism, Romanticism—Classicism, etc., but superficial thought does not realize that it is faced with a world of contradictions and antitheses; it only knows that the world is full of varied and manifold things. "Only active reason," says Hegel, "reduced the mere multiplicity and diversity of phenomena to antithesis. And only when pushed to this point do the manifold phenomena become active and mutually stimulating, producing the state of negation, which is the very heart-beat of progress and life." Only through their differentiation and unfolding as opposing forces and factors

is further progress beyond the antithesis to a higher positive stage made possible. "Where, however," continues Hegel, "the power to develop the contradiction and bring it to a head is lacking, the thing or the being is shattered on the contradiction."—(Hegel, "Science of Logic," Pt. 1, Sec. 2, pp. 66, 69, 70.)

This thought of Hegel's is of extraordinary importance for the understanding of Marxism. It is the soul of the Marxian doctrine of the class-struggle, nay, of the whole Marxian system. One may say that Marx is always on the lookout for contradictions within the social development, for wherever the contradiction (antithesis—class struggle) shows itself, there begins, according to Marx-Hegel, the progress to a higher plane.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

"There lies between the capitalist and Communist society a period of revolutionary transformation of one into the other. This period has a corresponding political period of transition, during which the State can be nothing else than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."—Karl Marx.

"Have these gentry (the anti-Authoritarians) ever seen a revolution? Revolution is undoubtedly the most authoritarian thing in the world. Revolution is an act in which one section of the population imposes its will upon the other by rifles, bayonets, guns and other such exceedingly authoritarian means. And the party which has won is necessarily compelled to maintain its rule by means of that fear which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. If the Commune of Paris had not relied upon the armed people as against the bourgeoisie, would it have maintained itself more than twenty-four hours? Are we not, on the contrary, justified in reproaching the Commune for having employed this authority too little?"—Frederich Engels.

"We know from actual experience that there are more pious thieves than infidel robbers."—J. Dietzgen.

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Capitalism on the Land

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

From the development explained in the last article, we can see that the lords of manors, the villeins and the cottars developed into the modern landlords, tenants and agricultural wage slaves. Some serfs, when they exchanged their labor-service for payment in rent, received a copy of the agreement made, and, in consequence, came to be known as copyholders. Those who did not receive a copy of their agreement were ordinary leaseholders. Both types, however, were tenants in the modern sense. In some cases, the lord let even his demesne lands, and in such a case, he himself became an absentee landlord. By the 15th century there had developed quite definitely the three groups of people who, in modern England, and in countries like Australia to which the English system has been extended, share in the produce from one piece of land. Under the English system the labor of those who work on the land supports not only themselves but also the tenant farmer and the absentee landlord. The tenant farmer fills an important position to the industrial capitalist. He supplies his wage slaves and pays away part of the surplus extracted from their labor as rent and as interest.

We can proceed, now, to examine just what happened when all persons connected with the soil were freed from the customs of feudalism. Examine, first, the peasants—that is to say, those who had been serfs. The first thing they did was to consolidate their scattered strips into compact farms. They did this either through exchange or sale. Having obtained their farms in compact blocks, instead of in scattered strips, they then planted hedges around the whole farm and transferred their cottages there from the village.

The lords were anxious to make as much profit as they could in competition both with other lords and with peasants, and as the 15th century advanced they gradually discovered that a different type of farming would be more profitable to them. They gradually turned sheep farming, and soon a large portion of their estates was being devoted to pasture rather than to agriculture. The reason for this change was simply that the lords could gain more profit from peasants. (1) Laborable to do so for various reasons. (1) Labor-power devoted to pasture was more productive than labor-power devoted to agriculture. Whereas one shepherd could tend the sheep on a farm, a large number of laborers were required to use that same farm for agricultural purposes. It was pointed out in the last article that the supply of labor-power after the Black Death in 1348 was smaller than the demand for them. As a result, the lords were

forced to grant the higher wages which the wage slaves demanded. But in sheep farming the lords found a means of reducing the demand and getting the market for labor-power back to its usual condition—that is to say, with the supply greater than the demand. By this means the wages even of those few laborers who remained in employment were reduced even below the value of labor-power. (2) Another reason which led to sheep farming was the rapidly increasing demand for wool. Throughout the 14th century the demand in Europe for English wool increased almost yearly. But by the 15th century the woollen industry in England itself was developing very rapidly, and provided a further increasing demand in England for the produce of the sheep farms. (3) A last reason which made pasture more profitable than agriculture was the fact that a great deal of land which in manorial times had been used for agriculture was better suited for pasture. Labor applied to the tilling of poor soil was largely wasted. It was no longer socially necessary, after a better use had been found for it.

During the 15th century sheep farming spread throughout the country. The lords derived increased profits, and they liked them very much. So much did they like them that many decided that it would be a good thing if they could obtain more land to use for pasture. With this object in view, many began to seize land held by the peasants.

Enclosures.—The seizure of the peasants' land by the lords has been termed "enclosure." There have been two great periods of enclosures—one in the 15th and early 16th centuries, and one at the end of the 18th century. In this first period peasants were driven from the land by various means. In the case of those who were not copyholders, the lord in those cases told the peasants to quit, and many cases told the peasants to quit, and added their small farms to his own large one. In cases where the peasant was a copyholder, and could show before a court of law his copy, the lord was not always able to remove him. But those whose copy gave them the use of land only for a term of years, or for life, could be evicted at the expiry of their term. Only the peasant whose copy stated that he and his heirs had a lease of the land for ever was secure in his holding. Even such peasants were not always secure, because it was very difficult for them to reach a court of law, and also because lords were able to bluff or to frighten them from any such step. For the moment, evicted peasants could still use the common lands of the village, and eke out an existence by feeding a few animals on the village fields. But many lords proceeded even

to fence off the common lands of the village, adding them to their own private lands. Thus the peasants were cut off from their last possible means of subsistence.

The enclosures were greatly stimulated by the dissolution of the monasteries and the seizure of all church lands by the State in the person of King Henry VIII. in the years 1529 and 1536. By that time the Church was the private owner of about one-third of the land of the Kingdom. Different from France in 1789, and from Russia in 1917, the Church lands in England were not seized by the peasants themselves. Therefore the peasants have never obtained these lands. The King distributed them to his friends as gifts or at nominal prices. The result was that a new class of landlord was created on this big section of the land in the country. A new nobility arose, and it was this new type of landlord who, far more than the previously existing landlords, proceeded to enclose. Many turned large tracts of land into parks and hunting grounds.

The enclosures changed the appearance of the landscape. Many a village was demolished, and lay a mere pile of rubbish in the midst of green pastures. In place of the old village community, one mansion arose, the residence of the lord, or, as he was now coming to be called, the squire. Surrounding it, many fields were divided from one another by hedges, most of them devoted to pasture, though some few necessarily were still used for agricultural purposes.

The economic results of enclosures were far-reaching. Of course, not the whole of the lands of England were enclosed at this period; a great portion was left to be enclosed in a later century. Yet they stimulated during the 16th century a rapid growth of sheep farming and the production of wool. This supplied the growing demand for wool from the cloth making industry in England, and the increased supply of raw materials, in turn, stimulated industry and enabled it to expand. During the 16th century England developed as an industrial country. Most of the industrial activities were devoted to cloth making, which developed to such an extent that by the end of the century so much cloth was being produced that the merchants of the country were seeking for markets, not only in Europe, but in new countries beyond the usual boundaries of trade. Gradually merchants, or seamen acting as agents for merchants, sailed further and further afield, and ultimately discovered America and the sea route to the East. This, in turn, led to the great commercial and colonizing expansion carried out by the new capitalist class in England during the following centuries.

The social results of enclosures were, in the main, two. (1) A new class of great landlords was created. They were entrenched in political power in both central and local government. (2) While the land came into the hands of a small number of landowners, the population of the country districts was reduced. The

tendency began whereby population was forced from the land into the growing towns or, at any rate, into the industrial districts. Thousands of peasants and agricultural wage slaves were turned from the land. Some of these obtained work in the towns, but a large number were condemned, with their families, to wander about the country, begging and, in many cases, lying down to die of starvation. Moreover, unemployment at that time was, as usual under capitalism, treated as a crime in those who were unemployed. The sufferings of the peasants and agricultural wage slaves turned adrift at that time are indescribable. In the competition which the new system brought with it the strongest had won out. The strongest were simply those who had at the time the largest amount of land.

The educated opinion of the times was opposed to enclosures. Men like Sir Thomas More, Sir Francis Bacon, Bishop Latimer, and others wrote and spoke violently against enclosures. But they were crying against an economic development which they could not prevent. The Government also was opposed to enclosures. For military reasons, the capitalist state at that time, as usual, desired population for warfare and for industry. The Tudor monarchs particularly wanted peasants and agricultural laborers for the army, as was considered that they were likely to be strong and sturdy men. They relied upon the farm workers to fill the army, just as they relied upon the fishermen to fill the navy. Many proclamations were issued against enclosures, and also against sheep farming. These numerous Acts and proclamations can be read in the volume of Economic Documents. But the Tudor legislation was powerless to stop the changes that were taking place in the country. One writer of the times stated "There have been many good laws made for the maintenance of houses and husbandry and tillage, but all to no purpose." The laws were to no purpose simply because the administration of them was in the hands of the very landlords against whom the laws were directed. The administration of the Tudor Government was in the hands of the landowning classes. Both the central and the local administration was, for the most part, carried on by persons drawn from amongst the landowners.

For example, between the years 1548 and 1552, 31 large grants of land were made by the Government. On comparing the names of those who received these grants of land with the names of those who were members at that time of the Privy Council (the chief executive committee) we find that of these 31 persons, 14 were members of the Privy Council itself. Again the whole local administration of the 16th century was carried out by the Justices of the Peace, who were nearly always squires—that is to say, local landowners.

Large scale farming is good. It would be a progressive development. It would be just as an efficient machine of production as is the trust in industry. But just as with the trust, so the large farm, if it is to be used for

the benefit of the workers must be owned and controlled by them. The large scale farm in the hands of a group or a commune would be the best possible development in the country districts. But the large farm brought about by enclosures, and worked only for his private advantage by the private landowner, did no more than make production, to some extent, more efficient. Of course, in a country of large farms, the transition to communism should be easier than in a country where the rural areas are in the hands of millions of small peasant holders.

During this period of the 15th and early 16th centuries, as will be pointed out in a later article, capitalism was developing also in industry. The expulsion of many thousands of peasants from the land drove them to the towns where they supplied labor-power for the new capitalist industries. The enclosures thus worked in with, and assisted, the

development of capitalism in industry.

The last feature of note in regard to the enclosures is that, as a result of them, a great advance was made economically, because production was greatly increased. It was made at the cost of great suffering to large numbers of the working class. As we trace the history from this time onwards, we shall see that there has been a series of such advances in production at the expense of great human suffering. The advance in production is good, but the suffering is not. The suffering is caused because those who control production use it for profit, and not for welfare. With the control of the means of production by the workers themselves, the increase in production could be obtained without the suffering which, in the past, has accompanied it.

Readings.—Gibbins, pp. 42-47, pp. 83-90; Starr, pp. 64-70; "Economic History Documents," pp. 235-277.

Simple Lessons in Economics

By E. S. HANKS.

No. 6.

Much confusion is brought into the study of the functions of money by the use of wrong terminology. Money is the name of the commodity which is used by present society (or was used by past society), to express the values of all other commodities. It has been different commodities at various times—cattle, iron, wheat, hides, silver, etc.—to-day in most countries it is gold. The other things used, such as copper and silver tokens and bank notes, merely function as substitutes for gold and not as independent currency.

It is the metal of the gold coin that contains the value, this, of course, being determined by the average social labor in its production.

Libraries of economic works have been written, stating that the British Government "fixed" the "price" of gold at £3/17/10½ per oz. As well as one might say that the British Government "fixed" the weight of 20 cwt. at one ton, or that it "fixed" a yard at three feet. If one takes an oz. of gold to the mint (22 carat gold) he will find that it cuts up into three sovereigns, and a piece left over worth 17/10½, thus not quite the fourth sovereign, so an oz., always being the same weight, and a sovereign always being the

same weight, then £3/17/10½ is an oz. of gold, or an oz of gold is £3/17/10½, just as 20 cwt. are a ton or a ton is 20 cwt.

The minting and stamping is merely the guarantee of the State that the gold is of standard quality and not inferior (and therefore less valuable) metal. It may be added that no charge is made for minting gold, but the State benefits by the minting of silver and copper tokens to more than balance any loss on gold.

In international trade it is at once evident that it is the metal which is valuable, and not the minting, stamping, etc., because in most cases the gold is shipped as bullion, that is, the sovereigns are melted into ingots. In outback mining centres, gold in its rough state has frequently served as money, the payments being by weight alone, as 1 dwt., 1 gr., 1 oz., etc.; this often causes quarrels as to the quality of the metal. Gold, like other metals, varies as to the amount of impurities it contains in its crude state. The State, by fixing a standard of purity and a standard weight for its coin, prevented confusion.

The silver and copper currency, which we use, is, strictly speaking, tokens.

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Tokens are coins of inferior metal, used instead of minting small gold coins. They are of silver and copper here, but other metals are also used in other countries. The silver shilling represents a gold coin 1-20th of a sovereign in size. The value of the silver shilling was till recently much below this.*

A penny represents a gold coin 1-240ths of the size of a sovereign. Its value also is much less. Legislation is in vogue, based on the fact that tokens are not full value. Thus a creditor is allowed the right of refusing over two pounds in silver. He could, prior to the issue of notes, demand payment in gold coin. In a gold coin you have in metal, full value whether it be hammered to a shapeless mass or taken to another country. In a token you have not the full face value. Hammer it out or take it to another country, and you will receive the ruling price of silver or copper. It is the guarantee of the State that has stabilised them.

Bank notes are promises, either on the part of a private bank or a government bank to pay gold coin on demand. The fact of any country making their notes legal tender does not alter this point at all. In the case of a sound bank or an equally sound State, the note as such is sure enough for all ordinary purposes; but in the case of unstable banks it has often occurred that they have issued more notes than they have had gold and other securities to balance. Thus, when a run on these banks occurred, they have failed and ruined thousands, as, for example, the wild-cat banks of America.

Currency is a general term that will cover gold coin, tokens, and bank notes.

The relation of paper currency to many economic phenomena of the present time is so important that the next lesson will be devoted to this subject alone.

* Prior to the war, the value of a shilling was about 4d., or about one-third of its face value, but silver has since altered in price (partly due to inflated issues of notes) to such an extent that the introduction of cheaper metal for tokens is being considered.

WHAT IS INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM?

It is that form of organisation which takes into the one union all of the workers engaged in an industry. It therefore organises men as workers and groups them according to their products instead of as craftsmen, according to the tools they use, as trade Unionism has done. Thus all the workers in the Gas Industry, engineers, stokers, boiler-makers, enginedrivers, clerks, carters, etc., would be members of the one Union. Whilst at the same time, other engineers working in engineering shops as a whole, and the product of whose labor was directly sold from engineering shops, as metal products in general, would be grouped with engineers and other workers engaged in the production of such metal products. And those carters and drivers whose labor was put into the transportation of men, or materials, and not definitely as part of the production of a commodity like gas, would be in a Transport Workers' Union.

RUSSIA.

The scientific expedition to the Murman, led by Professor Fersman, returned to Petrograd in November, after an absence of two months spent on the Kola Peninsula. The expedition visited the central region and the mountains of the Kola Peninsula, which no human being had ever entered before. The expedition discovered more than 200 mines of rare minerals. In the mineral collections brought back there are samples of hitherto unknown minerals.

The total imports for the whole Soviet Republic in September, 1921, were 12,250,000 poods (196,875 long tons).—"Rosta."

Two hundred and fifty foreign-made engines are to be imported into Russia through Lettland in the month of December.

In September the output of coal in the Donetz Basin amounted to 262,000 tons. In the following month, October, the output for the same region totalled 579,000 tons.

January 7, 1922.

Part Struggles and Part Demands

From "The Theses on Tactics."

The development of the communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy. Even the smallest communist units must not rest content with mere propaganda and agitation. In all proletarian mass organisations they must constitute the vanguard, which must teach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight, by formulating practical plans for direct action, and by urging the workers to make a stand for the necessities of life. Only in this manner will Communists be able to reveal to the masses the treacherous character of all non-Communist parties. Only in case they prove able to lead the practical struggle of the proletariat, only in case they can promote these conflicts, will the Communists succeed in winning over great masses of the proletariat to the struggle for the dictatorship.

The entire propaganda and agitation as well as the other work of the Communist parties, must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism, and that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a pre-requisite for the achievement of such betterment, and the rebuilding of the social structure destroyed by capitalism. This conception, however, must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life, until such a time as the proletariat will be able to attain them through its own dictatorship. Social-democracy is consciously deceiving the masses, when, in the period of capitalist disintegration, when capitalism is unable to assure to the workers even the subsistence of well-fed slaves, it has no-thing better to offer than the old social-democratic programme of peaceful reforms to be achieved by peaceful means within the bankrupt capitalist system. Not only is capitalism, in the period of the disintegration, unable to assure to the workers decent conditions of life, but the social-democrats and reformists of all

lands are also continually demonstrating that they are unwilling to put up any fight, even for the most modest demands contained in their own programmes. The demand for socialism or nationalisation of the most important industries, is nothing but another such deception of the working masses. Not only did the centrists mislead the masses by trying to persuade them that nationalisation alone, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, would deprive capitalism of the Chief industries, but they also endeavoured to divert the workers from the real and live struggle for their immediate needs, by raising their hopes of a gradual seizure of industry, to be followed by "systematic" economic reconstruction. Thus they have reverted to the minimum social-democratic programme of the reform of capitalism, which, once an illusion, has now become open counter-revolutionary deception. The theory prevailing among a portion of the centrists, that the programme of the nationalisation of the coal or any other industry is based on the Lassallian theory of the concentration of all the energies of the proletariat on a single demand, in order to use it as a lever in revolutionary action, which in its development would lead to a struggle for power, is nothing but empty words: the suffering of the working class in every country is so intense, that it is impossible to direct the struggle against these blows, which are coming thick and fast, into narrow doctrinarian channels. On the contrary, it is essential to make use of all the economic needs of the masses, as issues in the revolutionary struggles, which, when united, form the flood of the social revolution. For this struggle, the Communist Parties have no minimum programme for the strengthening of this reeling world structure within the system of capitalism. The destruction of this system is the chief aim and immediate task of the parties. But in order to achieve this task, the Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight

with the masses for their fulfilment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not.

What the Communist Parties have to consider is, not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather, whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance. If these communist demands are in accord with the immediate needs of the wide proletarian masses, if these masses are convinced that they cannot exist without the realisation of these demands, the struggle for these demands will become an issue in the struggle for power. The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum programme of the reformists and centrists is: the struggle for the concrete need of the proletariat, and the demands which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, organise the proletariat, form the transition to proletarian dictatorship, even if the latter have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.

As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-growing masses, as the needs of the masses clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realise that capitalism must die if they are to live. The realisation of this fact is the basis of the will to fight for the dictatorship. It is the task of the communist parties to widen, to deepen and to co-ordinate these struggles which have been brought into being by the formulation of concrete demands. As the part struggles of isolated groups of workers are gradually merging into a general struggle of labour versus capital, so the communist party must also alter its watchword, which should be—"uncompromising overthrow of the adversary." In formulating their part demands the communist parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply-rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organise the masses and not merely lead them into the struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be assimilated to the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organisation of social

economy under capitalism, but of an organisation fighting against capitalism through workers' committees as well as through the revolutionary trade-unions.

It is only through the establishment of such workers' committees and their co-ordination according to branches and centres of industry, that the communists can prevent the splitting up of the masses by the social-democrats and the trade-union leaders. The workers' committees will be able to fulfil this role only if they are born in an economic struggle in the interests of wide masses of workers, provided they succeeded in uniting all the revolutionary sections of the proletariat, the communist party, the revolutionary workers, and those trade-unions which are going through a process of revolutionary development.

Every objection to the establishment of such part demands, every accusation of reformism in connection with these part struggles, is an outcome of the same incapacity to grasp the live issues of revolutionary action which manifested itself in the opposition of some communist groups to participation in trade-union activities and parliamentary action. Communists should not rest content with teaching the proletariat its ultimate aims, but should lend impetus to every practical move leading the proletariat into the struggle for these ultimate aims. How inadequate the objections to part demands are and how divorced from the needs of revolutionary life, is best exemplified by the fact that even the small organisations formed by the so-called "left" communists for the propagation of pure doctrines have seen the necessity of formulating part demands, in order to attract larger sections of workers than they have hitherto been able to muster, or else they have been obliged to take part in the struggle of wider masses of workers in order to influence them. The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. Therefore the struggle, even for these very modest demands, is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism.

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Wages Reduction Campaign

("THE NEW WORLD FOR LABOR.")

IS LABOR GOING TO SIDE-STEP THE FIGHT?

RAPIDLY we are approaching what promises to be one of the most important struggles between Capital and Labour in this country. Capital says that wages must come down and hours of work must be increased. For some time now Capital has been preparing the way—doing propaganda to weaken the rank and file of Labor. All sorts of plausible arguments have been, and are being, put forward to dope the mind of the working-man; to keep him passive whilst a heavy cut is made into his weekly wage. Our already low standard of living is to be made still lower. This is the "new world for Labor."

What of Labor? Where stands in this crisis the Labor movement erected during the last 30 years by the working class of Australia to defend it against the oppression of the employing class? Is the movement countering Capital's publicity campaign? Is it preparing its forces for the struggle which must inevitably come? For the working class movement, if it be one in actual fact, and not one in name only, must take up the gauntlet of battle thrown down to it by the enemy. *Labor must not ac-*

cept without a struggle the lowering of the already too low standard of living. Its answer to Capital should be straight and plain. Wages must not come down and hours of labor must not be increased.

THE DISORGANISATION OF LABOR

One of the first facts that hits us in the present crisis is that whilst Capital speaks with one voice through the Prime Minister, Labor speaks with a multiplicity of voices. The invitation by the Prime Minister to Labor to a conference with employers has found no working class machinery to deal with it on behalf of the working class as a whole. The replies are coming from half-a-dozen sources, and no unanimity characterises the nature of the replies. The Council of Action might well have been given the handling of the matter. The importance of the matter required that Labor answer with one voice, instead of, as now, with half-a-dozen. Thus Labor in the earliest stages of the fight shows disunity.

LACK OF AMMUNITION.

Another weakness is our lack of answer to the employers' plausible arguments put

forward day by day through the columns of the daily press. We should long ago have established something in the nature of labor bureaus in the different centres (Sydney has one), where facts and figures concerning the economic life of the country should be tabulated and prepared to serve Labor in its battles with Capital. It is the absence of such information that makes Labor generally inefficient in conference with Capital. In possession of such knowledge, and with a revolutionary understanding in our delegates, we need not fear such conferences. They can be made to serve our purposes.

NECESSARY STEPS.

The first necessities in this campaign are to remove the aforesaid disabilities as far as is possible in the time available, and to initiate a counter campaign to that of Capital. Let the various Labor centres of Australia, acting under the one common head, thoroughly explore every avenue of propaganda. The object of our propaganda must be to rebut the lies of Capital and to stiffen up the working class in opposition to the proposed wage reduction. Bureaus to organise this work should be established in the main cities and towns. Every union should be asked for support for this work. Every factory, workshop, mine, mill and job should have a Propaganda Committee organised therein, all linked up with the central bureaus. There are scores of speakers in every large centre. These should be organised for outdoor and indoor work. Union officials and members of Parliament should be enrolled in this propaganda army. Even from the point of view of membership of the unions this work is a necessary one, for wages reductions will surely be followed by a large reduction in the membership rolls.

A CLASS FIGHT NECESSARY.

We must line up the working class as a class. We must not allow this to develop into sectional fights wherein, as of old, one section after another falls victim before the onslaught of Capital. The All-Australia Union Congress endorsed the O.B.U. This was surely an endorsement of the principle that an injury to one was the concern of

all. It was, further, a recognition that sectionalism was a failure, and that the fights of the future should be conducted on class lines. In spite of this, we hear suggestions to leave each section of the working-class to battle this matter out with its own employers, either direct or per medium of Wages Boards and the Arbitration Court (where, by the way, the employers have made themselves doubly secure by the appointment of a willing tool as chairman of the Court.) *As these instrumentalities are already reducing wages, such proposals are simply base surrenders, and mean black betrayal of the working class in this most serious crisis.*

LABOR INACTIVITY A SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO CAPITAL.

What we must throw off at all costs is that dead-weight of passivity which seems to have its grip in so many States upon Labor officialdom. Capital's interests are served at this juncture by the passivity of Labor, and those who refuse not only to initiate a counter offensive, but who for all practical purposes refuse to act even on the defensive, but serve the interests of Capital.

CONCLUSION.

We should at once endeavour to get working class unity in this campaign. If definite proposals are made by the employers, they should be dealt with by the All-Australia Union Congress. Pending unity, each centre should get busy preparing, by propaganda, the ground for united action by our class. The coal miners, steel workers, or any other section should not be allowed to face the employers without the active backing of the whole Labor movement. In most countries the employers have sought this method of settling the matter. They do not wish it to become a class issue. The Labor movement is called upon in this crisis to show its mettle. A reduction in wages is not necessary, and is not inevitable unless the working class movement remains inactive.

We must use our best endeavour to rouse the working class to resist this insidious move of Capital. The whole Labor movement should take up the fight.

Despair and Hope

From "The Russian Information and Review."

As early as July, in the Saratov province, and later in the north, people began to sell their household furniture and lead their milch cows to town for sale. Then suddenly, as if at a signal, village after village, entire districts, rose up with all their belongings and took to the roads in blind panic.

The high roads were black with trains of carts and waggons. From morning till night the dead fields resounded to the bellowing of terrified cows, the bleating of sheep, and the cries of hungry children. The dolorous music grew ever louder and spread wider, pouring out over the streets of the cities and silencing the clang of hammer on anvil.

But towards the end of August the light of hope began to dawn over the Volga, and the flow of emigrants subsided.

The tidings were borne from village to village, from railway station to landing stage, that somewhere in the fertile provinces seed was being collected, that the first train loads of corn would soon move up the Volga, that "Lenin himself" was commanding the detachments that were recruiting help for the starving people of the Volga.

Many of the peasants could not bring themselves to believe in the possibility of relief, but the ploughing for the winter crops began, and many peasants turned their shafts towards their native fields.

And when the first contingents of rye began to arrive from the "happy regions," hope dawned upon the people.

"Seed is coming. . . ."

These three words proved stronger than the most ardent persuasions of the agitators: feverish work was recommenced on the fields that but a day before were wild and desolate.

Old and young worked alike. Those whom famine had compelled to sell their

horses, harnessed themselves between the shafts. Harrowing was done with hoes.

"All will receive seed whose land is ploughed. . . ."

And seed did arrive.

On the railway stations in the cities unloading was carried on day and night without intermission. Never was labour more joyous, more enduring, and more welcome than this. Agents of the Commissariat for Food, railway men, carriers, and thousands of bearded draymen contended in the work. Half-starved, ragged, grey from sleepless nights, they hauled sack after sack, thousands of tons, to feed the hungry cornfields.

The terror caused by the "hopeless" famine died down, and was superseded by endurance and hope.

Little hills of grain, not yet laid into the earth, were guarded as sacred. They safeguarded them from themselves, from the almost irresistible temptation.

Only by indestructible faith in the law of life, in the future, in the necessity of subordinating the personal and fleeting to the common and eternal, can one explain this self-abnegation of famished people, surrendering, in the shape of a handful of grain, their food and happiness, and, may be, their lives.

Now, when the joys of the sowing are over, and the delight of the unexpected aid from the distant fertile provinces has run its course, they are again beginning to speak of themselves, of inevitable death, of the children who would have been happier unborn. . . .

But they are waiting patiently, hour by hour, and day by day, for they are convinced that help will come.

The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms that assumed different form at different epochs.—The Communist Manifesto.

The Craft Guilds of the Middle Ages

By B. H. MOLESWORTH, M.A.

Towns developed steadily from the 11th century onwards. It has been shown before that there was a rapidly developing division of labor and that various types of craftsmen grew in numbers. These craftsmen formed associations which came to be known as guilds. Before the 12th century all the craftsmen and merchants in the towns had formed one association, a merchant guild, but with the growth of members the craftsmen gradually separated off into guilds of their own. As early as the year 1100 A.D. there were craft guilds in the cloth-making industries in several towns, and by the end of the 12th century weavers' guilds were numerous throughout the country. During that same century craft guilds were formed in most other industries, and certainly by the 13th century the craft guild system of industrial organisation was flourishing. At the outset we need to recognise clearly that the craftsmen of the Middle Ages combined the function of the modern merchant, shop-keeper, industrial employer, foreman and worker. At that time division of labor had merely divided off the foreign trading merchants. The craftsman himself bought his raw materials, owned them, and worked upon them with his own tools in his own shop. When the product was completed he owned it himself and sold it direct to the consumer. The Middle Ages craftsman was both master and worker, and from these two functions developed, as we shall see later, the capitalist on the one hand and the worker on the other.

Purposes of the Guilds.—(1) **Economic.**—The economic function of the guilds was to control their own industry. At that time what was called a craft organisation was much more like what we to-day should call an industrial organisation. For example, one craftsman then performed a large number of activities which to-day are specialised amongst separate craftsmen. The miner performed every type of work—surface, mechanical, heaving, hauling, etc., connected with a mine. Also the spinning and weaving were regarded as distinct industries. The members of each craft, or industry, through their guild controlled their own industries and the conditions of their work. Also of course they owned their industries. They owned them individually, because each individual craftsman worked on his own premises with his own tools on his own raw material, and he owned his product. In industry, then he controlled the whole industry collectively. That is to say, he joined with his fellow craftsmen in drawing up the rules and conditions whereby his industry was carried on.

Amongst the many items which came within

the task of controlling industry in those days there was first of all the regulation of apprenticeship. Work had to be good, therefore no one could work unless he had learned his trade. Until he had done so he could not be admitted to the craft, therefore several years of apprenticeship was made compulsory for all new members. The period of apprenticeship differed from craft to craft, and from town to town even in the same craft. Then all the conditions under which work was to be performed had to be laid down by the guild. The quality of work had to be specified, and finally when the work was done it had to be sold at a price determined by the guild as a whole. Later, in the period when craft guilds were decaying, craftsmen employed journeymen to work for them and in such cases the wages paid were determined by the guild.

(2) **Social.**—(a) They provided assistance for all members of the craft who needed it. They gave sick benefits, and in general helped all members and widows of members. (b) The craft guilds also performed educational work, because each craftsman was responsible for the education of his apprentices. This education included not only what to-day we should call technical education, but also all that there was at that time of general knowledge. In fact, in the guild period education was acquired through work much more than it has ever been in later centuries. (c) Religious ceremonies were also carried out by the craft guilds. At the outset the guilds were religious as well as economic groups, and such ceremonies long filled an important place amongst the guild activities. (d) The performance of Pageants grew, and during the 13th century was a noted part of the guild activities.

(3) **Political.**—As industry increased and craft guilds became more important they gained some powers of political administration in the towns. Each craft was responsible for peace and order in that quarter of the city where its members lived. They had also to care for the maintenance and cleanliness of the roads through their quarter. They were taxed as a guild, and not as individuals. In some cities the craft guilds were made constituencies for the election of the town corporation. Of course, as each guild inhabited a special street or locality these industrial wards were little different from local wards.

(4) **Judicial.**—A very interesting feature of the activities of the craft guilds is seen in the judicial work performed amongst their own members. Each craft had its own law court and its own elected judges. Before these judges all disputes between the members of the same craft were tried. Some crafts in some towns even gained the right to try cases in which

any of their members were engaged in a dispute with persons outside their craft, but it was quite general for disputes between members of a craft to be settled inside the craft and not be taken either to the State courts, church courts, or feudal courts.

Organisation.—For the performance of all these functions, just how was the craft guild organised? Of course the organisation in one guild differed slightly from that in other guilds, but the following points were more or less general, and can be taken as the usual type of organisation for craft guilds during the 12th and 13th centuries.

1. Membership of the guild was compulsory upon all master craftsmen, that is to say, upon all those who practised the craft other than apprentices. (Later, when journeymen were employed, of course they were not members of the guild.) This power to make their membership compulsory was one of the privileges obtained by craft guilds from the town authorities when the guilds gained official recognition. The guilds later became exclusive, but that development will be explained when discussing their decay. During their growth and their prime they were not exclusive as they were later, but simply compelled all members to come into their association, share the duties and responsibilities of the organisation, and submit to the rules of the guild. The rules of the Dyers' Guild of Coventry are interesting as showing what was done with any member who refused to join the association. Welshmen and Irishmen were hired to waylay "blacklegs" and kill them.

2. Not only was membership compulsory, but also every member was obliged to attend the meeting of the general assembly of the guild. This assembly met at least once a year, and this assembly met all the rules and regulations which drew up all the rules and regulations which were to govern the craft during the following year. The executive officers, called wardens, were also elected at this meeting. Small crafts generally had two wardens, and large crafts had four. Those craftsmen who failed to attend the general assembly without just cause were fined, and if they absented themselves for a few years in succession they were expelled from the guild, and that meant that they were no longer able to ply their craft in that town. That is to say then, it was compulsory for all craftsmen not only to become member to their guild association, but also to take an active part in the governance and the work of their association.

3. It has already been pointed out that executive officers were elected at the annual meeting of each craft. These wardens, when elected, took an oath to fulfil faithfully the tasks and obligations of their office. An oath taken in the Middle Ages, too, was considered a most sacred and binding thing. One of the greatest crimes was to break an oath, therefore these wardens were likely to perform the function of their office with as much zeal and ability as was possible to them. The chief task of the wardens was of course to administer the rules passed by the general assembly. Their tasks

included the supervising of the work turned out by the craft members, the ensuring of a high standard and quality in products, and the carrying out of a rigorous search throughout all workshops to see that the necessary conditions of work were being observed. They had also to overlook all sales in order to see that the price charged should be that already determined upon by the craft.

4. For the purpose of the carrying out of the judicial functions referred to above, judges were elected each year by the general assembly. These elected judges sat in their special craft guild court. They tried not only disputes between members, but they tried also those who were brought before them by the wardens as having broken the rules laid down by the craft.

Several examples of rules passed at the annual meeting of crafts can be read in the Economic History Documents. The craft guilds, then, were associations of freemen. The craftsmen in co-operation had (1) self-government through their own assemblies, and (2) self-jurisdiction in their own law courts. In all economic and in many political matters their own Assembly was sovereign. It was only where their activities or their rules conflicted with the interests of other guilds that the matter was brought before a higher body. And even so, that higher body, namely, the city, was very often the guild of the guilds. "Each guild was an organisation with its own organic life, with pride in its good name and pride in its traditions, especially the traditions of its own independence."

The motive of work of the craftsman was the rendering of service to the small community in which he lived, namely the city. His prime consideration was the production of an article which would be of use and of service to the consumer, and at the same time an object of pride to himself and the members of his craft. There was co-operation amongst members of the same small craft, as is seen very clearly in many of the rules passed and entered in the minute-books. The purpose and motive of their production was to benefit the producing craftsman himself. pleasure of the producing craftsman himself. And the craftsman was able to take a pleasure in his work because in the first place he, in many cases, produced the whole finished article. He could understand the process of his industry, he could understand what part each section of the work played in the making of the whole product, and he was able to see and admire the finished work of his handiwork. But this was not so in the case of all crafts in the Middle Ages, and the second reason in his son why he was able to take pleasure in his work was that he controlled his work and owned his product.

The reasons for the excellent quality in the work which Kropotkin so aptly shows us, the

reason for progress in all the arts and crafts under the mediaeval guild system, are—(1) That co-operation was not only no hindrance to individual initiative, but that it resulted in much more initiative and much better work than ever competition has done. (2) Work was good also, because men were working for themselves in common with the community. When men know that they are working for themselves and for the community and not for the profit of some other individual, then they no longer need to "go slow." Neither do they produce shoddy work. They are willing to work their hardest and to produce their best. (3) Quality was good and progress was great because men were free. (a) They were free to direct their work and the conditions of their work. (b) They were free to express themselves in their work. They expressed themselves not only

by means of their own self-government, the government of their guild and through it the government of their industry; but also they expressed themselves actually in their particular jobs. They could express their individuality in the method of their work and in the form and quality of their product. (c) They owned their industries and the products of their labor, and so were not exploited for private profit.

The judgment of history is that the products of the Middle Ages were good, their quality was of the best. The work was good, and the quality was of the best, because it was the product of "free unions of free men."

Reading: Kropotkin, "Mutual Aid," Chapters 5 and 6.

Gibbins, pp. 22-30; Starr, pp. 34-47; Documents, p. 136 ff. (No. 15).

Simple Lessons in Economics

By E. S. HANKS.

No. 7—MONEY.

In the last lesson on money it was seen that gold, in its function as money, may be replaced by tokens, that is, by coins of inferior value to the gold one they are representing, as a shilling, penny, etc. A private or a State bank may also issue notes. These notes are promises on the part of the above banks to pay the amount in gold when the notes are produced for payment. On each note is printed, "promise to pay the bearer in gold coin on demand." Where sufficient gold is held at the banks there is little difference between holding a "promise to pay" or the coin. One third of the amount of notes issued held in gold backed up by the holding of "gilt edged" securities, is considered sound in banking circles. "Gilt edged securities" are those which are so good that gold can be obtained very quickly upon them. Marx says of notes (Critique, p. 155): "How many reams of paper cut into bills can circulate as money? Put in that way the question would be absurd. The worthless tokens are signs of value, only in so far as they represent gold within the sphere of circulation, and they represent it only to the extent to which it would itself be absorbed by the process of circulation."

The advent of the war so upset the international relations of the various countries that their credit was disorganised and

international trade relations had to be conducted with gold. Because the warring nations required munitions, they bought great quantities of war material, etc., from neutral nations, from U.S.A. in particular. Payment had to be made in gold as the belligerents were too fully engaged in war production to be able to keep the "balance of trade," or in other words, they were not able to export other commodities to act as repayment for the munitions, etc., which they were importing. Thus we find that they took control of all gold coin, specie, etc., in order to liquidate their debts abroad. To meet the currency requirements within the borders of their own countries, notes were issued and made legal tender. If the issues of these notes had only been of such amount to replace the gold withdrawn, or on there being a rise in prices from any cause, only in such extra amounts as would have been equivalent to the extra gold required (a general rise in prices necessitates an increase of currency), then certainly no rise in prices so great as we have witnessed since the outbreak of war could have occurred here.

It has been shown that gold became a necessity for oversea payments, and thus, in order to meet these obligations, gold was withdrawn from circulation and notes substituted; but having this power, the Go-

vernment (harassed by the great and growing war expenditure) had at its hand a means of payment for debts contracted within its own borders. *By using paper money in excess of the gold withdrawn.*

"Lombard," a writer in the "Argus," stated that the average currency should have been about £20,000,000, while the note issue was £56,000,000, but as £16,000,000 of this was held by the banks as receipt for bullion and not circulated, the paper currency must have been about £40,000,000.

Marx sums up the matter thus: "Since paper bills are legal tender, no one can prevent the State from forcing as large a quantity as it desires into circulation, and from impressing upon them any coin denomination, such as £1, £5, £20. The bills which have once gotten into circulation cannot be removed, since, on the one hand their course is hemmed in by the frontier posts of the country, and on the other, they lose all value, use value as well as exchange value outside of circulation. (Critique, p. 157.)"

Unity Statements

[In last issue we stated that in this issue we would endeavour to publish the points raised by the Communist Party, 115 Goulburn street, against the decision of Moscow on Unity; also a short statement from each party. Below we print the copy of the appeal made by the Goulburn street party against the Moscow decision. Then we print the statement supplied by the Goulburn street party. This is in the form of a letter to Earsman, in which is stated the position of Goulbourn street on the question of Unity. Then follows the statement supplied by the Communist Party, Station House.]

APPEAL AGAINST THE DECISION OF THE COMINTERN ON AUSTRALIAN UNITY.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern, Moscow.

Comrades,—Under instructions from the Central Executive of our Party, I have to notify you that we have now received the Reports of our Delegates to the Third Congress, together with the instructions on the question of Communist Unity in Australia.

Having given the matter very serious consideration, we herewith enter an appeal against the aforesaid decision on the following grounds:—

We understand that up to the time of the lamentable death of our esteemed Comrade, Paul Freeman, we were definitely affiliated to the Comintern and fully recognised as the Australian Section. We understand, further, that Com. Freeman sat on the Executive of the Comintern as our representative. In view of these facts, we are of the opinion that the attitude of the Small Bureau should have been to instruct the group represented by Earsman, to apply for membership in the already affiliated Australian Section. If our viewpoint on this matter is held to be incorrect, the Small Bureau will perhaps inform us what is to be gained by affiliation to the Comintern, and also whether the Comintern owes any duty to its Sections?

The next point upon which our appeal is based is in connection with the status of the

individuals that opposed us when the matter was dealt with by the Small Bureau. W. P. Earsman was supported by W. Smith. Smith had no credentials when he arrived in London, but was supplied with them by Earsman when he arrived in Moscow, and Earsman then stated that Smith had been credentialled by the Melbourne Communist Group. We wrote to Melbourne inquiring if Smith had been credentialled by them, and I beg to quote herewith the reply received under date of October 18th, 1921, signed by the Comrade who was Secretary of the Melbourne Group at the time Smith left Australia:—

"With regard to your second request—No delegate left Australia for Moscow, or anywhere else, with credentials from Melbourne Branch. Will Smith, Secretary of the Australian Railways Union, went to Russia as a result of the visit to Melbourne of the delegate from the Red T.U. International. He was invited to the first Conventional. He was invited to Melbourne by your representatives called Baker and Barrachi, but did not attend, sending a message approving of the formation of a Communist Party in Australia, but like a lot more he never paid any subscription, and like a lot more was eager to get the trip to Russia. If he has represented himself as a delegate from Melbourne of the Communist Party, it is in keeping with the actions of a Trade Union-Labor Opportunist. He went to Russia, strange as it may seem, as the representative of the reactionary 2nd International

February 7, 1922.

Yellow crowd of the Trades Hall Council.
"Yours, for the Proletarian Revolution,

"(Signed) CHARLES E. FRANCE."

From the above it will be obvious that W. Smith is not, and never has been, a member of the Communist Movement of Australia, and we would like to be informed, therefore, if it is customary for the Comintern to cancel the affiliation of its Sections, upon the representations of such an individual, who is known only to the Australian Working-class Movement as a base opportunist. The action of Earsman in utilising the assistance of such an individual, and in such a manner, places him also in the same category, and we hold that Earsman should receive the immediate attention of the Comintern.

In forwarding this appeal, we desire also to protest against the action of the Small Bureau in suspending our affiliation from the date of its decision. We were of the opinion that same could only be done for a breach of Third International principles, and we would be glad, therefore, for information as to when or how we transgressed.

We submit this appeal and relative matter in the hope that it will receive the careful consideration of the Small Bureau; at the same time assuring you that we are actuated by a desire to preserve the prestige of the Third International, and to save its good repute from the designs of those who, by their machinations, tend to make it a thing of scorn and contumely to the working-class of Australia.

On behalf of the Central Executive, and with fraternal greetings,

A. S. REARDON,

Hon. Gen. Sec.

STATEMENT SUPPLIED BY COMMUNIST PARTY, GOULBURN STREET.

Letter to Earsman—4th January, 1922, after Earsman, Rawstrong, and Maruschak had addressed our Conference on the Unity question:—

Mr. W. P. Earsman,—

As you are already aware, Conference has endorsed the policy of the C.E. re Unity, and on 21st, 1921. I was instructed to supply the following reasons for this decision:—

After hearing your delegates, Conference was more than ever convinced that the attitude plied to questions admitted the existence of tempt had been made to deal with same. Charges of blabbing treachery and opportunism were not denied. Two of your delegates were convicted, as they stood, of contradictory and lying statements.

Our Party was urged to unite in order to assist in expelling an admittedly bad element, and finally threatened re our standing in Moscow if we refused.

Conference instructed me to state that at all

times this Party, as the A.S.P. and now the C.P. of A., has never failed to deal with any individual within its ranks who has violated principles or party discipline; they leave it to you to do your own cleaning up in that respect. If your rank and file is not prepared to take action against individuals which, through its delegates, it admits are corrupt, then their claims to be Communist falls to the ground.

The C.P. of A. is acting on principle, and in an endeavour to build up a clean, solid Party in Australia; and therefore threats as to what action Moscow might be induced to take on our questioning its beliefs would have no effect beyond confirming our previous opinion of your Party as being non-Communist.

Re your communication of 27/12/21—In it you state that your delegates were officially affiliated in Russia that our Party was not this we have the word of our three delegates—against Lamb, Rees, and the late Paul Freeman, who all were definite on the point that our Party was affiliated with, and recognised by, the Third International. Also in a pamphlet entitled, "The Third International," written by Boris Souvarine, we are listed as the only Party in Australia recognised by that body.

This evidence, we are assured, would stand against the statements of men like Earsman and Smith, the former of whom is included among those whom your rank and file, as represented by your delegates, acknowledge to be totally unworthy of a place in the Communist Movement; and the latter who was repudiated by the Branch with which he claims membership.

Regarding this W. Smith, you claim in your letter that he was a member of your Party. I am instructed to call your attention to the fact that at our Conference Comrade Maruschak admitted that he was not, and added to this we have the written statement of your late Secretary of your Melbourne Branch:—

"With regard to your second request, no delegate left Australia for Moscow or anywhere else with credentials from Melbourne Branch. Will Smith, Secretary of the Australian Railways Union, went to Russia as the result of a visit to Melbourne of the delegate from the Red T.U. International. He was invited to the first Conference called in Melbourne by your representatives and Baker and Barracchi, but did not attend, sending a message approving of the formation of a Communist Party in Australia, but like a lot more he never paid any subscriptions, and like a lot more was eager to get the trip to Russia. If he has represented himself as a delegate from Melbourne of the Communist Party, it is in keeping with the actions of a Trade Union-Labor opportunist. He went to Russia, strange as it may seem, as the representative of the reactionary 2nd International Yellow crowd of the Trades Hall Council.

"(Signed) CHARLES E. FRANCE."

The above Comrade was fully conversant

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with Melbourne Branch's books since its inception. We have likewise an admission from Mr. Earsman at our Conference that he (Earsman) was aware before he left Australia that Smith was practically convicted of blabbing to the Press regarding Freeman's visit to Australia.

If under these circumstances Mr. Earsman admittedly credentialled Smith, and the Executive endorsed his action as stated in your letter, we say definitely and unhesitatingly that it brands every member upon it as traitors to the Third International and the Communist Movement of the World.

The conditions re Unity were NOT unanimously agreed to by our delegates, but were drawn by the Small Bureau after Com. Lamb had put in his Minority Report.

In conclusion, I am instructed to state that so far as we are concerned, the Communists of Australia ARE UNITED; unfortunately we have no power to prevent individuals calling themselves what they please, but "actions speak louder than words," and while the rank and file of your Party endorses by its silence the actions of its officials, which the members admit are against the best interests of the Communist Movement, they not only forfeit all claim to the title of Communist, but range themselves on the side of the counter-revolutionaries. It is for them to manifest their worthiness by action, not continue to give adherence to those whom they condemn.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Australia,

(Signed) MARCIA REARDON,

Acting Gen. Sec.

STATEMENT SUPPLIED BY COMMUNIST PARTY, STATION HOUSE.

MOSCOW'S DEMAND FOR UNITY REJECTED.

[Only a brief statement of the negotiations between the two Communist Parties can be given here. Readers of "The Proletarian" who would like to acquaint themselves with the full facts of the matter are referred to the special Unity Number of "The Communist," June 24, 1921, and to the full final statement of the Central Executive on the matter given in "The Communist" of January 20, 1922, from which the following statement is taken. Readers are also asked to see issue of "The Communist" for January 27, for the call issued by the Central Executive to all Communists to an All-Australian Communist Conference for the purpose of meeting the wishes of the Communist International and forming a UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA.]

In October, 1920, the Communist Party of Australia was formed. The new party included part of the A.S.P. The Executive of the A.S.P. endorsed the party, and recommended their branches to join up. (See correspondence in Unity Number.) Later the A.S.P. changed their mind and withdrew from the Communist Party in December. They then changed the name of their party from the Australian Socialist Party to the Communist Party of Australia. From that day to this the A.S.P. has rejected every proposal for

uniting the two parties put forward by this party, and have now rejected the demands of the Communist International.

A review of the unity negotiations during the past year will show that this party has tried ever since the split to bring the two parties together; it will also show that every attempt has been met with lies, slander, and personal abuse.

Delegates were sent to the Third Congress of the Communist International by both parties. The unity question was brought before the Small Bureau of the Comintern, and its decision was that the two parties must unite before the end of January, 1922. One of their two delegates on the Small Bureau voted for the decision, believing that the matter should be referred back to Australia. (Why the matter should be referred back to the parties (seeing that they had already failed to agree, is a mystery known only to the delegate.)

The first information to reach our executive was a cable stating that Moscow had demanded unity. This was published in "The Communist" of September 2nd. Nothing was published by the A.S.P. to show that they were aware of the decision.

Towards the end of October we received from our delegate, Comrade Earsman, the full text of the decision of the Small Bureau, which was published in "The Communist" of October 21st. Again not one word was published in the "International Communist" to show that they either received or recognised the decision of the Small Bureau.

The Decision.

The decision of the Small Bureau reads as follows:—

1. In view of the fact that there is no difference in principle, programme, or tactics, excepting differences arising out of local trouble, this meeting to-day proposes to the Commission of the Small Bureau to recommend an immediate unity of the two parties before the end of January, 1922, this unity to take place at a general conference representing both parties.
2. That a Committee of Action be set up, composed of three delegates from each organisation, whose work shall be to prepare the agenda for the Unity Conference.
3. That the basis for representation for the Conference be one delegate for every fifty members of the party,
4. All representation at Moscow to be suspended until unity is achieved and one United Communist Party for Australia is formed.

SIGNED by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Moscow, August 20, 1921.

The above decision was endorsed by the Central Executive, and by every branch of the party. Immediately a Council of Action was

appointed, and the Secretary of the A.S.P. was notified to that effect. A reply was received stating that they would not act in the matter until their delegates had returned. There the matter rested until all the Australian delegates had returned.

On his return, the General Secretary, Comrade Earsman, the party delegate to the Third Congress, delivered his report to the Executive, which was endorsed; the same report was later endorsed by the party conference. The Executive decided to again open up negotiations with the A.S.P., and asked them to meet our representatives.

Here was a test of sincerity. Nothing could be settled until a preliminary discussion had taken place, where the points of difference could be thrashed out, and a basis of unity agreed upon. Our desire had been to meet the officials of the A.S.P. face to face in debate. So far they had always avoided this, they have always sought refuge in slander and abuse, and have refused to meet us and prove their lying charges. We thought the authority of Moscow decision would at least compel them to enter into negotiations with our representatives, but on December 23rd we received from them a reply stating that they had appeared against the decision of the Small Bureau, that they were affiliated to the Communist International, and that they refused to meet us.

As to their affiliation, we challenge the officials of the A.S.P. to print in their official organ, the "International Communist," the documentary proof of their affiliation. This will settle the question once and for all, and will convince not only members of this party, but members of their own party. Our General Secretary reports that the A.S.P. is not, and never has been affiliated to the Third International under any name at any time. As our General Secretary was the only member of the Australian delegation to sit upon the Executive Committee, he was in a position to verify this fact. This statement that they were affiliated, is but another mis-statement—if not, let them publish the proof.

But again we were defeated by the disruptionists in trying to carry out the wishes of the Communist International, again we find the same flimsy excuses to avoid meeting our Executive in open debate on the relation of the two parties, and the unity of the Communist movement.

The next step was taken at our party conference. At this Conference were delegates from Cairns, Innisfail, Brisbane, Newcastle, Melbourne delegate, and Melbourne. The Melbourne delegate moved that the first business of the Conference be Unity. This was carried, and after discussion, it was agreed to send three representatives from the Conference to address the Conference of the A.S.P. which was sitting at the same time. Comrades Maruschak, Rawstrong, and Earsman attended their Conference, and Earsman this party wished to carry out the decision of the Third International on Unity, and was pre-

pared to again open up negotiations for that purpose. The Conference stated that they would send us a reply on the following day. On the following day a communication was handed to one of our delegates, stating that the Conference endorsed the decision of their C.E.

Here the matter ends. Every delegate on our Conference was satisfied that no unity could be achieved.

Our party is both young and weak, but in it is contained the material for revolution. It stands for the principles and tactics of the Communist International, around it must be built the future Communist Party of Australia. We call upon all sincere revolutionaries who are prepared to accept the Communists position to rally to the party as the only party which puts principle above personalities, sincerity above slander, action above abuse, and has no need to defend its existence by malicious lies.

We are the original Communist Party of Australia, and the only party willing to carry out the demands of the Communist International. While the party is both young and weak, it is yet old enough, and strong enough to stand alone and to take its place as the revolutionary party of the workers, the party which will become the real advance guard of the Australian workers, and will remain the Communist Party of Australia, the Australian section of the Third Communist International.

SIGNED, Central Executive of the Communist Party of Australia.
January 20, 1922.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.—The Communist Manifesto.

DEMOCRACY.

At every step, even in the most democratic bourgeois States, the oppressed masses come across the crying contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by the "democracy" of the capitalists, and the thousand and one de facto limitations and restrictions which make the proletarians wage-slaves. It is this contradiction which opens the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, hypocrisy, and mendacity of Capitalism.
—N. Lenin.

The Red International of Labor Unions

[The following extracts from a pamphlet entitled "Constitution of the Red International of Labor Unions," supply the essential points round which discussion should centre when the question of affiliation is brought before the Australian Trade Union Movement. This will be in the immediate future, and readers are urged to see that the matter is not only brought before the Unions, but well thrashed out prior to the next All-Australia Union Congress, when the matter of affiliation is bound to form an important item on the Agenda Paper. The report of Australian delegate, J. B. Howey, is being printed, and probably before this is printed will be available for circulation. Members of Unions will find it wise to see that their organisations obtain supplies of Howey's report.]

The first condition, is, therefore, the recognition and the fulfilment of the principles of revolutionary class struggle; this means that only those trade unions can become members of the Red International which carry on the struggle against the system based on classes and against all forms of class co-operation; only those who combat, not by words but by deeds, the theory of social peace and the efforts to solve the social question by harmonious co-operation with the ruling classes; the revolutionary class-struggle is the basis of the Red International.

The revolutionary class-struggle must always be conducted with the constant aim in view of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the power of the toilers, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to bring about the social revolution and destroy class antagonism, the working class has to be organised solidly and must create the means for its struggle, otherwise it will be defeated during the first days of the revolution. We must oppose the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the concentrated power of the working class which realises class aims and tasks. The recognition of

the dictatorship of the proletariat is the second consideration to be reckoned with.

At the first period of the existence of the Red International, in the period of organisation, there were cases of simultaneous affiliations of different unions to both Internationals. An end should be put to such "double allegiance." Breaking with the Amsterdam International is for the general labour union centres a prerequisite for the affiliation with the Red International, because such a simultaneous affiliation with two mutually antagonistic organisations is inadmissible in theory and extremely detrimental in practice. In the countries where the general trade union centres belong to the Amsterdam International, separate unions, federations or national minorities may belong to the Red International, and at the same time remain within the old trade union organisations.

The fourth condition for joining the Red International consists in the unity of action on the part of all the organisations affiliated with it in each country. If, as a transitional measure, we could allow the existence of several organisations affiliated with the Red International, it would only be on condition of their having concerted defensive and offensive action against the bourgeoisie. This condition is absolutely essential, as, otherwise, it might happen, as was the case in the March days in Germany, that some organisations belonging to the Red International carry on an armed fight against the bourgeoisie, while others attack our comrades in the rear.

An international organisation is only then properly established when its decisions are carried out by corresponding organisations in all countries. The experience of international organisations before, and especially during the war shows that many organisations do not consider the decisions adopted by international congresses as binding on the national organisations. But the Red International cannot endorse their standpoint and therefore establishes the necessity of international proletarian discipline, i.e., that separate national organisations must abide

by the decisions of the International Congresses and Conferences.

Aims and Purpose.

The Red International of Labour Unions has for its aims:—

(1) To organise the large working mass in the whole world for the overthrow of Capitalism, the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation, and the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth.

(2) To carry on a wide agitation and propaganda of the principles of revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary mass action for the purpose of overthrowing the Capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

(3) To fight against the corruptive ulcer, gnawing at the vitals of the world labour movement, of compromising with the bourgeoisie, against the ideas of class co-operation and social peace and the absurd hopes for a peaceable transition from Capitalism to Socialism.

(4) To unite the revolutionary class elements of the world labour union movement, and carry on decisive battle against the International Bureau of Labour, attached to the League of Nations, and against the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, which by their programme and tactics are but the bulwarks of the world bourgeoisie.

(5) To co-ordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries, and organise international demonstrations each time, when the situation demands them.

(6) To take the initiative of international campaigns about prominent events of class struggle, to open subscription lists for the benefit of strikers in great social conflicts, etc.

Membership.

Any revolutionary, economic class organisation is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labour Unions if it accepts the following conditions:—

(1) Endorsement of the principles of revolutionary class struggle.

(2) Application of these principles in its daily struggle with Capitalism and the bourgeois state.

(3) Recognition of the necessity of the overthrow of Capitalism through the so-

cial revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition period.

(4) Recognition and submission to the international proletarian discipline.

(5) Recognition and application of the decisions of the Constituent Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.

(6) The rupture with the Amsterdam yellow International.

(7) United action with all the revolutionary organisations and the Communist Party of the country in all defensive and offensive activities against the bourgeoisie.

The Proletarian Dictatorship

By L. Kameneff.

The experience of the workers of Russia, Finland, Hungary and Germany allows us to establish an empiric law of the development of proletarian dictatorship, which may be expressed approximately in the following words. The fact of the conquest of the central political power by the proletariat in no wise completes the struggle for power, but only marks the beginning of a new and more determined period of warfare between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

After the first blow of the proletarian revolution and the seizure of the central apparatus of power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie inevitably needs a certain time for mobilisation of its forces, the bringing up of reserves and their organisation. Its passing to a counter attack opens up an epoch of undisguised warfare, and armed clash of the forces of both sides.

It is just during this period that the rule of the proletariat acquires the harsh features of a dictatorship: a Red Army, a terrorist suppression of the exploiters and their allies, the limitation of political liberty, becomes inevitable if the proletariat does not wish to give up without a fight the power it has won.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is, consequently, a form of government of the State which is most adapted to the carrying on of a war with the bourgeoisie, and to guarantee most rapidly the victory of the proletariat in such war.

Proletarians and Communists

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party, opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only:—

(1) In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. (2) In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.—The Communist Manifesto.

REWARDS OF CAPITALISM.

The story of a telephone operator who made 6000 dollars in commissions through the sale of stock is told by the San Francisco "Chronicle." She used the telephone in making her sales, at odd moments in the working day. She is what the success writers on the capitalist dailies call a "live wire."

This exceptional incident has a significant moral. As a telephone operator, doing useful work, this lady receives a trifling wage that barely enables her to live. As a seller of stock, a useless vocation peculiar to the profit system, she makes 6000 dollars in her leisure time.

Observe the vast difference between the rewards capitalist society pays for useful work and useless activities of a speculative and exploitive character!—"Appeal to Reason."

The O. B. U.

The following resolutions were carried at the last meeting of the Council of Action:—

"This Council recommends the State Labor Councils to immediately concentrate on the following sections of the working class, and to urge and assist on the following lines:—

"1. That all working in the building trades be immediately linked up.

"2. That all workers in the Transport Group be linked up.

"3. That the metal trades be called together for the purpose of endeavouring to link up (i.e., to formulate a plan of closer organisation).

"4. That, so far as practicable, other groups on industrial lines be brought together and linked up.

"5. That, for the purpose of preventing conflicts in the various States, all schemes for linking up be submitted to the Council of Action for suggestions."

THE COMMUNISTS.

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.—The Communist Manifesto.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.—The Communist Manifesto.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.—The Communist Manifesto.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.—The Communist Manifesto.

Russia

The Trade Union movement in Russia shows a great decline in the number of unions, together with a tremendous growth of membership. The following table illustrates this development clearly:—

	Number of Unions.	Number of Members.
March, 1917	over 200	
January, 1918	158	2,252,500
January, 1919	80	3,422,000
January, 1920	32	4,328,000
January, 1921	23	6,857,000

At the end of the first quarter of 1921 the membership had increased to 7,500,000.

The first of the vast network of electric power generating stations with which it is planned to cover Russia was completed at Kashira in November last. The following is a comparison of this station with that now being constructed at Morwell, Victoria. The fuel to be used in both cases is brown coal. Kashira is about 70 miles distant from Moscow, Morwell, 82 miles from Melbourne. The initial capacity of Morwell is to be 75,000 kilowatts, that of Kashira is 80,000 kilowatts. Morwell will supply electricity at 135,000 volts, Kashira at 115,000 volts. The construction of Morwell station was authorised in December, 1918. The construction of Kashira was organised in March, 1919. The Morwell station is still far from completion. In order to give an idea of the work performed at Kashira, it is enough to say that thirty million bricks were required for the building, and that one hundred thousand cubic yards of earth were excavated.

The Ural Industrial Committee is proceeding to reorganise the metal works. One hundred and forty-nine enterprises with 120,000 workers remain under State administration. In the Southern Ural results exceeding the pre-war figures have been attained.

According to the statements of the Petrograd section of the Commissariat for Justice, 1600 persons were released from prison up till November 15th; 360 prisoners received a reduction of sentence.

Among those released are many who were punished for participation in the Kronstadt mutiny.

The American Relief Administration has proposed to Hoover that U.S.A. should conclude an agreement with Soviet Russia on the same lines as those between Soviet Russia and England, Sweden and Italy. They have also pronounced themselves in favour of the formation of an association of manufacturers in America, who would grant the Soviet government a credit of 500,000,000 dollars for the purchase of agricultural machinery.

The state plan of work for 1922 forces the repair of 8,400 locomotives, which shall be carried out in two periods. The number of locomotives in Australia in 1919 was 3,724.

In accordance with a decree of the Council of Commissaries the metric system comes into force in the whole territory of the Soviet Federation on January 1st, 1922. The execution of this measure will require a certain amount of time owing to the difficulty in issuing the necessary registered weights.

Up till the end of October, over 12 million acres of wheat had been sown in Siberia. The full programme aims at planting nearly 15 million acres, which, taking an average yield, should give about 103 million bushels. The harvest of 1915 yielded 92 million bushels, which was less than one-seventh of the total Russian harvest. The average Australian yield is about 100 million bushels.

The elections for the seventh Petrograd Soviet were held in October. The final results are 1162 Communists, 267 Independents, and 1 Social Revolutionary.

Up to October 28th, 2,295,000 tons of naphtha (eau de petroleum) were transported up the Volga over Tzaritsin. This quantity corresponds to 92 per cent. of the proposed programme. During the same period last year 1,475,000 tons of naphtha were transported up the Volga.

In the past school year 263 students graduated as doctors of medicine at the University of Rostov on the Don. Of these 15 remained in the University as teachers.

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