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COMMUNIST ★ REVIEW ★



NEW INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

By L. Sharkey



N.Z. LABOR FACES EMERGENCY

By C. G. Watson



WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

By Betty Roland

FEBRUARY

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COMMUNIST REVIEW

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THE NEWS REVIEWED

AXIS FOR AXIS

OUR dictionary gives various definitions of the word axis. Among other things it is said to mean, "a line connecting corresponding parts," and, "the second vertebrae of the neck.

Hitherto we have always regarded its use in connection with Rome-Berlin-Tokyo in the first sense, but in light of President Roosevelt's recent speech the second might be more applicable.

In addressing Congress, Roosevelt foreshadowed certain measures which if enforced would surely mean the dictators getting it "where the chicken got the axe."

"Democracies," he said, "cannot forever let pass without effective protest acts of aggression against sister nations."

"There are many methods short of war but stronger and more effective than mere words of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people."

"Our neutrality laws may actually give aid to aggressors and deny it to the victims. The instinct of self preservation should warn us that we ought not to let that happen anymore."

This striking speech, foreshadowing as it does a departure from the traditional policy of isolation, is to

be greatly applauded by peace lovers and democrats throughout the world.

There can be no doubting that if the full weight of America is thrown onto the scales on the side of world peace and progress, in the manner indicated, it will go far towards turning the balance of forces overwhelmingly against the fascist aggressors.

Roosevelt's outspoken remarks were not entirely in the nature of a bombshell. To close observers of the international political scene there have been many signs of late pointing to such a climax.

The stage reached in Japan's undeclared war against China plays a big part in determining America's present attitude.

The occupation of China's chief ports and the main shipping section of the Yangtze by Japan raises sharply the question of the future of the Nine Power Treaty.

Signed in Washington in 1922, this Treaty committed China to the open door principle. The existing gains of all powers (concessions, extra territorial rights, etc.), were confirmed and spheres of influence agreed upon.

The signatory powers (chief among them being Britain, U.S.A., Japan and France) on their part

agreed not only to respect each other's rights but also China's sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity.

Each new advance of Japanese aggression in China has seen the Washington Nine Power Treaty go more and more the way of the Versailles Treaty under Hitler's offensive in Europe.

British, French and American mills have been seized without compensation, their shipping lines have been closed down or taken over, whilst prohibitive customs duties have been imposed against their traders where the Japanese are in control.

Protests have been made from time to time by the powers concerned, half hearted in the case of Britain, vigorous on the part of America.

On October 6, a very strongly worded note was sent by the American to the Japanese government. It expressly charged Japan with contravention of the Nine Power Treaty and formally demanded the discontinuance of discriminating exchange control, monopolies, and other arrangements purporting to establish a superiority of rights in favor of Japanese interests, and interference with American property and other rights.

This note also foreshadowed the points made in Roosevelt's speech. It reminded Japan that the U.S.A. had not sought in its own territory or in the territory of third countries to impose prohibitions or re-

strictions on Japanese trade and enterprise.

The Japanese reply of November 18 ignored both the demands and the implied warning and intimated that the U.S.A. and other powers would only be allowed to participate in reconstruction of East Asia if the main principles of the Nine Power Treaty were waived.

America's next move was to advance credits to the Chinese government, in this she was joined to a limited extent by Great Britain.

This did not lead to any modification of Japan's attitude. Her aim, the creation of an East Asia bloc, linking Manchukuo and China with herself—was reaffirmed. It is clear that by such a bloc, which of course can only become possible on the basis of China's subjugation, Japan means to exclude all foreign capital, apart from that which directly benefits herself.

This, to a large extent, is at the bottom of Roosevelt's denunciatory speech.

There can be no doubting that Roosevelt is a thousand times correct in stating in effect that economic and financial sanctions would quickly bring Japan to her knees and cause her to draw back from the present path of aggression.

The war has placed an enormous strain upon the economic and financial structure of Japan. During the last year an additional 291 million sterling in war bonds was issued and eleven million squeezed out of the people in new taxation.

The recent cabinet crisis is indi-

cative of the unstable position within the country.

Baron Hiranuma, the new Premier who replaced Konoye, is forced to admit that Japan is facing "a critical situation unprecedented in her annals."

New "national mobilisation" ordinances have been rushed through prescribing longer working hours and decreased wages.

These can only result in the long run in still further worsening the position. The increased exploitation of the masses is bound to lead to increased discontent and greater opposition to the war.

Roosevelt's proposed measures, if supported by the rest of the democratic world, will undoubtedly make it impossible for Japan to continue, and if extended to Germany and Italy will also halt their mad race towards world war.

So warm was the response among democratic circles in Great Britain to the words of the United States President that even Chamberlain on the eve of his departure for Rome, was forced to grant them grudging recognition.

"The sentiments expressed by President Roosevelt," he said, "will be welcomed as yet another indication of the vital role of American democracy in world affairs."

This is, of course, much better than no comment at all, but it falls far short of being satisfactory. It gives no indication of a readiness on the part of Britain to join with America in prosecuting the only channels likely to serve the cause of

world peace in the present situation. But what more could be expected from Chamberlain and Co.?

It was only a short time ago that the Prime Minister let the cat out of the bag concerning the real attitude taken by the most reactionary sections of British imperialism towards the Japanese war in China.

Why be perturbed, he said in effect, let Japan conquer China, don't let us worry about a few losses now, a few British ships sunk, a few British mills seized, etc., we'll regain all that and more if Japan is successful, because she will not be able to exploit China's natural resources without the aid of British capital.

Could anything be more coldly cynical than this? Let the war go on. Let millions of Chinese men, women and children be slaughtered. Let millions of pounds worth of property be senselessly destroyed. It matters not to the moneybags of Great Britain who will dredge "mountains of gold from this sea of human blood."

However, there's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip and the vampires of finance may yet be robbed of their gory feast.

Each day sees the movement in opposition to Chamberlain gain strength in Britain and throughout the Empire.

In this country we have cause to be proud of the stand taken by the Port Kembla waterside workers.

They have in deed applied those methods, "short of war but stronger and more effective than mere words," which are rated so highly by the

President of the United States as giving a check to fascist aggression.

The path of President Roosevelt, the path of enlightened world democratic opinion, the path of the Port Kembla wharf laborers, must become the path followed by Australia as a nation.

We have everything to gain and nothing to lose from boycotting the aggressor powers.

If the government of the day is hesitant to tread this path it is only because it serves, not the national interests, but the interests of a sectional minority, a minority of profit seeking vultures who would batten on the flesh of China's dead by con-

SPEAKING "PLANELY"

MR. THORBY has shown himself to be very touchy on matters connected with his administration of aviation affairs.

Recollection of his vituperative attack upon the leader of the Opposition for daring to criticise the proposed Air Court of Inquiry is still strong in our mind.

If memory serves us correctly the gist of his remarks on that occasion was that he would not spit upon Mr. Curtin and that, if he had his way, the latter would be placed up against a wall and shot.

If he will give us a similar assurance that the first fate will not be ours we will gladly face the perils of the second in commenting upon his Singapore tour.

We would much prefer sudden merciful death from a bullet than

continuing to profit by supplying Japan with war materials.

But let us be thankful that we still retain the elements of democracy in this country. Our government is not yet free to go its own sweet way in opposition to the will of the majority of the electors.

We still have the power to bring about a change in the government's policy, or even a change in the government itself if it persists in travelling arm in arm with the fascist dictators along the road to war.

Why not let us unite all forces for peace and progress in Australia and commence to use that power?

the more agonising end likely to result from coming into contact with the venomous saliva of the Minister.

The avowed object of the trip was twofold, according to Mr. Lyons.

"Mr. Thorby," said the Prime Minister, "has recently been under a heavy strain" . . . "I therefore suggested to him that he should take the opportunity of having a holiday this month, to safeguard his health."

Mr. Thorby was accompanied by his wife and daughter. Taxpayers will be glad to know that theirs was the privilege of meeting Mrs. Thorby's expenses.

Combining business with pleasure, it was also Mr. Thorby's intention to look into certain matters connected with the flying boat bases.

Of the 72 Empire flying-boat air

mails which left England for Australia between August and December last year only 34 arrived on time.

This is explained away by responsible officials on the grounds that the service is still in the experimental stages and there is difficulty in obtaining suitable machines.

From information at our disposal it would appear that one of the reasons for the service lingering so long in the experimental stages is the tardiness with which the experiences of other lines are utilised. And as for the shortage of suitable machines, insufficient care is taken of those already in service.

For a long while the only equipment of the British line at Singapore was a couple of tin sheds at the jetty. On the other hand Pan American Airlines laid out concrete slips at their jetty with a cradle on rails for hauling the boats out of the water and into the hangar when heavy weather was expected. Their airport also had a control tower, departure signals and a first-class weather bureau.

The British have since followed suit, but at Darwin the old tin shed system still prevails.

This has already led to the loss of one expensive flying boat. On December 12, the "Coorong"

was blown onto the rocks in a squall.

We don't presume to know very much about running an air mail service but it does seem to us that these gigantic flying boats are not meant to ride out a gale at moorings.

The combined attack of the wind on the wings and the waves on the hull must impose an enormous strain upon the moorings.

Pan American Airways must have realised this, judging from their elaborate precautions at Singapore.

There seems to be no excuse for the absence of like facilities at Darwin.

Had they existed the "Coorong" would still be in service and who knows but what now and again we might get an air mail letter on time.

There is just one other little matter we would like cleared up in connection with the "Coorong" wreck.

We know that the official explanation of the cause maintains that the pin came out of the Imperial Airways shackle, but we have it on reasonably good authority that this is not the case, and that it was, in fact, the Commonwealth moorings which gave way.

We do hope that in the interests of all concerned, as well as in the interests of a better air mail service and more efficient administration of aviation generally that this matter is satisfactorily cleared up.



• A MEDITERRANEAN MUNICH •

WHAT will be the fate of Spain is the question which dominates international politics at the moment.

Mussolini's Blackshirts, reinforced since the signing of the Anglo-Italian Agreement, are driving towards Barcelona, the heart of the Catalan Republic.

Spanish government forces, severely handicapped by lack of arms and equipment—one of the evil effects of "non-intervention"—are resisting to the death the fascist advance.

In the South, on the Estrenadura front, the diversionist counter-offensive of the government is meeting with successes.

There is no disguising the critical nature of the situation.

It is not only the fate of Spain which is in the balance, but the whole immediate future of mankind.

If Franco is victorious the second imperialist world war will be carried a great step forward in its development.

And the man who we can blame above all others for this terrible prospect is Chamberlain the "Peacemaker."

The capitalist papers would have us believe that Chamberlain returned from Rome bearing nothing more dangerous than his celebrated umbrella.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

If the Rome visit lacked the dramatic background of Munich, it

none the less had significance almost as far reaching.

Munich saw Czechoslovakia sacrificed to the fascist wolves.

Rome was to have the same results for Spain.

But will it. Much depends upon the activities of the masses in the democratic countries, particularly France and Britain.

In France a widespread movement demanding the re-opening of the Spanish frontiers is sweeping the country. In Britain crowds are storming Downing Street to demand an end to "Non-Intervention."

If these demands are realised Spain can be saved.

But they will only be realised against the will of, and in face of the determined opposition of Daladier and Chamberlain.

In place of the majority elected by the people, Daladier governs more and more on the basis of the support of the Right, the enemies of France, Doriot, La Rocque and the fascists.

The Pyrenees Frontier will not be opened, he proclaims, France will not permit the passage of arms to Spain.

Chamberlain adopts a similar reactionary stand in Great Britain.

The government is not prepared to consider a reversal of its policy of "Non-Intervention" in Spain, he said in reply to representations by Mr. Attlee, the leader of the Opposition.

In the opinion of the government, he added, such a course would inevi-

tably lead to an extension of the conflict.

This does not square with a previous statement of Chamberlain's uttered on November 2.

On that date he told the House of Commons that Spain no longer represented a menace to the peace of Europe.

This is not the only exposure of Chamberlain's light regard for the truth contained in his reply to Attlee.

When Eden was sacked Chamberlain assured the House that if the Anglo-Italian Agreement was signed Italy would withdraw her troops from Spain.

It was signed, sealed and duly ratified, but Chamberlain now states that there is no possibility of Italy withdrawing her troops before the end of the war.

But there can be no end to the war in Spain whilst French and British policy remains as it is.

It is clear that the "end" which Chamberlain has in mind is a Franco victory.

But would such a victory lead to the termination of hostilities, would it result, as Chamberlain claims, in the withdrawal of Italian and German forces from Spanish territory, and the ushering in of an era of peace?

To think that it would is to misunderstand the whole nature of the present struggle in Spain.

The war in Spain is not the isolated event which Chamberlain and Co. would have us believe. It is an integral part of the second im-

perialist war which has been started by the fascist powers to redivide the world.

There is no secret about the aims pursued by Germany, Italy and Japan.

These have been stated over and over again by fascist spokesmen and widely publicised through the fascist press.

Anybody who thinks that Germany has been "appeased" by swallowing Austria and Czechoslovakia or that Italy will rest contented with a Franco victory in Spain, is laboring under a childish delusion.

Austria and Czechoslovakia, for Nazi Germany, are but stepping stones to greater conquests in the future.

A Franco victory in Spain would similarly create for Italy a solid base from which to launch new aggressive moves.

Already the cry has gone up that Italy must soon possess herself of the French colonies, Tunis, Corsica and Nice.

What then becomes of Chamberlain's protestations that Italy will withdraw her troops from Spain with the ending of the war (in Franco's favor)?

It is not quite clear that it is the policy of "Non-Intervention" that is leading inevitably to an extension of the Spanish conflict?

Is it not equally clear that a reversal of that policy and the lifting of the embargo on the supply of arms to the Spanish government offers to bring the war to a speedy conclusion?

VICTORIAN COUNTRY PARTY AND PEOPLE'S FRONT

J. D. Blake



IT is already well-known that in the State of Victoria the Country Party, which now controls the State Government, is of a different nature and pursues a different policy to the Country Party in other States or on a Commonwealth basis.

To understand the special position occupied by the Victorian Country Party some attention has to be given to the economics of the State, as well as to the social condition of the people in the territory south of the Murray River.

The great preponderance of Victorian industry is of the light industry variety, with the textile, cloth-

ing and food industries holding the largest place; the value of the annual production of manufacturing industry on the one hand and the agricultural, pastoral and dairy production on the other are almost equal with a slight balance in favor of the primary industries.

It is almost impossible to get a true picture from Government statistics of the proportion of breadwinners who follow rural and factory occupations, but what scanty evidence there is points to the conclusion that the numbers engaged in productive work in primary and secondary industries are approxi-

mately the same, with a large city middle class making up the remainder of the population.

Without proceeding further than these elementary facts, it becomes clear that the policy of the People's Front is of decisive importance in the State of Victoria; further examination not only confirms this estimate but unfolds great prospects for the People's Front which will find a ready response from large masses of the farmers in the southern State.

The number of small farmers in Victoria is greater than any other State in the Commonwealth; the total number of privately owned farms in Victoria is 74,500, and of this number no less than 54,000 are farms of less than 500 acres; certainly there are parts of Victoria where soil fertility and high annual rainfall take a 500-acre farm out of the category of a small farm, but the percentage of the total area of the State where this applies is much smaller than many people imagine. The extent to which this aspect of Victorian rural economy has been exaggerated is also exposed by the fact that vast areas in the most fertile regions of the State are controlled by large holders, and by the banks and big mercantile companies. Seventy-three per cent. of the Victorian farmers own only 23 per cent. of the total privately owned land, while more than three-quarters of the farm lands of Victoria are owned by a small group of big landowners.

In the State of Queensland there is also a considerable proportion of

small farms, but the Queensland statistics on land tenure are more vague than other States and do not include, for example, well over 200,000,000 acres of pastoral leases. But one important difference about Queensland lies in the fact that the small farm holdings are far more scattered and widely dispersed than in the case of Victoria.

The State of Victoria is a compact economic entity of about 88,000 square miles with well defined and compact rural districts. This means that we have not only a larger mass of small farmers than in any other Australian State, but in addition this mass of small farmers is gathered together in a comparatively small and accessible region giving a far greater density of farming population than in any other State. This peculiarity of Victoria has an important bearing upon the political activity and the general level of organisation which prevails among the Victorian farmers.

The clearly defined agrarian regions of Victoria are also more or less clearly divided in their production; for example, the bulk of Victorian wheat comes from the Mallee, the Wimmera and the northern district.

The northern and central districts and the northern part of the Mallee are the main fruit-growing areas of the State, and the western, Gippsland, central and northern districts are the main dairy and pastoral regions of Victoria.

This fairly clear division of the agrarian production between the

various regions and districts of the State also contributes to the development of closer and more firmly knit farmers' organisation than prevails elsewhere. All these characteristics taken together certainly have a big bearing on the special way in which the Victorian Country Party has developed as compared to other parts of Australia.

The Victorian Country Party is much more closely connected with the mass organisations of the farmers, than is the case, for example, in New South Wales; the Wheat Growers' Association especially has a big influence in the ranks of the Victorian Country Party.

For a long period back in the history of this party there are abundant examples of sharp struggle against reactionary influences within the party, and at all the conferences the weight of opinion of the mass of small farmers is very much in evidence.

The very first conflict within the party arose shortly after its formation when it succeeded in electing its first four members of the State Parliament and the question of connection with the reactionary Nationalist Party immediately came to the forefront. Three out of the four new members began to attend the caucus meetings of the Nationalist Party, only P. G. Stewart remained aloof and stood for the independent principles on which the Country Party had been founded. At the conference which followed these experiences the farmers' delegates unanimously administered a severe reprimand to these three

members of Parliament who had taken the first step towards the hated composite ministry which is really a coalition with reaction.

In 1924 the Lawson-Allan coalition government led to new conflict in the Country Party which culminated in a crisis at the Bendigo conference of the party that year. Once again the mass of small farmers overruled the reactionary section who wanted to submerge the interests of the farmers in the interests of the reactionary coalition; as a result of this Lawson handed in the resignation of the government and formed a ministry consisting entirely of Nationalists and excluding all Country Party members.

In 1925 the well-known Bruce-Page election pact led to a new crisis in the Country Party. On this occasion also it was the Victorian Country Party which came to the forefront in the fight against alliance with the reactionaries and showed violent opposition to the submergence of the independent role of the Country Party and the thrusting of farmers' interests into the background. On this basis the conference of the Victorian Party that year adopted decisions strongly condemning the Bruce-Page election pact.

The Argyle-Allan coalition government of 1932-34 brought about a new crisis in the Country Party. On this occasion the struggle over fundamental issues became very sharp, and at the 1933 St. Arnaud conference of the party the progressive section won the main controlling positions and ousted the reac-

tionary section of the leadership. The progressives found the party at a low ebb with a dwindled membership and a chronic bank overdraft.

The progressives in the leadership refused to connect the Victorian party with the A.C.P.A. headed by Page; they stated that the A.C.P.A. had only one affiliated body, that of New South Wales, and policy was not determined by the Country Party as such but was dictated by the Nationalists or, as they are called today, the U.A.P. The sham character of the A.C.P.A. was exposed at the conference attended by Victorian delegates who revealed that the conference was comprised of three rank and file delegates and 20 parliamentarians.

It was following the victory of the progressive forces that the Victorian Country Party began to make real progress, culminating in parliamentary gains and the establishment of the first independent Country Party government in Australia, basing itself on the support of the Labor Party and completely breaking the traditional alliance with reaction.

Several attempts have since been made to break the unity of the Victorian Country Party and to defeat the State government headed by Dunstan; all these attempts have been repulsed by the organised activity of the small farmers who form the bulk of the Country Party membership.

These trends were revealed at the Daylesford conference in 1936 in

the struggle against Paterson who led the reactionary movement which attempted to take control of the party out of the hands of the rank and file.

Ironically enough it was McEwen who made one of the strongest attacks on Paterson when he said:

"The more I consider our achievements in tightening up the rules to discipline our parliamentarians—which of course was always the main issue at this conference—the better I am pleased.

"Firstly the reformers are established in the saddle more securely than ever; secondly C.C. definitely established as the authority to interpret rules and policy. Thirdly a watertight nomination form; fourthly a proposal to allow the parliamentary party to decide upon going into a composite ministry was unanimously rejected and the C.C. was again confirmed as the sole authority on the subject. Fifthly nothing doing with respect to putting parliamentarians on the C.C., and sixthly the C.C. is given an equal say on the issue of withdrawal."

Last year McEwen himself was removed from the party on much the same grounds as those applying to Paterson, which once again shows the virility of the mass of small farmer membership of the Victorian Country Party in determining policy and removing reactionary leaders from the party.

During its period in office the Dunstan government has enacted a great deal of progressive legislation affecting all sections of the farm-

ers; on a number of general social questions the work of this government has also been of a progressive nature. But its legislation on matters effecting the workers of the State is far from satisfactory and there is still much to be done for the small farmers whose circumstances are now unbearable due to the long drought coming on top of other economic difficulties. On this latter problem the main drive has to be made against the Federal (Lyons) government which consistently refuses to do anything to alleviate the intolerable situation of the farmers. Better attention to the conditions of the workers in Victoria will depend on the Labor Party putting an end to its passive role in the agreement with the Country Party; becoming a more

virile partner, actively defending the workers' interests and working towards making the State government still more progressive by transforming the present agreement into a coalition Labor Party-Country Party government.

Along these lines a People's Front movement can and will unfold itself in Victoria. Never before has it been clearer that the interests of workers and farmers in Victoria lie in one common direction; never before has the friendly feeling between farmers and workers been so strong as today.

All these circumstances indicate how ripe the situation is for the establishment of a People's Front; real effort will soon make the People's Front a reality in our southern State.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Gordon Grant

FOR a better understanding of many aspects of the Soviet Union and its peoples I strongly recommend the Left Book Club choice, "Comrades and Citizens," by Seema Rynin Allan, American journalist, who worked for two years—1932-34—on distant assignments for the "Moscow News."

A writer with keen insight, sensibility and sympathy with common people of whatever race, stage of individual development or racial development they might be, she in-

troduces her subjects with an intimate touch that makes them seem not strangers, however remote from our own life they might be. They appear rather like members of a family with whom she has dwelt as a familiar. We feel we know everybody she has met just as she seemed to know them. Judging by her subsequent correspondence (after her return to U.S.A.) she left behind her, feelings of confidence and friendship.

From Moscow to the Caucasus,

in many very different parts of the Soviet Union, the writer records a thousands good stories in a simple yet absorbing style. One feels tempted to retell many of the stories and repeat many a glistening line of wisdom, wit or description of some particular scene, but, for the purpose of this review it must be sufficient to say that appetites of many kinds will be well satisfied by this writer's work, whether they desire information, literary entertainment, or absorbing travel or adventure stories.

Many a question which is frequently asked about the Soviet Union is answered here in a straightforward way with the convincing evidence of palpable truth.

How do the Jews fare in Russia?

They work side by side with and give mutual aid to Germans.

But Jews never do manual work. They would be failures on the land.

Would they? Well, take the model collectives, hospitals, towns where there were no towns before they came, established on the steppe in the Crimea.

"Jews planted grapes and Germans came to learn from them," and this was in April, 1934.

No pogroms there. It was a land where the Jews or anybody else could look with pride on his work and if he was an idealist could "make his dreams come true."

Seema Allan shows why collective farmers became collectivised.

Were not the individual farmers driven into the collective?

Yes, successful results of collec-

tivisation "drove" them to join the collective. When the collective had succeeded so greatly, as it had even in those hard years, it took the support of political leaders with their best argument to persuade the farmers—men and women—to admit individual farmers who had been tardy in their decision to join up.

A closer view of the problems and peoples of the national minorities, many with age-old Eastern customs—the most backward of the world's peoples in many ways—is given in this book.

Mark Twain wrote a fantastic story of great interest in "A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur." He played with the idea of the introduction of modern invention and modern people to the ancient time of King Arthur's Court.

A fascinating figure in the setting of Mark Twain's story was the telegraph mechanic—a local lad trained by the Yankee.

Mark Twain, had he lived a few more years, would have seen many thousands of examples of his dream in a trip through the Caucasus and other formerly backward parts of Russia.

People who had had no apparent future for themselves and their sons and their sons' sons perhaps for generations are being trained in universities and technical schools to become teachers, doctors, engineers, as well as telephone operators and telegraphists, journalists and agronomists.

Not only the men, but women a

generation away from the days of compulsory veil-wearing, washing of husband's feet, wife-selling and the bearing of their children in barns and fields because at that time they were considered "unclean," are entering the field—the newly discovered field of these men—of professions and trades as well.

The magic wand of Soviet power, which has driven away much of the superstition and want of these people, has brought such a transformation that in any other day or any other country it would cause gasps of incredulity.

Is Russia a free country? Then why is there only one party—the Communist Party?

The most politically "innocent" could hardly ask that old question again after having read this book. And it is not written by a Communist.

The question is answered with ample evidence to show the self-sacrifice of the elected leaders whose unremitting work has brought triumphant Socialism and a new life to the millions of people of Russia.

The rejection of this party would be absurd on the grounds of results alone.

The glimpses of the history of the Eastern peoples and their transformation of old economies through the leadership of the Communist Party—which has shown them how to lead and develop themselves and raise their cultures—reveals the hypocrisies of the Empires which "protect" their subject races "too

backward yet to govern themselves."

"*Comrades and Citizens*," by Seema Rynin Allan (Victor Gollancz Ltd., London). *Left Book Club choice.*

Sigmund Freud, by Francis H. Bartlett (*Left Book Club additional book*). Victor Gollancz, London.

THE author takes a more moderate attitude towards the founder of psychoanalysis than many other Marxists who reject him entirely because of the many points at which he is at variance with the materialist doctrine, and endeavors to clarify the positive contributions of Freud as distinct from the limitations and erroneousness that have brought him into something like dispute with so many present day dialecticians.

"Psychoanalysis, as a theoretical system, is unquestionably at odds with Marxism. . . . The two viewpoints are as irreconcilable as the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. . . .

Yet, since the rest of this essay is mainly concerned with demonstrating those limitations which Freud shares with other bourgeois thinkers, it was necessary to insist upon the essential value of his contributions so that they should not be left to write in a tangle of theoretical errors."

Freud is the exponent of the neuroses and mental distortions of his age. He undoubtedly casts a great deal of light on many things

that were previously inexplicable. Francis Bartlett gives a useful and lucid outline of his theories and his book could serve as a handbook to Freud. The value of the book is much greater than this, however, as it points out the fallacies of the Freudian theories and prevents the inexperienced reader from accepting ideas that are reactionary and based on false concepts.

—B.R.

"*While Freedom Lives*," by Frank Dalby Davidson, M.B.E. (*Distributors Gordon and Gotch*). Price one shilling.

WHILE not forgetting that "the emancipation of the working class is the work of the workers alone," it is nevertheless important when members of the middle-class intelligentsia like Mr. Davidson become sufficiently aware of social developments to write and publish (at his own expense) a booklet like "While Freedom Lives," which is a direct attack on all attempts to bolster up the tottering capitalist system and an exposure of the already considerable developments along fascist lines that have taken place in Australia.

The pamphlet has particular value in that it deals with international situations, and endeavors to relate them directly to the situation in this country. He has gone so far along the road of political realism as to have come to the conclusion that the only alternative to universal fascism is social revolution. Having gone so far, it seems

only natural to assume that Mr. Davidson will complete his journey and absorb the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

That he has not already done so is revealed by the fact that his analyses of the root causes of the breakdown of capitalist economy are often vague and confused. One senses that his enlightenment has come through the source of Major Douglas, but he now repudiates the originator of this comfortable theory and clearly states his conviction that only what he terms "revolutionary Communism" will prevent the outbreak of fresh imperialist war and the spread of world-wide fascism.

Lenin himself would not quarrel with the author on that score, but there are other statements which would surely win his disapproval.

For example, in the opening paragraphs of his brochure, Mr. Davidson appears to be advancing, in a somewhat altered form and no doubt unconsciously, the theory of "ultra-imperialism" as expounded by Karl Kautsky a couple of decades ago.

Kautsky considered that it was not impossible that capitalism would enter a phase where the policy of the cartels would be extended to foreign policy, thus introducing a "phase of ultra-imperialism," where wars would cease and the anarchy of capitalism give way to an international system of enormous monopolies.

Mr. Davidson states that there is "an increasing mass of evidence

that competitive national economies are breaking down. A 'freer movement of world trade' can only be brought about by abandoning competitive national economies for an international economy—under Socialism or Fascist-Capitalism."

The term "ultra-imperialism" could easily be substituted for "Fascist-Capitalism" and, as Lenin dubbed the theory of the former "ultra-nonsense" and went on to show "how definitely and utterly it departs from Marxism," it seems safe to assume that he would likewise disagree with Mr. Davidson.

Mr. Davidson departs from Marxism on many points.

One of the virtues of the booklet is its simplicity of style and clarity of language. The author is refreshingly unfamiliar with all the stock phrases and hackneyed terminology of so many working-class writers, and one reads with a sense of relief his pleasant, easy sentences, even when they contain statements that must be disputed.

Mr. Davidson accepts the fact that capitalism must be destroyed and, in place of its present anarchy,

the law and order of planned production and Socialist society must be instituted; but he harbors the hope, so common to his kind, that it will be done with the minimum of blood and suffering.

"That we are at the birth of a new age there can be no doubt," he says. "We must bring it in with as little violence as possible."

No one will fail to endorse that statement. Unfortunately, history leaves us little doubt that no "new age" can ever be born without the maximum of violence—so far as those who defend the outworn social order are concerned.

But Mr. Davidson is a realist, he approaches his question from the standpoint of materialism, and that is an important and uncommon manifestation in one of his class. It seems fairly obvious that he will soon take the relatively short and easy steps that will bring him to Marxism, and then the revolutionary movement and the working class as a whole will have gained a valuable spokesman.

—B. R.



PAGES FROM THE PAST

A series of documents illustrating Australia's Social and Economic History, with special reference to the working-class movement and the struggle for democracy.

Edited with introductions by J. N. Rawling.

Period II. — Free Colony and Self-Government, 1823–1856 (Continued)

3—POLITICAL FERMENT (Continued)

ABOLISH TRANSPORTATION

["The Launceston Association" was formed in 1847 "to promote the cause of abolition." In a "Memoir of Proceedings, Taken by Colonists in Connexion with the Proposed Cessation of Transportation to Van Diemen's Land" (which was published as a supplement to the "Launceston Examiner," 26/6/47), it was stated that the Association was —]

... Anxious to furnish full proof to their distant friends, that a question of such moment has not been carelessly examined, or hastily decided; that the movement in favour of cessation has been general; that meetings, pamphlets, and papers of various kinds and tendencies, have exerted their independent influence. The Association are convinced that no improper means have been employed, and that the reasons which have prevailed are such, as in the judgment of all men, will intitle the colony to the highest praise.

LAUNCESTON'S CIRCULAR LETTER

[The Launceston Association for Promoting Cessation of Transportation to Van Diemen's Land issued a Circular Letter on August 26, 1850.]

Sir,—At a Public Meeting of the Colonists of Van Diemen's Land, held in the town of Launceston, on the 9th day of August instant, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That the whole of the Australasian Colonies are deeply interested in preventing the continuance of Transportation to this Island. That the Launceston Association for Promoting Cessation of Transportation to Van Diemen's Land be hereby requested to address a letter to the respective Colonial Secretaries, Speakers of Legislative bodies, Municipal authorities, and other influential parties in these Colonies earnestly requesting their co-operation to ensure the attainment of the great object we have in view."

In addressing you on the all important subject to which this resolution refers, we rely on a candid construction of its spirit and design. The principles of humanity will appear to demand that a hearing should be given to the complaints of your fellow-countrymen. Their unexampled wrongs have been alike acknowledged, by those who have inflicted, and those who have been so fortunate as to escape them. The subject of the same Sovereign, dependent on the equity and good faith of the Minister for the prosperity you enjoy, you will recognise in a great and deliberate injustice, although perpetrated on one colony, an injury inflicted upon all. The oppression of even a distant dependency, if unrestricted by the general voice, would prove pernicious as an example: how much more then when the victim of misrule exists at your very doors?

A reliance on the influence of these obvious considerations has induced the people of this Island to turn their eyes towards you, and to invoke your assistance in averting calamities which you are liable to share.

The universal excitement on the subject of transportation, and the numerous discussions in the British Parliament, must have brought under your notice the treatment and condition of this country.

Notwithstanding the rapid variation of details, the conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers has exhibited the same spirit, and has been followed by uniform results.

A few leading facts may, how-

ever, be selected for your consideration; and which you may accept as characteristic of the whole.

Were we addressing the Home Government, or the British people, we should deem it necessary to combat the plea, recently adopted by Earl Grey, that because this country has been accustomed to receive prisoners of the crown (and is designated for that purpose by an Order-in-Council), that the wrong inflicted is capable of justification.

We merely refer you to the history of the American Colonies, New South Wales, the Cape of Good Hope, and other Dependencies. To these in succession prisoners of the crown have been sent by the authority of the British Government, and for many years together; but their free inhabitants were never supposed, in consequence, to be deprived of the right of complaint and remonstrance. Such is, notwithstanding, the sole argument employed to extenuate the course of Her Majesty's Ministers, in their late unrighteous dealing with this country.

We beg, however, to remind you, that until 1840 the vast region of New South Wales received the greater part of the transported Offenders. Two years before, a Committee of the House of Commons declared that the accumulation of convicts in the Colony had generated social corruption unparalleled in the annals of the world—ruinous to the moral prospects of this hemisphere, and disgraceful to the British Empire.

In consequence Transportation

thither suddenly ceased, and Her Majesty's Ministers determined that convicts should be sent no longer to any settled country; and particularly that from 2000 to 4000 be located in Norfolk Island—there to remain till eligible for dispersion over the Australian Colonies, in the enjoyment of comparative freedom. Against this last part of the plan, the Legislative Council of New South Wales protested in 1840; and it became necessary to devise another exclusive of New South Wales. Thus, when political changes at home transferred power to the hands of Lord Stanley, this Colony was devoted to the fatal experiment of Probationism. During seven years, ending 1847, 23,000 prisoners of the crown were transported to this Island; for the most part distributed in gangs, within reach of the settled districts; and subject to discipline described by Acting Lieutenant-Governor Latrobe, as an extraordinary example of laxity, indolence, and vice—exhibited "not as an isolated spot, but as a pervading stain!"*

The effects of this scheme may be inferred from its elements. The men were discharged from the Stations, commonly useless for every purpose of society, and morally deteriorated. The pressure of their numbers expelled all those classes of freemen who depend upon their own labour. This Colony, once rapidly advancing, was stopped in its career of prosperity. These are, however, considerations of minor moment. We are accustomed to regard the depression of prosperity—

the increase of taxation—the decline of trade—and all the consequences of ordinary misgovernment which are grievances elsewhere, as here of little importance. The peril to higher interests, and the experience of effects of more serious concern, will permit us no leisure to lament material losses and financial exactions.

We remind you that in these great changes, the people of this colony have never been consulted. That the local legislature has not even pretended to listen to their voice. That they have no power to resist whatever the Ministers propose; no resource but supplication; no refuge but in the justice of the Sovereign, and the indignant protest of mankind.

The opinions expressed by Her Majesty's Ministers, and the practice they have pursued, are in utter contradiction. They have employed the strongest terms to depict the injustice of their predecessors, and to deprecate the creation of a penal community. "To insist upon maintaining transportation to Van Diemen's Land, would be to drive away the free colonists, at whatever pecuniary sacrifice to themselves. . . . Van Diemen's Land will become, what Norfolk Island was, a vast horde of criminals, with nothing but their keepers!"†

"It has been too much the custom to consult the convenience of Great Britain by getting rid of persons of evil habits, and to take that view of the question alone. In planting provinces which might be-

come Empires, they should endeavor to make them not seats of malefactors and convicts, but communities which may set examples of virtue and happiness.***

By consulting the despatches which followed the announcement of these noble principles by Her Majesty's Ministers, you will find that they proposed to send out silently, among other emigrants, the reformed prisoners of the crown—in order, as they expressly said, to conceal their past misfortunes, and secure them an opportunity of maintaining a reputation for honesty, where their history would be unknown.*†

These views, adopted by Lord Grey, were formally announced to the British Parliament. They were communicated to Sir William Denison;†† accompanied with directions to inform the inhabitants of this Island, that Transportation would not be resumed.

Prior to the reception of this distinct pledge, given in the Royal Name, Sir Wm. Denison issued enquiries in reference to the desirableness of Transportation. The reply of the Colony was prompt, and singularly unanimous. The appalling results of Transportation—its threatening aspect—its mischief to the rising generation—its disgrace to the Nation, and to the Colony—admitted but one answer; unhappily, rendered unavailing by the views of the Lieutenant-Governor. In harmony with the principles he had propounded, Lord Grey forwarded applications to the Colonies

in general; requesting them to receive a proportion of British convicts. The reply, as you are aware, was accompanied with strong marks of disappropriation and resentment. The Colonial answers, unfortunately for us, met the despatch of Sir Wm. Denison, in favor of Transportation, at the Colonial Office. Lord Grey abandoned the opinions he had cherished through his political life; he cast aside his promise as a Minister; and in spite of our earnest prayers turned the whole stream on this Island, with the avowed purpose of reaching those Colonies who rejected direct Transportation.

Such then is a brief view of the unjust and unfeeling policy of Her Majesty's Ministers. Had a peremptory mandate bidden us to depart—had our property been confiscated at once—we should not have more clearly suffered a tyrannical exercise of Imperial domination.

We will not trespass on your patience by even reciting the Petitions and Protests which have been presented to the Queen, the Parliament, and the Nation. At considerable expense and toil we have placed our whole case in the hands of the British Legislature—and laid our supplications at the foot of the Throne.

As a last resort we turn to our fellow-colonists, who, united with us by the strictest ties, are liable to the same wrongs; and who will not be indifferent spectators of sufferings which they may ultimately share.

If you look at the chart of Van

Diemen's Land, you will perceive her geographical position establishes a relation to the adjacent Colonies, which no laws can disown and no time dissolve. A few hours convey vessels from our shores to the ports of Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia; and a few days' sail to New Zealand, and thence to the islands that crowd the Pacific Ocean.

The Constitution lately proposed to the Parliament of Great Britain will tend to consolidate the Australasian Colonies. Her Majesty's Ministers have taught the communities established in this portion of the Empire, that their ultimate interests are one; that upon the public spirit, intelligence, and virtue of each, in no small measure depend the happiness and prosperity of all.

We remind you that in twenty years from the present moment, should Transportation continue, and the annual number remain stationary, 70,000 or 80,000 convicted persons will have passed through Van Diemen's Land to the neighbouring colonies. They will consist of men not only originally depraved—all will have gone through the demoralising probation of public gangs: they will all have dwelt for several years in exclusively convict society, where every prevailing sympathy must be tainted with the habits of crime.

This Island will not be a filter: the accumulation of moral wretchedness will unavoidably contaminate every mind, and stamp on every character the impression of its perallic constitution.

The sacrifice of this colony will not, therefore, exempt the neighbouring settlements from any portion of the mischief incident to direct Transportation. They will receive the prisoners later in life, but deteriorated in character. Evil associations and evil men become worse and worse; such is the dictates of reason; and such is the solemn warning written in the oracles of God.

If, then, your colony had cause to protest against the infliction of this evil in a limited degree, how much stronger must be your opposition to a system which will bring into your streets, your houses, your hospitals and prisons, the crime, insanity, decrepitude and pauperism, ever consequent on Transportation, aggravated by transmission through a country in moral ruin!

Were we to appeal to a principle of selfishness in addressing our countrymen, we might remind you that the reputation of this entire hemisphere is compromised by the condition of Van Diemen's Land. The nice geographical distinctions which colonists may make are lost in the distance. As your vessels enter foreign ports, the line which divides your population from ours fails to distinguish them. We have heard with regret, and not without humiliation, that the British name, everywhere respectable until now, has ceased to insure to many who have never forfeited its sanctions the common confidence of foreign nations. That a petty state, but of yesterday, has initiated laws to stigmatize all the inhabitants of the

Southern World, and attributing to the whole the character of convictionism.

A more serious consideration is the positive injury inflicted upon the islanders of the Southern Ocean, by scattering among them desperate men who have been perfected in all the artifices of wickedness, and who are placed within reach of an interesting and rising people, whom they too often shock by their vices and oppress by their crimes.

We submit, Sir, to your humanity as a British fellow subject, and to your discretion as a Christian magistrate, the case of this country.

In the mutation of human affairs, the arm of oppression which has

smitten us with desolation, may strike at your social well-being. Communities allied by blood, language and commerce, cannot long suffer alone.

We conjure you, therefore, by the unity of colonial interests,—as well as by the obligations which bind all men—to intercede with the strong and unjust, on behalf of the feeble and the oppressed: to exert your influence to the intent that Transportation to Van Diemen's Land may for ever cease.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
your obedient humble servant,
W. H. Browne.*

* Mr. Latrobe's Despatch to Earl Grey, 1847.

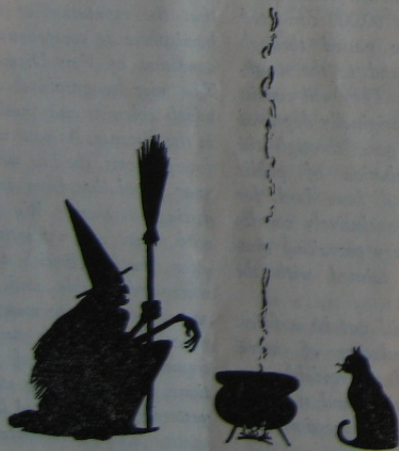
† Earl Grey, speech in House of Lords, March, 1847.

** Lord John Russell, Speech in House of Commons, 10/6/1847.

‡ Correspondence of Secretaries of State of Home and Colonial Departments, 1847.

†† Governor of N.S.W.—J.N.R.

* The Rev. W. H. Browne, LL.D.—J.N.R.



FAMILIAR PICTURE

Mikhail Koltzov

Below, the Soviet author concludes his story of the P.O.U.M. Trial in Barcelona last year.

THE chief leader of the P.O.U.M. Nin, is not at the trial. With the aid of Gestapo agents he was able to escape from prison in Alcala de Nenes. The behavior of his substitute, Julian Gorkin, is semi-cynical, semi-panicky. At first he tried to play the part of a political fanatic, a person who is not understood, but he cannot keep up this part and begins to burst into pure fascist remarks. The correspondent of "L'Humanite" at the trial reports that the entire court is in frenzy when Gorkin suddenly declares that there is absolutely no foreign intervention in Spain:

"It is simply a civil war, and the Germans and Italians are assisting Franco," declares Gorkin.

One has to be shameless indeed to pronounce such insulting words, which even the Germans and the Italians do not pronounce, and moreover in Barcelona which has been mutilated by German and Italian bombs, and in Spain which is suffering from foreign invasion.

Step by step the court examined the facts and documents referring to the activities of the Spanish Trotskyists. The court investigation confirmed and brought to light the provocative and espionage work of the P.O.U.M., carried on by it in its capacity of agent of foreign fascist States,

With a membership of no more than 3000, even in its best times, the P.O.U.M. published 26 newspapers in the Spanish and Catalonian languages alone! In addition it also published papers in Dutch, Italian, English, German and French languages, and a large amount of leaflets, posters, press bulletins and other literature. The P.O.U.M. had its radio stations, propaganda groups, field and printing plants. The P.O.U.M. leadership received the colossal sums necessary for financing this widespread defeatist propaganda from abroad, from the German and Italian secret services.

The time had come when the counter-revolutionary defeatist agitation of the P.O.U.M. was partly stopped by administrative measures, and partly it simply stopped having any influence and, on the contrary, began to evoke indignation and anger in the rear and at the front. Then the Trotskyists gave up agitation and went over to direct action. The court analysed in detail all the conditions of the May putsch, when the Trotskyists endeavored to capture Barcelona and occupied the Telegraph Station in Barcelona; fired at the police and traitorously killed hundreds of workers and a number of leading people of the People's Front. They also tried to turn the machine guns,

arms and tanks, which were to be despatched to the Army at the Front, against the Republican population. At that very time on the Aragon Front the 29th division, led by the Trotskyist Rovira and Trotskyist officers, left their positions, turned back and occupied Barbastro, Lerida and a number of villages and began acts of terror against the peasant population. The government had to remove units from other fronts in order to fill up the gap which was created after the 29th division had left, and in order to disarm the P.O.U.M. members. The former commander of the 29th division, Rovira, was prosecuted, but he escaped and his case is being heard in his absence. Outstanding leaders of the Republican Army have taken the witness stand. The assistant Minister of War, Colonel Gordon, testified:

"It is well known to all that the 29th division was under the political control of the P.O.U.M. This resulted in a number of crimes being committed. Illegal fascist leaflets were always circulating among the men of the division. There was a 'non-aggression pact' between the division and the fascist forces which were opposing it on the Huesca Front. A number of the officers of the 29th division openly threatened the higher army command, and in particular General Posas. The division left the front without permission, it simply deserted."

The former Commissar of the Eastern Front, Virgilio Llianos (a Socialist) testified:—

"The 29th division which was controlled by the P.O.U.M., mutinied simultaneously with the May putsch in Barcelona, and first and foremost moved against its neighbor, the 28th division, threatening it with artillery and tank attacks. Rovira demanded that the 28th division join him, leave the front and march on Barcelona. The Commander of the 28th division categorically refused to do this and remained on the battle front with his division."

Llianos added:

"At that time we had absolutely sufficient forces and arms to capture Huesca. The treachery of the 29th division disrupted this operation."

The P.O.U.M. members went to such limits of impudence as to publish a call written by Franco, in their organ in a prominent place and in bold type. They "legalised" this counter-revolutionary act by printing under the call a line of bantering comment in the tiniest, barely noticeable type.

After the failure of the Barcelona putsch, the disbandment of the 29th division and the dispersal of the P.O.U.M. military detachments the Spanish Trotskyists concentrated on illegal espionage work. At the Barcelona trial the already known facts of the espionage work of Nin and his gang, conducted at the direct instructions of General Franco, were analysed and confirmed by the court investigation. In addition to big and dark deeds, the P.O.U.M. bandits committed petty crimes as well. The P.O.U.M.

bandits, these worthy disciples of Trotsky, showed their skill also in currency speculations, robbery and in plundering State and private property.

It is a familiar picture! We recognise the gang and its ring leader. But there is, however, a great difference in the conditions under which the blood-thirsty bandits acted here and in Spain, and in their fates as well.

In Spain the Trotskyists were successful in carrying out most of the crimes planned by them. This was made possible by the disorganisation at the Republic's battle-fronts and in the rear in 1936-1937, the weakness of the public security organs, the complacency and liberalism of the political circles who for a long time did not understand that the Trotskyists were not a party, but a sinister band of fascist criminals, the enemies not only of the working class but of the entire democratic system. In the Soviet Union, the overwhelming majority of the crimes prepared by the Trotskyists were prevented. For this we have to thank the brilliant work of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, the firmness and determination of the Communist Party and the Soviet government in the struggle against these enemies of the people, the high political consciousness of the masses of the people, who themselves conduct a struggle against the traitors, spies and wreckers, dragging them out from every nook and corner.

The trial of the Trotskyist spies in Spain is taking place in a situation of fierce struggle of the Spanish Democratic Republic against the enemies encircling it. The Spanish people feel themselves alone in this struggle. Besides the Soviet Union not one government has either helped the lawful government of Spain, or even fulfilled the elementary principles of loyalty and neutrality. The so-called "Socialist leaders"—the leaders of the Second International — unscrupulously betrayed democratic anti-fascist Spain. They declared themselves powerless to prevent the intervention and blockade. But at the same time they are now showing a sudden and unusual activity when seven Trotskyist bandits have been placed in the dock in Barcelona. They are inundating the Spanish government with threatening telegrams demanding every kind of leniency for the accused, special privileges in court, and practically complete acquittal. They are bringing great pressure to bear on the Republican government, attempting to influence the course and outcome of the trial, and by blackmail are utilising the most burdensome situation of besieged Spain. If only these gentlemen would expend a hundredth part of their energy in preventing fascist air-raids on peaceful cities and villages, on the salvation of thousands and thousands of human lives which are being destroyed with impunity by Germano-Italian fascism and its Franco-Trotskyist bloodthirsty hangmen!

BEYOND THE PICTURE

By "Gordon"

"THE Cocky," it was entitled. A really fine picture, there could be no dispute about that. I had been idling over daubs for nearly an hour, but one glance at "The Cocky" gave me a sense of having at last discovered something really worth prolonged examination. An arresting picture. One could easily forgive its obvious technical imperfections. It had spirit, vitality. And it was Australian to the very last stroke of the brush. Looking at it, one could almost smell burning gum leaves and hear the tinkle of magpies. Yet, as we are accustomed to say, there was really little in it after all. Just a solitary horseman gazing out over a typical western Victorian landscape. A man and a horse, leather, trees, wheat, water, and a wisp of cloud in a blue sky. I moved a little to one side to get a better light on it, and looked at my catalogue.

"THE COCKY"

By Ephraim Booth

"This is generally admitted to be Booth's best work. All his characteristic weaknesses in perspective and color groupings are immediately apparent, but they are more than atoned for by the general spirit of the picture. Horse and rider dominate the scene, as indeed they should. It has been said of Booth that he could never paint an animal, but the stance of the

horse in this picture has certainly not been equalled in Australian art. Here is no mock-heroic beast with unnaturally-rounded flanks and rampant foreleg, but a living horse, lean, dirty, and evidently weary, but . . . REAL. So also with the rider. No white shirt, breeches, and picturesque hat, but the everyday soiled and tattered habit of a working bushman. This shapeless hat, with its strap around the crown and gathered flynet, is, indeed, a masterpiece of realism. But more than anything else it is the magnificent poise of the man's head, and the predatory stare of his vivid eyes, that makes the picture a really great one. If in the landscape Booth has captured the evasive, other-world, spirit of Australia, he has, no less, in the face of this lonely horseman caught the virile unflinching spirit of its people. Looking at this man we feel that he personifies all that is best in us as a race. His gaze, reaching out over paddock and river, is cold, keen, hungry, yet there is kindness in the small mouth with its close-set lips. We sense inflexibility of purpose, but not of heart. The face of a man at peace with himself and all the world, yet hungry for legitimate conquest. The face of all those men who have made Australia what it is today. One looks at

"this canvass with a very real feeling of gratitude to Ephraim Booth. He has placed on record for all time the free, independent, hopeful spirit of our country."

Yes, a great picture.

The light being still not quite to my liking, I stepped backwards, bumped into someone, and staggered sideways. Our apologies came simultaneously.

"A real bush-head," I reflected.

Cheap serge suit, black boots, black felt hat, white sports shirt with the collar turned out over his jacket. It was easy to place him. God knows how many years ago he had bought those clothes, but they were still new. Creased in the wrong places. He looked thoroughly uncomfortable in them. One didn't often come across his type in an art gallery.

"A very fine picture, that," I remarked, chiefly by way of covering my confusion.

He nodded. He was looking at it in a way that interested me. There was plain disgust in the little slits of eyes peeping out from amongst the mass of fine wrinkles.

"Yes, it ain't bad."

"It's Australian, eh?"

"Ye--es. I was just tryin' ter recognise meself."

He had spoken absently, without removing his gaze from the picture. Now, at my incredulous ejaculation, the small head spun sideways.

"That bloke there . . . that's me, although yer mightn't think it."

I glanced at the picture, then

back again at the bushman. Yes, it was possible. Anyway, I believed him.

"You were the model?"

"Yer could call it that." He raised his hand, and for the first time I observed that he also was carrying a catalogue. "I just bin readin' all about it, all about meself. Marvellous, ain't it, how the same bloody thing strikes different people? I suppose it wasn't his fault, though."

Obviously he was referring to the artist.

"So it isn't quite true to life?" I suggested.

He chuckled. "Depends how much yer know! I suppose I musta looked somethin' like that. But by cripes!" he shook the catalogue, ". . . Free! Independent! Hopeful! Pity he couldn't a painted what I was thinkin'!"

"They mightn't have hung it then!"

"No, my bloody oath! They'd 'ave hung me! Look you . . ." he pointed an accusing finger at the canvass, ". . . there's dopes'll come here, take one good look at that picture, and want ter go straight away an' be a cocky. I look fine, eh? Sittin' on me horse, lookin' out over all me fine crops an' land, eh? The dinky-die, don't-give-a-damn cocky! And the lousy truth is I didn't even own the bloody pants I was sittin' in! I didn't even own meself! Nor me wife, nor me kids. Two thousand seven hundred quid in debt! To the almighty Closer Settlement Board. An' I

was only two thousand two hundred quid in debt to kick off with fifteen years ago. An' I paid off two thousand six hundred quid in that fifteen years! Valued at three quid an acre when wheat was six bob a bushel; still valued at three quid an acre with wheat at two bob a bushel. Interest five an' a half per cent., an' interest still five an' a half per cent. Fifteen years, an' I never stopped sluggin', good seasons an' bad. Neither did the wife. Nor the kids when they wasn't at school. There was six of 'em. All toilin' fer the Closer Settlement Board. Over two thousand quid I paid in, an' the

wife never had a new hat in fifteen years. I never had a collar an' tie on. All days alike. No toys or lollies fer me kids! An' I finish up two thousand three hundred quid in debt, an' I can't take as much as a bloody axe-handle off the joint when I quit!"

The Cocky finished on a fearful oath as his eyes shot back to the picture again. "An' I got five quid fer sittin' like that fer five hours in one hour spells, while a bloke painted . . ."

"The free, independent, hopeful, spirit of our country!" I murmured.



More And Better Propaganda

This article, contributed by the Central Committee Propaganda Department, sums up the results of the national school and outlines certain plans for improving the propaganda work of the Party. It should be discussed in all Party organisations and a report of the discussions forwarded to the C.C.

THE holding of a National School during the latter half of last year marks an important stage in the growth of our Party.

For the first time in the history of the Party it was possible to bring together students from all states for intensive theoretical training.

It is now necessary to sum up the results of the school in order that the experience gained can be applied to the task of further extending and improving our propaganda work.

The school was held in Sydney and lasted for twelve weeks. Eighteen students attended. All States with the exception of Tasmania were represented.

The subjects dealt with were political economy, Leninism, the history of the C.P.S.U. and the history of the International Labor Movement. The history of the Australian Labor Movement was taken in conjunction with the last mentioned subject.

In working out the curriculum for the school we were guided by the principles enunciated by Dimitrov at the 7th World Congress. Dealing with the question of party schools Comrade Dimitrov said that we need to give our members ". . . such theoretical training in

the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism as is based on a practical study of the cardinal problems concerning the struggle of the proletariat in their own country. . . ."

Here, however, we were greatly handicapped by the absence of any suitable text-books dealing with the Australian labor movement.

We were forced to rely chiefly upon material which had appeared from time to time in the Communist Review, supplemented by other material from widely scattered sources.

This was most unsatisfactory and prevented the students from getting the utmost possible benefit from their studies.

This shortcoming, which was felt most keenly in the school, emphasises the need for the C.C. to take immediate steps to produce, or to have produced, collated material on this most important subject.

In the meantime all district committees should busy themselves in research work with a view to compiling similar material dealing concretely with the history of each State.

Another thing which the experience of the school taught was that it is not good practice to divide the

study of Leninism from the study of the history of the C.P.S.U.

Some doubts were felt on this score even when working out the syllabus, and experience has now confirmed our belief that it would be far better to combine these subjects in future, i.e., to have Leninism studied on the basis of a study of the actual history of the Party of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In fact the latest information which we have received on party training in the C.P.S.U. lays it down that this method should be followed.

Our chief aim in holding the school was to provide an opportunity for some of the leading comrades in the districts to get a grounding in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. We think that this aim was achieved and that all of the comrades who attended derived considerable benefit.

However, three months is all too short a period in which to impart a deep and thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. The school could at the best only lay the foundations for such an understanding of revolutionary theory which all our leading comrades should possess.

It was impressed upon the comrades who attended the school that not only should they continue their studies upon leaving but should be to the forefront in developing party educational work in their districts.

Hitherto propaganda, party education, has suffered from a marked lack of system. Classes and study

circles have been allowed to develop more or less spontaneously, receiving very little attention from our leading committees.

The school should be the starting point in a campaign to remedy this, it should mark the commencement of real planned propaganda work.

If this is to come about, however, it demands that leading party committees adopt a new attitude towards the question of party training.

Here it would not be out of place to refer to the serious light in which this matter is regarded in the C.P.S.U.

The following extracts from "The Propagandist," organ of the Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U., will serve to illustrate this.

"The C.P.S.U. attaches tremendous importance to the Marxist-Leninist education of its members, and demands of the leaders of the party committees that they themselves undertake the organisation of party educational work and not pass it on to the less qualified people . . ."

"Every party leader must be a Bolshevik organiser of Party propaganda."

"Certain Party leaders still fail to understand this, and allow less qualified people, who are often absolutely incapable of coping with the task, to attend to the Bolshevik education of Communists."

"What has to be done in order to properly organise the work of Party education? The main thing is to choose and accept Party trainers with great care. The decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on 'propaganda work in

the near future,' declare outright that 'the level of political and educational work in the Party schools and circles depends, first and foremost, upon the trainer.'"

Can we say that all our "Party trainers" are "chosen and accepted with great care"? It must be admitted that we cannot, and that such important work is still allowed to develop in a far too haphazard way, that district and section committees as yet do not plan with sufficient thoroughness the subjects to be worked through in party classes and do not select with sufficient care the people who are to lead these classes.

If the same care and attention was paid to these questions by the districts and sections as is paid by the leading organ of the Party then it would not be long before an improvement was brought about in our propaganda work.

The P.B. devoted a great deal of attention to the National School, Comrades Miles and Dixon gave close personal attention to the working out of details. It is to such thoroughness we owe thanks for most of the success of the school.

The P.B. has also discussed and endorsed a plan for placing party education as a whole on a much better footing, but the success of the scheme depends largely upon the wholehearted co-operation of district and section leaders in carrying it out.

Briefly, the scheme aims to establish a graded system of party training whereby members can be placed in classes corresponding to their level of development.

One of the weaknesses in the past has been the failure to select the students with sufficient care, beginners have been placed in the same class as advanced students. This has a doubly bad effect. The more advanced comrades find the class dull and uninteresting, whilst the weaker comrades find it hard to follow the trend of the discussions.

The scheme we have in mind should overcome this. It is intended to work out courses in three grades, elementary, intermediate and advanced. A start has already been made with the elementary courses. The others will follow in due course. In the meantime districts and sections should aim at establishing some means of checking up on party training in the area under their jurisdiction and regularly reporting on same to the centre.

Our aim should be to bring party members to regard attending a class in the same light as attending a branch meeting.

We have made a start with the National School, let us go on from there until we have a stabilised and smoothly functioning propaganda apparatus capable of fulfilling the tasks demanded of it.



From "Low's Political Parade," Cresset Press, London, 1938.

NEW ZEALAND LABOUR FACES AN EMERGENCY

C. G. Watson

"IF ever there was a case of emergency this is one, without waiting for a war," stated Mr. M. J. Savage, Prime Minister of New Zealand, less than six weeks after the majority of the people of New Zealand had expressed their confidence in the Labor government at the general elections. How is it that a government, with electoral support unparalleled in the past quarter-century, should, within a few weeks of its re-election, be facing an "emergency"? In the same interview, Mr. Savage gave an answer: "The government has enemies both at home and abroad . . . while the great majority of the people were ready to do their bit towards building New Zealand there were other people who were prepared to do their level best to wreck the country because there was a Labor government in power. If that is patriotism I don't know the meaning of the word. Everything that can be written is being written for the purpose of depressing the value of New Zealand stocks." ("Standard," November 24.)

Immediately after the elections attention was concentrated on the rapid decline in New Zealand's sterling exchange funds held in London. Whereas in October, 1937, these funds were about £28,000,000,

by October of this year they had been reduced to under £12,000,000. Between the end of September and the end of October of this year, the fall was over £5,000,000. Although it is true that with the beginning of the export season, these funds normally increase, it is obvious that the Labor government is facing a serious financial situation, especially in view of the fact that early next year the government has to provide for the redemption or renewal of £17,000,000 of loans which become due in London.

The critics of the government lay their main stress on what they call "over-importation." Certainly the rising living standards of the N.Z. people have made necessary a considerable increase in imports over the crisis years, but in actual fact, imports for the first ten months of this year are three-quarters of a million pounds less than in the same months of 1937. By placing the main emphasis on the question of imports, the reactionary forces show that they would like the position to be solved in the same way as the Coalition government in 1932 met a similar crisis in the exchange funds, that is, by a sweeping attack on the purchasing power of the people, and its reduction by means of wage cuts and

mass unemployment.

Besides the undoubtedly high and necessarily high level of imports, two other factors accentuated the position. The first is a considerable decline in export trade, in part due to lower values on the London market, in part to natural causes like the facial eczema epidemic which wrought havoc among N.Z. stock this season. For the first ten months of this year, exports are £8,000,000 lower than for the same period last year. When it is remembered how closely N.Z. economy is tied up with its export market, particularly the British market, it will be seen how serious this is.

The second factor is the organised flight of capital which has been carried through by the enemies of the government in an endeavor to provoke such a crisis. This "latest model in patriotism," as Mr. Savage called it in a recent broadcast address, would quite cheerfully smash New Zealand if in so doing, it believed it could smash the Labor government. Naturally it is difficult to estimate to what extent this has been carried on. The Conservative economist, Professor Tocket, suggests £3,000,000 in the last six months. The London "Daily Herald" estimates a sum of between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000 in the year before the General Elections of October. What is certain is that, defeated in the elections, reaction has deliberately accentuated this method of attack, working in conjunction with the "financial Francos" in the City of

London, as "Reynold's News" calls them.

While the position is serious, it is important not to exaggerate. There is no question of New Zealand being forced into a position of repudiation, as has been stated quite decisively by Mr. Savage, by Mr. Nash, Minister of Finance and by Mr. Jordan, High Commissioner. Even Professor Tocket, consistent critic of the Labor government, states: "I don't think the situation is nearly as desperate as some people say. We have still got about £10,000,000 in London, and many times we have not had that. From November onward money comes in much more rapidly than it goes out." Improved prices for wool will assist the position. Obviously the enemies of the government are interested in painting the picture as black as possible.

What measures are the government taking to meet this situation? The first is the decision to assume control of overseas trade, taken on December 7. Exports must be licensed, in order to give the government control over the sterling credits arising from their sale; regulations have been gazetted for the control of imports; finally, the statutory right to receive sterling funds from the Reserve Bank has been suspended, as a means of checking the withdrawal of capital. At the same time as these steps were taken, the government announced its intention of floating an internal loan for the purpose of financing railways, hydro-electric and public works development.

The government has also announced an "industrial expansion plan," and its spokesmen are laying great stress on "production." Here the motives and implications are less clear than in the obviously necessary measures to control trade and check the flight of capital. It is true that a greater measure of industrialisation would be in the interests of the N.Z. people, and the government will secure the support of the labor movement in any measures to this end, which do not conflict with the well-being of the people. New Zealand's economic dependence on the London market is also a source of political weakness, increasing the influence of the "financial Francos" over New Zealand policy. But certain safeguards seem necessary in carrying through a policy of industrialisation: (1) that the living standards of the people be maintained and still further improved; (2) that the positions of the reactionary N.Z. capitalists who support the National Party be not strengthened; (3) that trade union rights and the initiative and independence of the workers be developed to the fullest degree. If these points were to be more adequately defined, the "plan" would arouse a greater measure of enthusiasm in the labor movement.

For unfortunately, as the difficulties grow, the tendencies already observed in the government and the right wing of the Labor Party and the trade union movement to retreat in the face of reaction are becoming more marked. Already in the interview quoted at the begin-

ning of this article, Mr. Savage, himself representing the more progressive tendencies in the cabinet, stated: "Before it is possible to lift the standards of the people still higher there must be an increase in production." This statement was in marked contrast to all previous Labor propaganda of "poverty in the midst of plenty." It is being recalled that whereas real wages have risen by about 12 per cent. during the first term of the Labor government, the profits of the biggest representative companies have risen by 36 per cent. (1936-37 figures), while the main stock and station agents have doubled their profits. Moreover, in view of the rise in the cost of living, compensatory wage rises are becoming very necessary. In the last month, the government has raised the internal price of butter by 2d a pound, and the coal owners, alleging as their excuse the action of the government in raising railway freights, have increased the price of coal.

Recent developments in the Trade Union movement also point to unhealthy tendencies. Early in November it became apparent that strike wave was developing in New Zealand. One thousand six hundred workers at the Otahuhu railway workshops, owned by the government, came out on strike against an attempt to dilute labor at a lower rate of pay. They did not blame the government for this attack on their conditions, but the reactionary heads of the Railways Department, who still hold their positions, in spite of repeated ap-

peals to the government to investigate their anti-Labor activities. At the same time the shipowners, using as the occasion, disputes over two small ships, locked out the 1500 men on the Auckland waterfront for ten days, paralysing 100,000 tons of shipping. Drivers, infuriated by a decision of the Arbitration Court refusing them the 40-hour week or any compensatory rise in wages, threatened strike action. Several smaller strikes developed. Instead of welcoming the splendid spirit shown by the rank-and-file workers, and their determination to carry on in the industrial field the fight they had undertaken in the elections, every effort was exerted to secure a return to work under the employers' conditions. Nevertheless some victories were gained by the workers.

Now in order to weaken the Trade Union movement, the strongest support of the government, reaction has incited a "Red-baiting" campaign in the Federation of Labor. The Auckland "Star," organ of the Kelly Gang group of capitalists, which made an attempt to organise the flight of capital after the elections of 1935, openly called for a "purge" of Communists and their sympathisers in the Federation of Labor. This "purge" was obediently initiated by a group of right wing union leaders, and it must be admitted that it has scored some successes, although with the help of packed meetings, false-

hood and forgery. Playing on conservative fears and prejudices of old-time Trade Union leaders, who do not understand the new conditions, what might be called the Walsh-Young "axis" in N.Z. trade union politics (analysed by R. Cram in an article in last year's "Review"), is operating parallel with the offensive of the reactionary press, in order to weaken and split the Trade Union movement.

N.Z. Labor is facing an emergency, two months after its greatest victory. The combined attack of the "financial Francos" of London, the big business backers of the National Party in this country, the Trotskyist "Fifth Column" within the Trade Union movement and all its enemies on a common front, face it with a very grave situation. If reaction can force it into a retreat, then the enemies of Labor hope to turn that retreat into a rout. It is possible to meet the emergency only by pressing forward with Labor's election programme, cleaning out the bureaucratic enemies of the government in the State departments (of great importance is Lefeaux, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, appointed by the Bank of England), making the rich pay in order to meet the developing crisis, and mobilising the initiative and energy of the workers and the people, rather than attempting to hold them back.

December 20, 1938.

THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT DEFENCE AND NATIONAL INSURANCE

Tom Wright

THE record of the Lyons government since the last Federal elections is a record of reaction and muddle, a comedy-drama of errors, inept leadership, betrayal of national interests, inner-party intrigue and complete loss of prestige. That the government was able to survive its first session can be explained only by its evasion of the most difficult tasks it has set itself and the flabby nature of the opposition under the weak leadership of Mr. Curtin.

The electoral victory was a sorry one. Three of the former cabinet, Pearce, Parkhill and Brennan, lost their seats; the Senate vote was overwhelmingly Labor, and the relative position of the most reactionary section of the Country Party strengthened within the Coalition. The task of Lyons in appeasing his motley followers and allocating Cabinet posts proved very difficult and resulted in the selection of a Cabinet which has required frequent reorganisation due to incompetence. It has been anything but a happy family.

Defence and National Insurance were the two main issues in the election campaign and these questions have dominated the parliamentary arena.

In its pre-election promises, the Lyons government gave lip service to the cause of world peace and collective security. It promised that there would be no conscription. Its record, however, is one of consistent betrayal of the principle of collective security and it has made clear that compulsory military service is part of its programme to be applied later. All sections of the Australian people have been disgusted with the attitude of the Federal government on foreign affairs, its refusal to call Parliament during periods of international crisis, its refusals to make statements of policy other than to say in effect that the government would follow blindly in the wake of the Chamberlain government. In this way the Federal government has shared in the shameful betrayals of democracy to the militarists and fascists of Germany, Italy and Japan. This attitude is brought forcibly before the Australian people in the support which the Lyons government has given to Japan in its war of aggression against China. Despite the wide popular support for the actions of the waterside workers in refusing to load scrap metal and later pig iron for Japan, the government has used its powers of coercion against the workers to enforce

this form of aid to Japanese aggression.

The position of the government in regard to the export of pig iron is an example of the muddle and contradiction characterising its record. In May, 1938, following on the conflict with the waterside workers over the export of scrap metal and the public outcry against the handing over of Yampi Sound iron ore for exploitation by Japan, the government, on the grounds that it was necessary to conserve the limited resources for Australian industry, placed an embargo on the export of iron ore. Enforcement of this embargo has been delayed for many months and now it is stated by Mr. Menzies that the embargo does not apply to pig iron. The government is in the impossible position of having to explain why it can permit the export of pig iron when resources do not permit the export of iron ore. The essential difference between the two classes of export is that more than two tons of ore are smelted to make a ton of pig iron and that therefore ships engaged in this export can deplete our limited resources at doubled pace.

Linked with a reactionary foreign policy, the whole defence plan of the Lyons government has been anti-democratic and has failed to secure popular support. The dream of Thorby as Defence Minister, and other members of the Cabinet, was to have compulsion and regimentation. The Cabinet, despite pre-election promises, was divided on

the question of compulsory military service. The supporters of compulsion were not defeated, but stalled off pending an effort to secure a large enrolment of volunteer forces. At the same time the success of the volunteer campaign is prejudiced by the general lack of confidence in the policy of the government, and the typical blunder of placing at the head of the campaign W. M. Hughes, the discredited Labor renegade who is best remembered by the people for his attempts to foist conscription upon them during the World War. Failure of the volunteer drive would be held by the Lyons government as justification for compulsion whereas it would reflect only the general lack of confidence in the government.

While the people feel the need for defence measures in the face of growing fascist aggression it is realised generally that, in the hands of Lyons, "defence" will not provide a real safeguard against fascist aggression. For this reason the trade union movement emphatically rejected the overtures of the Lyons government for co-operation in its defence programme. While claiming that there would be no attack on working conditions the government desired co-operation in order to facilitate production for war purposes and to secure an effective "allotment of man power." The example of the aircraft award for the newly established aircraft industry vindicated the attitude of the workers in refusing "co-operation." The low wage rates, dilution of labor

and junior labor provisions, gave the lie to the Lyons government. Strike action in this industry compelled a drastic revision of the award and the elimination of the most objectionable features.

The only impressive feature of the defence programme is the comparatively great amount which is to be spent. More than sixty million pounds is to be spent but the people have good reason to fear that a big portion of this will find its way into the coffers of the B.H.P. and other powerful sections of finance capital, that judging from the air force muddle most of this money will be wastefully expended.

Pre-election promises in regard to National Insurance were promptly forgotten and the scheme which was rushed through by the end of June, before the new Senate was constituted, had the opposition of all sections of the community. The scheme was conceived as a means of evading the growing cost for invalid and old age pensions under the pretence of progressive social legislation. Unemployment insurance was eliminated from the scheme and it was decided that for a comparatively big tax on wages, the workers should receive paltry benefits including medical attention for themselves but not for their dependants. The medical profession quite correctly took a strong stand against the proposed standard of medical benefit and the inadequate payments to be made for this service. Finally the opposition within the ranks of the coalition as well as the general hostility outside

threatened the government with defeat and this was avoided only by the manoeuvre of postponing the commencement of the scheme. The starting date was to have been January 1, 1939, but the tentative date is now September 1, 1939. The government hopes that in the meantime it may be able to save the scheme and its face by making minor alterations increasing the medical benefits and extending the scope of persons covered. But the general hostility to the Act in its present form cannot be overcome in this way. Attempts to press forward with the scheme will immediately precipitate a further crisis threatening the existence of the government. The desires of the workers in regard to National Insurance have been formulated clearly. The trade unions have demanded the fulfilment of the pledge to include payments for periods of unemployment, for full medical service to include dependants as well as insured persons, for the deletion of the pension section in view of the existing high pension provisions, and for an increased scale of benefits and equal benefits for the sexes. While reaffirming the aim of the workers to secure full non-contributory social insurance, amendments as above are regarded as the minimum requirements before the commencement of any scheme of National Insurance.

There is a division of opinion on the question of the best way to fight the Lyons scheme, many believing that it would be better and more effective to demand the repeal of

the Act rather than its amendment. There are many in the right wing of the Labor Party as well as in the ranks of the present government who would prefer to forget about National Insurance rather than face up to the task of inaugurating a genuine scheme of benefit to the people. The fight for social insurance is one of the most important immediate tasks of the workers and this fight can be developed best by emphasising that now the question has been before the Federal Parliament it must not be dropped, that while the present scheme is unacceptable to the people radical changes can be made to give it a really progressive character, to make it a scheme improving the lot of the workers at the expense of the rich. For this reason the fight for the trade union demands on National Insurance must be intensified. The work of forming approved societies in association with the trade union movement should be developed in order to emphasise that the workers want genuine social insurance and that they want to play an active role in connection with it. The fact that the approved societies have been given legal status and that they may yet be required to work under the scheme with or without radical alteration is sufficient reason for the trade unions using their mass contact to the utmost to ensure that the workers will enroll in the trade union approved societies.

The questions of defence and National Insurance have spelt disaster for Lyons, but mention should be made of the flour tax and the

broken promise that there would be no increase in the price of bread, of the Kyeema air disaster and the general chaos and inefficiency discrediting the administration, of the irresponsible actions and statements of the pro-fascist members of the Lyons Cabinet, Thorby, Cameron, Hughes and others, of the attacks on democratic rights, all of which have helped to reduce the government to the sorry plight revealed in the Wakefield By-Election. In this By-Election a government majority of 14,000 was converted into a defeat. This represents a landslide away from the government. Undoubtedly a general election tomorrow would be in accordance with the indications of Wakefield. Unfortunately, the Labor Party Opposition under Mr. Curtin appear to be content to "wait their turn," to permit the Lyons government to run its term and to hope that the swing will still favor the election of a Labor Party majority. To really serve the interests of the Australian people the Opposition should be helping to organise the defeat of Lyons inside and outside of Parliament. Instead of discredited isolationism, the Opposition should champion the cause of the victims of aggression in China, Spain and elsewhere, should oppose the betrayal policy of Chamberlain with concrete proposals in favor of a peace bloc of the British Empire with the Soviet Union, France, the U.S.A. and other countries which may yet be made a stumbling bloc to fascist aggression. As foreseen

by the Communist Party, the differentiation within the ranks of the U.A.P. and the Country Party, especially the latter, gives the Labor Party the opportunity of winning the rebellious elements to their side in a fight against the Lyons-Page reaction. To date the Labor Party Opposition has shown no appreciation of these possibilities. We have, instead, Mr. Curtin condemning the Country Party oppositionists as "political jelly boys" with whom he has no desire to associate. This is a poor attitude for a political leader anxious to serve the people. Then again, instead of developing a fight against Mr. Thorby for his violent personal attack which aroused nation-wide resentment, Mr. Curtin accepts an apology, thereby easing the situation for the government. Those who speak of shooting working-class leaders will be all the more determined in their fascist aims if those leaders fail to fight back but adopt instead a policy of forgive and forget. The working class cannot forgive Thorby even if Mr. Curtin can. Thorby once again revealed that he is pro-fascist and consequently a mortal enemy of the people. A government with such persons can be nothing other than a constant enemy of democracy. Instead of echoing govern-

ment opposition to action by the waterside workers, leaders of the Opposition should be in the field doing all they can to support the embargo against the export of war materials to Japan. While developing an active struggle against the government there is a need also for energetic intervention in N.S.W. by the Federal A.L.P. to defeat the Lang splitters, the enemies of working-class unity who have repeatedly helped the reaction to retain office.

In the next session, the government again will have as outstanding issues, the vexed questions of defence and National Insurance. Consequently a search is being made for something less unhealthy which might help to restore the lost prestige of the government, while serving the cause of Australian reaction. This new question is that of reform of the Commonwealth Constitution. Unfortunately for the Lyons government this is a question on which there are so many conflicting views within and without its own ranks that to pursue it seriously will lead to another popular outcry against the government. This, if any more is necessary, should at least seal the fate of the government.



THROUGH DEMOCRACY TO SOCIALISM

L. Harry Gould

Communists are the champions of the People's freedom.

DEFEENCE of Australian democracy was a prominent feature of the discussions at the 12th Congress.

The Preamble of the Draft Constitution states: "The Communist Party of Australia is a working-class Party carrying forward today the best traditions of Australian democracy."

"Our Party is truly democratic," said J. B. Miles in his report to Congress.

This emphasis on democracy is nothing new. Communist literature of all periods has dealt exhaustively with the democratic rights of the people. The question becomes of exceptional importance at the present time because the greedy, corrupt bourgeoisie are attempting to replace our democratic standards and practice with fascism. In their betrayal of democracy, they adopt the usual trick of accusing the Communists of the very crime they themselves are committing. "The Communists destroy democracy," they shriek. On the other hand, "Leftists" assist the reactionaries by alleging that the Communists, who strengthen democracy in capitalist lands, strengthen capitalism itself.

These attacks will be examined later. Here it is necessary to point

out that democracy to Communists is inseparable from the mass struggle of the people against capitalist hunger, capitalist oppression and war.



What is democracy?

The term has been applied to designate certain social institutions and state forms of past times, such as the communities of ancient Greece and the towns of the Middle Ages. Historians even accord the honor to the feudal barons of England who wrested Magna Carta from King John. But it is only in modern times that democracy becomes a vast elemental force in society, an agency endowed with tremendous potency for rapidly lifting mankind "from the realm of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." For now, under capitalist democracy, the toiling masses for the first time in history take part in political life, organise politically, engage in practical politics, acquire understanding of their role in society, and come to grips with the problem of state political power.

But in every one of these earlier cases it is the democracy of a ruling class, with rights and privileges restricted exclusively to its own members. In Greece, for example,

only a minority of the population (and then mainly slaveowners) enjoyed democratic freedom. There was no democracy for the slaves any more than for the serfs in 13th century England. (There are important differences to be noted in these examples of democracy and freedom among the rich. For instance, the landowning nobility in Czarist Russia or France before 1789 were out-and-out reactionary classes; the merchants and traders of 500 years ago—the burghers, or bourgeois, of the new towns—engaged in a mighty struggle against the feudal reaction, and their conquest of political power was historically progressive.)

What is the purpose, the *function*, of democracy?

It is the method by which a class organises, trains, disciplines and in general fits itself to play its part in class society. This is equally true whether it is a ruling exploiting class maintaining its domination over subject classes, or the workers who are waging the class struggle against capitalism and who are striving to unite with the workers of all lands for the fulfilment of their historical mission, the creation of the classless Socialist society.

The technical or formal aspects of democracy centre around the problem of "control by the mass of its representative institutions and full-time officials" (Lenin). This brings us to the heart of the matter.



The working class (proletariat) appeared on the scene of history

simultaneously with the capitalists. "From its birth," wrote Engels, "the bourgeoisie had been saddled with its antithesis" (meaning the workers). From the first the workers had to carry on the struggle on two fronts. One, in alliance with the new capitalist class against the feudal lords for the establishment of the democratic republic, a process not yet fully completed in many capitalist countries; second, a ceaseless stubborn war against the capitalists who, like every other exploiting class, sought to limit democracy to the members of its own ranks. The ban on 2KY and the Transport Workers' Act root back in an unbroken line to the notorious Anti-Combination Act of 1909 and similar repressive legislation.

Bourgeois democracy was a decided social advance on feudalism. But its limitations are obvious to every class-conscious worker. Lenin declared:

"Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the mechanism of capitalist democracy, everywhere, in the . . . details of the suffrage . . . in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for 'beggars') in the purely capitalist organisation of the daily press, etc., etc.—on all sides we see restriction after restriction upon democracy. In their sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics

and from an active share in democracy."

On the question of control, Engels specifies: "the first condition of all freedom, namely, that all functionaries be responsible for all their official acts to every citizen before the ordinary courts and according to common law."



The democracy of the past and present is being transformed to something higher and greater. Mankind is witnessing a profound change in the territories of the former Russian Czar. There, the democracy is of the very broadest character, it is real. We see "the structure of a new society, where there is no enslavement and no exploitation of man by man, where there is no national enmity, where there are no rich, no poor, no parasites, and where all citizens—the working people of town and country—work for the common good, for the welfare of all, enjoy equal status and may take a share in the administration of their country." (Stetsky.)

This transformation was possible only because the masses there struggled persistently against oppression, and fitted themselves in struggle for the expropriation of the parasites. In other countries, notably in Spain and China, democracy is advancing, but under different conditions, of course, from those which operated in Russia.

Democratic liberty is not an abstraction. It is the political expression of what the masses need and

strive for. *It is a matter of bread, of working hours, of shelter, of right to speak, write and assemble.* Democracy begins and ends with the economic demands and the political and cultural needs and aspirations of the toiling people. Democracy means the right to work, to rest, to education, to free insurance, to peace; the right to freely and directly protest against the least act of official injustice and oppression and to have such officials, those agents of the rich, removed from office and punished. The securing of such rights in capitalist democracy, which could result only out of persistent struggle against capitalism, opens up the path from capitalist democracy to the million-fold greater democracy of Socialism.

Lenin said: "The class-conscious worker . . . knows that there is no other road to Socialism but the road through democracy, through political liberty. He, therefore, strives for the complete and consistent achievement of democracy, for the sake of attaining the ultimate goal—Socialism."

The leaders of the Communist movement have brilliantly described the nature and destiny of the social phenomenon of democracy; how it arose in class society, its general and specific functions and forms, its transformation to the higher stage under Socialism, and finally, its withering away—its historical negation—with the withering away of class society and the State of which it is the political expression. Life has adequately demonstrated the

correctness of their analyses and forecasts, just as it is answering the slanderous attacks of the capitalists publicists and Leftist "critics."



Communists are in the forefront of the struggle for the defence of democracy precisely because it means the furtherance of the cause of all the toilers—workers, farmers, the middle classes—and leads to Socialism. To defend and extend democracy we must:

Advance still more sharply the economic demands of the masses and resist the least encroachment upon their democratic liberties;

Explain the historical background of our country's democratic institutions and practice, emphasising the fact that every right we enjoy today was won only through struggle and sacrifice;

Transmit to all organisations

of the masses the spirit and principles of the democracy of the Communist Party! (It is interesting to note its main features: Collective discussion, collective decision, collective leadership; the obligation on all members to study and fit oneself for ever more responsible work in the struggle, this class education being the basis of its democratic voluntary discipline; the right of criticism and self-criticism; the equal opportunity and duty of all members for participation, in whichever way suitable, in activities which contribute to the welfare of the people and the Party; the healthy spirit of comradeship.)

Finally, to spread information about the marvellous achievements of the people under Soviet democracy, and to popularise the greatest achievement of mankind up to now, the New (Stalin) Constitution.



WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

A "BANNED" PLAY

Betty Roland

Characters: *Joe and Bill, two waterside workers. A shipping agent. Seaman off the "Dalfram." B.H.P.*
 Scene: *The wharf at Port Kembla.*

[*Joe and Bill stroll onto platform.*]

Joe: I say, Bill, I wonder who this pig-iron's for?
 Bill: Hanged if I know.
 Joe: Wonder if it's going to Japan?
 Bill: Shouldn't be surprised. They're the ones who seem to need it most these days.
 Joe: Then they don't get me to load it, by crikey!
 Bill: Garn, what's biting you? What's it matter to us where the flamin' stuff is going to?
 Joe: What's it matter to us? Say Bill, don't you know what they use pig-iron for?
 Bill: Sure I do. They use it for munitions.
 Joe: And what do you think the Japs. want munitions for?
 Bill: To blast hell out of the Chinks, of course.
 Joe: Bill, you've got a great mind. Works like a clock. And still you don't see why we ought to refuse to load the stuff?
 Bill: Well, I'm sorry for the Chinks, but someone's always been ill-treating them poor cows.
 Joe: So that's the way you look at it? Gawd, you ought to take a running jump over the end of that wharf.
 Bill: Ah garn, what yer giving us? You been reading too much foreign literature. Affects the mind. I told you so last week.
 Joe: Listen here, you poor, blind, son-of-a-seacock. I'm not making wisecracks. I'm just stating facts. It's China today and Australia tomorrow, see?
 Bill: Can't say I do, but perhaps you're right.
 Joe: And anyhow, I wouldn't load this stuff if it didn't mean a thing to me. The thought of what those Japs. are doing to the Chinese makes me want to wring their dirty necks. I wouldn't do a thing to help them, not if it cost me the last bob I had.
 Bill: But we don't even know if the stuff *is* going to Japan.
 Joe: Here's the shipping-agent. Let's ask him. Hi, mate! Is this pig-iron for Japan.

[*Shipping-agent comes in. A miserable little creature with a scared expression who tries to hurry away.*]

S.A.: Japan? Who says it's for Japan?
 Bill: No one, we're just asking you.
 S.A.: Then stop wasting time, my man. Get on with your job and let me get on with mine.
 Joe: We're not getting on with no jobs till we know where the stuff is going to.
 S.A.: How should I know?
 Joe: Now, look here, brother, come clean. [*Grabs him by the collar and lifts his face up close to his own.*] Where's it going to?
 S.A.: I'm telling you! It's going to Singapore.
 [Joe releases him.]
 Joe: Singapore? Well, that's different.
 S.A.: Now get on with your job, like good fellows, this ship's due to sail in two days' time.
 [He scuttles off.]
 Bill: See? It's going to Singapore, to build a nice, strong battleship to fight the naughty Japs.
 Joe: Yes, so he says.
 Bill: Well, he's the one that ought to know. Isn't he the shipping-agent?
 Joe: Isn't he the boss's little, lily-livered worm? He'd say just what he was told to say.
 Bill: Aw, come on, don't stand magging half the day.
 [They move off and are met by a seaman off the "Dalfram."]
 Sea: Hello, where are you chaps heading for?
 Bill: We're going to load that pig-iron on the "Dalfram."
 Sea: You are? Then you ought to be shot for it
 Bill: Why?
 Joe: What's the matter.
 Sea: Don't you know where it's for?
 Bill: It's for Singapore.
 Sea: Singapore, me fat aunt! It's consigned to Kobe.
 Joe: { WHAT!!!
 Bill: {
 Sea: Sure, to Kobe.
 Joe: How do you know?
 Bill: But we just asked the shipping-agent and he said it was for Singapore.
 Sea: Then, he's a flaming liar. I'm off the "Dalfram" and I know it's for Kobe.
 Bill: My gawd, just let me get a hold of that double-crossing, lousey little sewer-rat . . .

[Joe grabs him.]

Joe: Here, wait on, he's not the one we've got to put the boot into.

Bill: What do you mean?

Joe: Let's go and tell the other chaps. There'll be no loading done today if I can stop it.

Sea: Good on you, lad. You stop work and the crew of the "Dalfram" will back you up to the last man.

Joe: O.K., that's the stuff. We'll need support.

Bill: Too right we will. You wait and hear the row this makes. It's "dog-collars" for us, laddie.

Joe: [As they go off.] "Dog-collars" or not, it's time someone kicked up a fuss about the way the bosses have been helping on the Japs.

Sea: Here, here! Up boys and at 'em!

[Watersiders go off one side, seamen the other. Shipping-agent comes running in, very agitated.]

S.A.: Sir, oh sir! Come quickly! Something terrible has happened. [B.H.P. comes in.]

B.H.P.: What's the matter?

S.A.: Oh sir, you'd hardly believe it. Those impudent watersiders won't load the pig-iron. They say it's for Japan and have declared it black.

B.H.P.: Who said it's for Japan? I said to tell them it's for Singapore.

S.A.: Oh yes, sir, I did tell them, I kept on telling them, but they won't believe a word I say.

B.H.P.: Won't believe you! [Looks him up and down.] Well, perhaps they're right.

S.A.: And that's not all, sir. The crew is in support of them. They say they won't either load or fire her if she carries pig-iron for Japan.

B.H.P.: What's that? But the firemen are Indians. You can't tell me that the niggers have developed principles.

S.A.: Oh, yes they have. I don't know what the world is coming to. They're talking quite intelligently.

B.H.P.: Intelligence, be damned! It's rank, out-and-out bolshevism, that's what it is, and don't you let me hear you call that intelligence.

S.A.: Oh no, sir, not me, sir.

B.H.P.: Who's at the bottom of this?

S.A.: Look, sir, that man over there. See, he's talking to a group of men now. Agitating, that's what.

B.H.P.: Agitating! Bring him over here. I'll give him agitation.

S.A.: [Calling off.] Hi, you, come over here!

[Joe comes on. Sees shipping-agent.]

Joe: Oh yes, I've got something to say to you. What the blazes do you mean by telling me that pig-iron was for Singapore?

[Agent runs off. B.H.P. blocks Joe.]

B.H.P.: Now then, that'll do. He said what he was told to. And if I say it's for Singapore, it is for Singapore.

Joe: Well, if you say it's for Singapore, I say you're a flaming liar.

B.H.P.: How dare you speak to me like that? What business is it of yours where the cargo goes to? It's your job to load it and ask no questions.

Joe: On yes, Adolph? Since when was I born deaf and dumb?

B.H.P.: Will you get on with your work?

Joe: Not me, governor. I'm not going to make money out of the blood and suffering of helpless Chinese men and women. I leave all that sort of thing to you.

B.H.P.: You'll pay for this!

Joe: You bet I will. I'll lose my wages, and my wife and kids will go short over Christmas.

B.H.P.: You'll find what it means to try your puny strength in international affairs. I'll break you and I'll cripple you for years.

Joe: Perhaps you will, but, by God, not before I've made things pretty hot for you. There won't be a single man or woman in Australia who won't know all about the dirty game you're up to. Iron ore is banned, so you turn it into pig-iron and you ship it out and dodge the law that way, Mister B.H.P., the fattest hog in Australia. Got your belly full of Chinese corpses, haven't you?

B.H.P.: Now, by God . . .

Joe: Now, by God, I've had my say and everybody's heard me. Bring out your Lyons and your Menzies, and your Transport Workers' Act, and your scabs. I'm ready for 'em.

[He advances right up to B.H.P., who backs away in alarm. Joe holds his finger against his chest and drives home every point.]

And don't forget I'm not alone in this. There's not a union, not a member of the working class who won't support me. Maybe you'll be biting off a little more than you can chew.

[He begins to turn away.]

And now I'm going back to call out every watersider on the wharves, and if I have my way there won't be a single ship on the waterfront that will load your dirty iron. That'll show you what we think of selling war materials to the Japs. So long! See you in hell sometime.

[He spits neatly on the other's boot and strolls off. B.H.P. recovers his breath.]

B.H.P.: [*Shouting.*] Joe! Bob! Mr. Lyons! Mr. Menzies!
 Help! Help! Where's that dog-collar? Can't you hear me?
 Help! Help!!

[*He runs off still shouting for help.*]

THE END

EXODUS ?

"J. Menin"

Reviled and baited;
 Harried down the dark-
 ened, bitter years;
 Ghettoed and bludgeoned—
 Jew!
 Cringe in your fear!

The tears of Ruth are
 shed by Israel still
 For 'home' that lies always
 beyond the pale
 Of fascist habitations . . .
 Corn, too, must flourish in
 the valley of the Rhine,
 In Italy, and Danube
 Basin fair:
 Fields, too, are gleaned in
 Palestine;
 But Jew!
 Find'st thou thy freedom
 there?

Pray to your God!
 Or paganistic mockeries
 in stone!
 It matters not:
 Impotently these reflexes
 of Man
 Watch on the living scene.
 The dripping claws of
 Junkerdom
 Alone by sword and fire
 Can be restrained:
 Not by wails of anguish,
 Nor supplications to the
 barren skies

Two things remain:
 Death, Jew! in passive
 bondage to the belching
 Nordic swine:
 Or the brand of Marx to
 clasp in freedom's name.

NEARING A NEW INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

L. Sharkey



"MR. CHAMBERLAIN, the peace maker"! roared his hundreds of press apologists after the Munich betrayal of Czechoslovakian democracy.

Few will be found today naive enough to believe that peace has been "saved" by the four arch-enemies of progress who bargained at Munich.

The immediate reaction of the British Tory government itself was to speed up the production of arms, to build more battleships of the air and of the sea, to prepare for the compulsory militarisation of the population of the British Isles.

The slavish Lyons government,

praising Chamberlain's "peace," places the greatest arms burden in history on the backs of Australia's people and also threatens compulsory military training. That is a fair measure of the value placed by the pro-fascist ruling clique upon the "peaceful" intentions of the fascists.

The immediate aftermath of Munich was a speeding up of the arms race on all sides.

Comrade Dimitrov, in his most recent article, shows that German and Italian fascism, far from having joined the "satisfied" imperialist powers are planning to gobble up all of the remaining small pow-

ers of Europe; to make war on France and divide the French colonies and, finally, attack the U.S.S.R. in a new "three years plan," covering 1939, '40, '41. Comrade Dimitrov wrote: "German fascism has been presented by the reactionary British and French bourgeoisie with new, exceptionally favorable military strategic and economic positions for the further development of imperialist war.

Now the question has already passed beyond the bounds of the arbitrary revision of the Versailles Treaty by the fascist states. 1939 is to see a blow struck at Hungary; in the Autumn of 1939 the object of plunder is to be Poland; preparations are being made for a blow in the Spring of 1940 at Yugoslavia; in the autumn of 1940 at Rumania and Bulgaria. In the spring of 1941 France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland are to be object of the fascist onslaught; in the autumn of 1941 fascist Germany plans its attack on the U.S.S.R." Further, we learn from this plan that German fascism magnanimously places at the disposal of fascist Italy a big part of Spain, the southern districts of France, Greece, a big part of Turkey, Syria, Palestine and North Africa.

Fast on the heels of Comrade Dimitrov's statement comes the Hitler intrigue to set up a "Greater Ukraine," which aims at detaching Polish Ukraine and the Soviet Ukraine as well as part of Rumania and Czechoslovakia (Ruthenia), inhabited by Ukrainians. The

"heir to the throne of the Tzars" is to be made the king of "Great Ukraina," according to Hitler. The "new State," of course, would be ruled from Berlin and the great natural resources of Soviet Ukraine plundered by the German fascists.

We can imagine what the Socialist workers of Soviet Ukraine, progressing in a way unknown to capitalism, think of this "national independence" which would mean a double slavery—to the restored Ukrainian capitalists and kulaks and to foreign fascism.

Poland, which has played the Nazi game under the leadership of the fascist Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, would be divided, for it has an Ukrainian population estimated at between five and six millions, inhabiting a large part of Polish territory. The Poles made a peace pact with the U.S.S.R., but, owing to the policy of France and England, there is every danger of complete domination of Poland by German fascism. The Polish people, however, are far from being in accord with the policies of the fascist government and the recent Municipal election, showing huge gains for the democratic opposition, emphasised that the Polish people have a word to say yet about the future of their country.

Side by side with the Ukraine intrigue, which is doomed to be still-born as far as the people of Soviet Ukraine are concerned, not to be left behind, Mussolini demands the division of the French Colonial Empire, the French Medi-

terranean Islands and even part of southern France itself.

And yet the ignoble Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, said that those who suspected Mussolini of ulterior designs were "insulting his Italian hosts."

Take the word of the fascists, says the Cliveden Set, though history records that they break their word ten times a day, if they feel so inclined.

Then the Nazis announce the building of a huge fleet of submarines, a further threat to Britain and France in the Mediterranean.

It is in this situation that Chamberlain visits Mussolini. This visit is as sinister for world peace and democracy as the flight to Berchtesgaden to betray Czechoslovakia. The bargaining with Mussolini will centre on Spain. In preparation for the visit, Franco, at Mussolini's command, started the offensive against Catalonia, which still continues. This offensive did not, due to the super-heroism of the Republican Army and people, have the immediate success that Mussolini desired; with the result that Chamberlain arrived in Rome with the Spanish government actually waging a very important counter-offensive on the Estremadura front. Although the French government, fearing the worst, with good cause, refuses to allow Chamberlain to intervene as "mediator" with Mussolini, there is little doubt that the plans of both Hitler and Mussolini against France will be discussed. As is to be seen from Comrade Dimitrov's article, these plans eventually mean war on

France and the dismemberment of the French Colonial Empire.

The horizon for Europe, at the beginning of 1939, is not one of peace, but indicates, on the contrary, that Europe will witness unprecedented fascist aggression and decisive events in a number of countries. In the Far East, where the other angle of the fascist triangle is waging the second world imperialist war on its sector of the front, Japan is approaching the military, financial and economic crisis that Mao-Tse-Tung predicted even before the outbreak of the war with China. So great have the difficulties become, that a new fascist government of even more extreme militarists has come to power in Tokio. At the same time, a Japanese general proclaims that "Japan will be at war for 100 years" in order to create "a new order." What sort of an "order" this will be, the militarist gentleman was wise enough to leave to the imagination.

It must, however, be a terrible prospect for the masses of the Japanese people, who are already so near the breaking-point under the strain of the terrific burden of the present war, that the rulers have already to instal a "stronger" fascist government to still further repress discontent in Japan.

The partisan movement is still growing rapidly in China, the unity of the Chinese people, despite spectacular successes of the Japanese, is as firm as ever. No Japanese soldier is to be found more than a few miles from the railways or big towns in the allegedly occupied

areas, due to the effectiveness of the guerrillas who operate under the direction of the Chinese Central Government. The conditions of the war have changed now to the disadvantage of the invaders. The coastal towns and cities, as well as those on great rivers, could be reached by the Japanese fleet and mechanised army. Now the fighting has to take place where the navy is not effective and the country is difficult for the mechanised army.

China, inland, is preparing new great armies for the triumphant counter-offensive that is to drive the Japanese into the sea.

To further worry the Tokio "world conquerors," there is the increasingly firm attitude of the U.S.A. Mighty 45,000 ton battle-ships are to be placed in the Pacific and the American government is taking a firmer attitude in regard to the "open door" for American trade and investments in China.

Despite friendship for the imperialist-fascists, even the "Cliveden Set" government of Britain, faced with the open effort of the Japanese to slam the door of Chinese trade in the face of Britain, to destroy the £300,000,000 investment of British capital in China and to liquidate British military and political influence in the Far East, is being compelled to consider action against the Japanese.

Britain, the U.S.A. and Holland, it has been estimated, could immobilise the Japanese Navy and transport by cutting off oil supplies. Britain and the U.S.A. are considering,

it is claimed, certain lines of economic boycott of Japan in defence of their trading interests in China, which are threatened with extinction by the Japanese Imperialists.

The United States is asserting itself more in international affairs. This is to be noted in the speech of President Roosevelt, which contained a direct warning to the aggressors and met with such a warm response that even Chamberlain had to break precedent and comment in hypocritical praise, pretending to be at one with the President's opposition to international lawlessness and fascist aggression. The democratic forces in the U.S.A. are turning from isolation and demanding a strong stand against aggression. This is one more hopeful sign for the Peace Front.

China and Spain are fighting gloriously. Their victory would be a decisive blow to fascism and war. Alongside China and Spain, in all countries there is a rapid growth of the anti-fascist peace movement. The Munich crisis showed that the hearts of the German and Italian peoples beat as one with the peace-loving people of the world. There were open mutinies in Germany, even before the outbreak of a war. The German and Italian peoples do not want to follow Hitler and Mussolini to war. In Britain and France and Poland the peace forces and the opposition to the reactionary governments are growing. So in every country.

This process can be accelerated if the unity of the labor movement can be achieved. The weakness of

the anti-fascist front is not its lack of numbers, but disunity. Unity of the working-class forces is the imperative need if the plans of Hitler and Mussolini, with the aid of Chamberlain, for further conquest and aggression are to be thwarted.

China and Spain, heroically resisting the fascist offensive, must be supported by a firmly united working class, by a People's Front, embracing all those against war, all those who are realising that the

policies of the Lyons and Chamberlain governments are betraying the national interest of the people and leading them to the shambles of a second world war.

The 12th National Congress of the Communist Party emphasised the need for an all-embracing unity, and the daily events that are so ominous show the need for the masses to take the decision of peace or war into their own hands.



Command, master, and I obey!

FOOD AND FACTS

J. Williamson

THE Right Honorable J. A. Lyons shocked Europe in the 1935 visit by his distress that, although there was sufficient food in the world, some people did not get enough of it. At the League of Nations, Stanley Bruce labored the point, the League of Nations Health Committee went into the matter and in 1936 the Commonwealth government founded the Advisory Council on Nutrition, to consider the position of Australia. This Committee has produced six reports dealing with aspects of Australian nutrition which throw light on the Australian diet. While the last census timidly asked the people of Australia how much money they earned, the Commonwealth and State governments blocked the Advisory Council from doing the same thing. As a result, we are presented with a mass of valuable information in which the question of income has been treated in a summary fashion, thus avoiding correct conclusions as to the reason why we find undernourishment in Australia.

Science has investigated the problem of nutrition, and its results show what foods we need, and in the main, why we need them. We need energy-bearing foods which enable us to do our work, cereals and bread, for example; also protein foods, including meat, and fat-containing foods. Here animal fats are more important than vegetable

fats in most cases. As well as energy-containing foods whose quality and quantity are both important, we need protective foods. Under this class of foods the League of Nations puts the mineral and vitamin-containing foods such as fresh vegetables, butter, fruit and milk. If we do not eat enough of these our utilisation of the energy-containing foods is imperfect, and physical deformities and disease are more likely to be found.

Remembering this, let us look at the reports of the Advisory Council. They arrived at their conclusions by analysing diet records, filled in by the housewife, showing the amount, and the cost of food eaten over a month. In a few of them the exact income of the household was ascertained. Most of the households investigated were on the basic wage level or slightly above.

A SAMPLE OF AUSTRALIA?

The review on income and diet covers the five capital cities of the mainland—in which only 74 per cent. of the population lives: further, only 45 per cent. of those families supplying information are below the basic wage level, while in the whole of Australia 80 per cent. of the bread winners earn less than £4 per week. The survey thus does not give a picture of the Australian working population, as the report admits. Some unemployed are in-

cluded in the survey but the poorer sections of the community are not separately investigated.

We can nevertheless form an opinion of Australian nutrition and, correspondingly, of the difference between the words and deeds of Lyons and Stevens on the question.

LET THEM EAT CAKE

The final report shows that even among the city families investigated 5.87 per cent. consumed inadequate or undesirable diets. Of this 5.87 per cent. the majority have an inadequate diet because their total energy intake is insufficient, although they eat enough meat; they have not tried to compensate for energy-lack with cheap carbohydrate foods. The remedy suggested in these cases involves changes in the proportions of fat, carbohydrates and protein, and boils down to one of two things: either buy different foods which are palatable but expensive, or buy foods within the range of your pocket which are coarser, cruder and less palatable. The report also emphasises that the people are not "diet conscious"; we may agree, but if the people had enough money this lack of diet consciousness would only rarely cause malnutrition.

PROTECTIVE AND EXPENSIVE FOODS

The Council considered that the 5.87 per cent. was too high, but we can rest assured that if their survey had covered the whole of Australia it would increase to 8 or 10 per cent.

When we look at the consump-

tion of the protective foods the position grows still worse. Lack of vitamins and minerals has taken its toll of Australian health and life. One in four of the diets was deficient in either milk, eggs or potatoes (which are rich in vitamins). Consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables was found probably up to standard with the exception of the far west of N.S.W. and Queensland and the poorer parts of Sydney. Where a family is deficient in one protective food there is a tendency to make up for this by increased consumption of another; e.g., a family eating less milk than normal might eat more butter. If we look at families in which the consumption of two or more protective foods is deficient, we find on this basis that 5 to 10 per cent. of the families are undernourished.

Concerning the mineral intake, the report, with some experimental support, chooses a lower standard for calcium than the American investigators, whose standards are taken for the remainder of the report. We are entitled to enquire whether this lowering is justified in view of the amazing incidence of child rickets (found by X-rays, etc.). On the intake in the diet of iron, calcium and phosphorus, we find that for the capital cities an average of three-quarters of the people are deficient in iron, nearly one-third are deficient in calcium and more than one-third deficient in phosphate. If we look at the cost of the milk foods in the diet, we can see the reason for this low intake of protective foods.

PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE ON MAIN CLASSES OF FOODS

	Bread, etc.	Milk,			Total
		Meat & Fish	Butter & Eggs	Vegetables & Fruits	
Brisbane	15	22	31	22	90
Sydney	16	21	32	19	88
Melbourne	17	24	31	18	90
Adelaide	18	24	28	16	86
Perth	17	22	30	20	86

The milk class of foods take a greater percentage of the total expenditure of foods than any other group, and the expenditure on milk itself, even for a population which is 25 per cent. deficient in its consumption of milk, accounts for the spending of more money than any other individual food.

The milk foods are the source of some 60 per cent. of the calcium in the diet; these foods are the most expensive; finally, we have one-third of the people deficient in calcium; the story is plain.

MILK FOR MOTHERS

The true nature of the Council's figures for the intake of the most important foods in the capital cities is illuminated if we consider certain groups whose dietary needs are fairly well known.

Pregnant women, for instance, need extra minerals, vitamins and

energy; calcium and iron are particularly important. If they receive this extra, their own health in the critical period of childbirth is better, and the future of their children greatly improved.

Dr. Turner, Director of Infant Welfare in Queensland compares the infant mortality of Adelaide and Brisbane, and comes to the conclusion that the difference between 31 per 1000 in Adelaide and 36 per 1000 in Brisbane is due to the fact that in Adelaide those pregnant women who cannot afford milk are given it free. This difference means that were the Adelaide scheme universal, about 1100 tiny lives would be saved annually in Australia. The proposition is further confirmed if we compare the percentage of families deficient in milk, butter and eggs in each city with the infant mortality rate of that State.

State	Infant Mortality	Capital	% of Families Deficient in Milk, Butter & Eggs.
S. Australia	31	Adelaide	3.9
Queensland	36	Brisbane	5.0
Victoria	42	Melbourne	5.8
W. Australia	42	Perth	5.8
N.S.W.	43	Sydney	5.2

It is a pity that the work of the Council did not attempt to confirm this suggestive table. We thus see that in N.S.W., Victoria and W.A., where the infantile mortality is high, the percentage of families deficient in milk, butter and eggs, so necessary for healthy motherhood and infancy, is also high.

Every Australian woman must fight this menace to her health and that of her children by demanding proper parental care, with the aim of aiding Australia to rival New Zealand for the lowest infant mortality rate in the world.

TOWN AND COUNTRY

The Nutrition Report did not deal specifically with rural areas, but a special investigation of the children of the inland areas of eastern Australia was made by Dr. F. W. Clements with the aid of a travelling laboratory; children were physically examined, were X-rayed to detect rickets, and their blood was tested for anaemia. In general, about 20 per cent. showed unsatisfactory nutrition. Mild active rickets, previous rickets, and anaemia due to shortage of iron were found to be the chief causes of the state of these children.

The rickets problem in Australia is, in general, not one of vitamin deficiency, since the action of sunlight on the skin forms the neces-

sary vitamin, but is a question of not enough calcium and phosphate, which are to be found in milk (which is unavailable in many inland areas). The anaemia problem is one of an adequate diet.

In Sydney, Dr. Clements investigated 1600 children, drawn from the free kindergartens, Hammondville, infant welfare centres and the families co-operating with the diet records. He found that one child in four was suffering from rickets and about the same proportion from anaemia. As the children pass from the welfare centres to the kindergarten and thence to school, their nutrition steadily deteriorates; in the 6-12 years of age group, Dr. Clements found one child in three showing unsatisfactory nutrition.

The number of Australian children under the age of 15 years amounts to 18 per cent. of the population. If we consider that, from the surveys, a quarter to a third of these young people suffer from malnutrition, we find the number of malnourished children to be approximately a third of a million.

MORE KINDERGARTENS

Dr. Clements examined 750 children in Sydney aged 2 to 5 years, including those at free kindergartens and those not in attendance. His findings were as follows:

	At Kindergarten	Not at Kindergarten
% Satisfactory Nutrition	85	67
% Unsatisfactory Nutrition	15	33

It is seen that unsatisfactory nutrition is twice as prevalent in those who do not attend kindergartens when compared with those who can. Dr. Clements emphasises that the kindergartens cover only 1,000 of the 15,000 eligible children in the localities of Sydney in which they are situated; we would add that there are another 20,000 children in Sydney of the ages 2-5 in areas where there are no kindergartens.

It is thus seen that the awful responsibility of the Lyons-Stevens gang for the 1,100 little lives lost annually through lack of milk is added to by the criminal neglect of those who do survive by failing to provide them with even the elementary support of kindergartens to help protect them from malnutrition in the most important years of their lives.

INCREASE THE BASIC WAGE

The main reasons why many housewives refused to co-operate in the diet survey was the fear of an attack on the basic wage as a result of the investigations.

They had no need to fear. The expenditure on food shown in the report clearly indicates that the proportion of the present basic wage allotted to food is entirely inadequate. Further, the bulk of those households investigated were around the basic wage level, and showed all the deficiencies mentioned earlier.

The survey also reported that as the size of the family increases, the nutrition of each member of the

family declines. The consumption of all foods except bread diminishes, the greatest decline being shown in the vital group of milk foods. Even in a family with three or four children the already inadequate diet becomes worse in quantity and quality than the figures given earlier in this review indicate.

LESS HOT AIR

Messrs. Hughes and Lyons are making a tremendous fuss about the population of Australia. In order that the population of Australia must increase (exclusive of immigration) it is necessary that each marriage produces three children. The present government is itself responsible for the fact that the Australian people are not doing this; an increase in population means, as a necessary precursor, a proper standard of nutrition, security and comfort and a corresponding rise in the real wages of the workers.

The "physical fitness" campaign (which will cost N.S.W. £10,000 per year according to "The Sun" of January 1) and the recruiting drive both stress the need for more exercise for the youth of Australia, but both are predestined to failure in their aim of fundamentally improving the physical development of young Australians if they are not backed up by decent nutrition; the seed of their failure lies in the contradiction that such improvement is impossible unless the body is nourished so that exercise will help the individual and not aggravate the malnutrition already prevalent.

AND SO WHAT?

The good intentions of the scientists taking part in the survey will be frustrated unless the people of Australia take it into their own hands to see that Australia means

health and strength to Australians.

For a fit nation and a lower infant mortality we need more milk, more kindergartens, more playgrounds, a decent basic wage and, above all, the removal of Lyons and Stevens!

EARLY DAYS IN W.A.

W. Watson

WHEN the whitemen first come into contact with native races that have not previously had experience of their ways, they are usually received in a friendly manner, and the natives of W.A. were no exception.

They were interested in all the doings of the settlers and watched them at work building houses and shelter, and all the preliminary work that goes to forming a settlement in a new country. To the aborigines work was a phenomenon. The natives living in their tribal area around Perth probably did not exceed the number of white settlers that had arrived in the first six months of the settlement. The settlers were to a great extent dependent on overseas supplies for some time, and as the captains tried to arrive when supplies were short, prices fluctuated considerably. In 1830, sugar was 7d. per lb., rice 2½d,

coffee 8d. In March 1831, flour was 3d., sugar 3d. to 5d., tea 4/6 per lb.; rice 2d., salt pork 8d., fresh meat 1/6 per lb.; soap, 2/6 per lb. In December, flour was 7d., American salt pork £8 the cask, and all other food was scarce. These uncertain conditions forced the settlers to rely on home-grown vegetables and native game, and some got a living hunting kangaroos and selling the flesh at 1/6 per lb.

In judging the position of the natives it has to be considered that the condition in which the settlers found them was that which had been forced on to them by economic conditions. Their principal need was food, their economic structure had been built up on the food supply of the country and this they must have used wisely; whether they knew it or not they had struck the balance of nature and had existed thousands of years.

The coming of the white man knocked their economic structure from under the natives; it brought them suddenly into contact with new sorts of food the commonest of which were luxuries to them. From bardiés to biscuits is a long jump in social conditions and this coupled with the fact that the whites were eating into the native supply of game quickly brought them to such straits that they were compelled to exist more than before on such vegetable stuff as they could find in the bush. This brought them again into conflict with the balance of nature and their supply of edible plants grew less from this cause as well as by reason that the settlers' stock was eating it up and the clearing of the land was destroying this food supply by other means.

In these circumstances the local tribe was compelled to hunt for food outside its tribal boundary, or to kill the stock belonging to the settlers that they saw roaming over land, the possession of which had been spirited away from them in a manner that must have left them wondering and bewildered, and to add to their troubles in times of scarcity the settlers withheld supplies of flour that had been given the natives in normal times.

Thus were the natives placed between choice of the white man's cattle or the next tribe's kangaroos, and either choice meant death if caught.

No doubt they thought the white man's cattle the fairest choice, as they were running about on land

that was theirs the day before yesterday, and so they begged and stole.

One writer says that "they did not kill stock collectively, but a few committed this outrage." It was an outrage to kill stock from the point of view of the settlers who could quote scripture to justify the robbery of the natives of everything they had and at about this time a native was shot while taking vegetables from a garden. Whether or not a black killed a white or vice versa it doesn't matter much; but this was one of the first cases and it broke the ice, for afterwards "the treachery of the natives" and the meting of justice by the whites in the interest of law and order were responsible for many deaths on both sides. A party of blacks around stock belonging to a Mr. Brown, was fired on and by return a shepherd was speared.

In 1831, Governor Stirling took up the matter of natives stealing. He did not want to shoot them down and he did not want to have the expense of keeping them in prison. Torn between conflicting humane sentiment and economics the Governor got out of the difficulty by distributing soldiers about the country so as to have them handy in case of an outbreak among the natives.

By 1832, some of the settlers had begun to have a better opinion of the blacks and one of them drew attention to the kindly reception they had received and to the natives who had given food to parties who had lost their way, and directed

them home. In a letter, Stirling expressed his anxiety and said that unless a police force was established to protect, manage, control and gradually civilise the natives, a struggle between blacks and whites would lead to the extermination of the blacks.

This idea of a police force for the above-mentioned purpose is puzzling, but we will not give way to the temptation of comment on the notion of using police to protect the natives against aggression and above all to civilise them. The analysis of what goes on in the mind of those in authority is not for such as us.

Many of all classes enrolled in a volunteer police force and some of the natives were so taken up with the idea of having a force entirely to look after them that they joined up, too. In May, 1832, two men were sowing seed and were attacked by natives led by Yagan. One of the men escaped; the other was killed. About the same time a party got to the barracks at Guildford and was fired on, and in June a meeting of settlers passed a resolution to protect property. The natives did not understand all this, which is perhaps as well or they might have been tickled to death at the idea of protecting property recently stolen from them.

Anyhow, they were so incapable of suddenly acquiring respect for private property that they actually "killed some of the governor's own pigs." Such baseness towards the very person who was going to get

a force to protect them can only be explained by accepting the view of one of the first settlers, who said that the natives being without religion lacked moral precept.

Yagan, who led the attack on the two men sowing, was probably impelled by tribal custom to take a life for a life, a custom that he adhere to in a legal fashion. Nevertheless, a reward was offered for his arrest, and later some fishermen enticed Yagan and two friends into a boat. They were sent to Carnac Island where Mr. Lyon studied their habits and language and was making such progress that he thought he had civilised them, but a boat having been left unattended, Yagan and his pals escaped to the mainland. Yagan was very proud of this and on one occasion called on one who had been his guard, pointed to Carnac and reminded him of how he had outwitted him. Yagan was over six feet tall and of dignified bearing and was known as the Wallace of the Aborigines.

In January, 1833, a party returning from St. George's Sound brought two natives with it. The local blacks were at first hostile, but Yagan wanted to meet them. They met at Monger's Lake, a white man stuck a walking stick in the ground and Yagan at 25 paces hit the stick with his spear at the first attempt. The Swan River blacks were superior in all tests. Gallypert, one of the visiting blacks, advised Yagan to live at peace with white men; Yagan told Gallypert of his escape from Car-

nac, and the two visiting blacks were adopted into Yagan's tribe by a change of names.

For a little while after the visit of the St. George's Sound natives there was a period of rest from trouble between whites and blacks; there were some who thought that these conditions were due to the visiting natives' advice to local tribes to live peacefully with the settlers; but soon the natives became restless and again "gave vent to that baneful characteristic—the wanton destruction of property."

On February 11, 1833, some natives threatened a shepherd. The natives were being urged on by a woman whom the shepherd shot in order to protect himself. Much thieving and killing went on and a Mr. Norcott, superintendent of police, who was, among others, in the company of Yagan, gave the native a share of some biscuits he was eating, but thinking that he had given Yagan too much tried to take some back.

This angered Yagan who pointed a spear at Norcott but was stopped from throwing it by other colonists.

The "Perth Gazette" of the time wrote of Yagan: "The reckless daring of this desperado, who sets his life at a pin's fee, is being the subject of general observation, and we firmly believe that even for trivial offence with a loaded musket at his breast he would take the

life of any that provoked him."

Yagan was a man living under a tribal system when no such conditions as we live under had evolved. There was no compulsion for the majority to lick the boots of a favored minority—no priests, no bishops, no prisons, no hangmen, no private property, no thieving, nor exploitation of man by man, and on top of this Yagan towered over most of his tribesmen in physique and skill, in the use of weapons, and in intelligence. Regarding him from a neutral view there was not his superior among the white men.

The settlers noted his manysidedness and attributed to him boldness, courtesy, hospitality and revenge. In regard to revenge, so far as I have yet been able to discover, there does not appear to be any evidence of a mean action on his part. He killed only in response to the age-old laws and customs of his people. Having no notion of death as we suppose it, he could not conceive of anyone dying unless it was caused by another person, and even if death was natural a life had to be taken to square the matter. In all the cases of killing attributed to Yagan some black man had been killed and a white man had to pay the penalty. The whites shot blacks for stealing and even when caught attempting to break into premises; but not until later were whites punished for murdering blacks to defend their property.

(Continued next issue.)

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