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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

## EDITORIAL

THE imperialist colonial system was indicted and placed in the dock at the initial meeting of the United Nations Organisation. That was the true significance of the struggle between Mr. Bevin and the Russian and Ukrainian delegations. The colonial system, from the point of view of democracy and world progress, is just as much a reactionary anachronism as is fascist Spain. It is a system of super-exploitation which brings continuous famine and death, incredible poverty and backwardness to its unfortunate victims. It is maintained by armed violence and refusal of elementary rights to the colonial peoples. The survival of the imperialist colonial system in India, Indonesia and elsewhere contains the greatest danger to future peace.

Mr. Bevin may protest that Britain was the "target" for the attack on the colonial system. That is inevitable while British capitalism remains the greatest imperialist power in the history of the capitalistic system, directly exploiting some half a billion people and, through the subsidiary Dutch, Portuguese and Belgian Empires, a hundred millions or so more. The complaint of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Indonesia naturally was directed at British imperialism. So, too, would India direct its complaint were it allowed a free voice before the UNO Assembly. So, too, would Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and the African colonies indict the British ruling class. While Bevin was wriggling, evading and shouting at UNO, soldiers and police were shooting down, for the thousandth time, the Indian masses. That is the unanswerable reply to Bevin. The interference in Greece has its basis in the strategic military defence of the imperialist colonial system. So, too, with Bevin's efforts to maintain the semi-feudal dictatorship in Persia.

To attack imperialism does not mean to attack the British people as Bevin slanderously asserted. Imperialism is the outcome of monopoly capitalism, in its search for markets, super-profits and control of raw materials to the exclusion of imperialist rival monopolists of other countries. Mr. Bevin was quite plainly defending the Anglo-Persian Oil trusts and, in Indonesia, the Anglo-Dutch Shell Co. M. Vyshinsky clearly indicated this when he retorted to Bevin: "The Red Army fights to defend its country and not for the oil companies."

Bevin, charged with restoring reaction, including open fascists, to rule Greece, with the slaughter of many thousands of democrats, the imprisonment of thousands more, and the political persecution of hundreds of thousands and with the use of Japanese fascist troops against the Indonesian liberation movement, took refuge in specious demagoguery and finally claimed that "Britain was insulted." That indicates clearly enough the full measure of his bankruptcy and moral defeat.

Bevin's only strong card was that the majority who had to make the decisions were representatives themselves of imperialist powers. Hence, Bevin was assured of a majority vote and this was coupled with the fact that the Soviet representatives did not wish to force the issue to the point of breaking up the United Nations Organisation.

Joseph Stalin long ago summed up the attitude of such "Socialists" as Bevin, who in reality support imperialism, when he wrote:

"In the era of the Second International it was usual to confine the national question to a narrow circle of questions relating exclusively to the 'civilised nations.' The Irish, the Czechs, the Poles, the Finns, the Serbs, the Armenians, the Jews and a few other European nationalities — such was the circle of non-sovereign peoples whose fates interested the Second International. The tens and hundreds of millions of the Asiatics and African peoples suffering from national oppression in its crudest and most brutal form did not as a rule enter the field of vision of the 'Socialists.' The latter did not venture to place the white peoples and coloured peoples, the 'uncultured' Negroes and the 'civilised' Irish, the 'backward' Indians and the 'enlightened' Poles on one and the same footing. It was tacitly assumed that although it might be necessary to strive for the emancipation of the European non-sovereign nationalities, it was entirely unbecoming for 'decent Socialists' to speak seriously of the emancipation of the colonies, which were 'necessary' for the 'preservation' of 'civilisation.'" (Stalin, "The National Question Presented.")

Bevin, Makin and Fraser, leaders of the Labor Parties of Britain, Australia and New Zealand, declared themselves before the whole world as defenders of the imperialist colonial system, thereby forfeiting any faith a thousand million colonial people and the advance guard of the working-class throughout the world may have had in them in the fight for the liberation of enslaved Africa and Asia.

Nor can one remain a progressive within his own country if he supports imperialist reaction abroad. "Labor in a white skin," Karl Marx wrote, "will never be free while it is branded in a black skin."

It must not be concluded that UNO is of no use because of these happenings. A heavy blow was dealt the activities of the imperialists by these revelations. The task of peace-lovers everywhere is to strengthen organisation against war and to strive for the maintenance of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance in spite of the imperialist policy of the British Labor Cabinet, which is already under fire from vast sections of the British labor movement.

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## REACTION IN THE TRADE UNIONS

T. WRIGHT.

A BIG change has taken place in the industrial scene since the ending of the war. Very quickly the working class has become involved in struggles of the greatest importance for the future of the trade union movement.

The recent great struggle involving the workers of the steel industry, miners, and seamen was by no means a question only of the victimisation of an individual union shop steward, or one of a legal technicality as to whether or not a union deregistered by the N.S.W. Arbitration Court should be recognised by the employers. The struggle was to decide whether the organisational and other gains made by the trade unions during the war period were to be maintained; whether progress was to be made towards a forty-hour week and higher living standards; whether the Federal Labor Government was to follow a progressive policy in co-operation with the trade union movement; or whether the B.H.P., and Australian reaction in general, were to be permitted to develop attacks against trade union organisation and working conditions.

While the steel industry workers, supported by the miners and seamen, by their determination brought a successful conclusion to the strike, it became clear, in the course of the struggle, that the Federal Government and right wing leaders of the Labor Party and trade unions were pursuing a policy of capitulation to reaction. The tramway disputes in Adelaide and Brisbane, the Bonnerong and printing industry disputes, and a number of other actions of the workers prior to the steel strike, had shown a high level of militancy, and a desire of the workers to press forward with their demands for improved conditions. The strike-breaking role developed by the right wing in the course of these struggles reveals the subservience of the right wing leaders within the trade unions to the parliamentary machine of the Labor Party, which is defending the interests of the employers.

The tactics of the right wing traitors is to use any and all means to avert or end strike struggles, and to divert them into the "safe" legal channels of the arbitration courts. These right wing leaders, who only a few short months ago vied with the left wing in trenchant criticism of the system of compulsory arbitration, suddenly discovered that they had been in error, and that compulsory arbitration provided the trade unions with a panacea for all their troubles.

To succeed in its strike-breaking role the right wing has been impelled to conduct, in close alliance with the capitalist press, an unprecedented campaign against Communists and all militant and progressive elements in the trade union movement. The press, assisted by right wing trade union officials, gives a daily report of the fight within the

trade unions against "Communism." In this campaign Australian journalism has reached a record low in distortion and deliberate lying against the trade union movement.

Not the least factor in this anti-Communist incitement is the development of Catholic Action's conspiratorial movement within the workshops, unions and Labor Party. This "movement," so effectively exposed in the document of Catholic Action discovered and published by the Communist Party, seeks to extend its influence over the Australian Labor Movement, and to impose its policy of betrayal and class collaboration.

The policy of Catholic Action includes: prohibition of strikes; Court control over ballots and other internal affairs of the trade unions; collaboration with employers through "Industrial Councils," a conception based on the fascist "corporate State," to provide state regulation of private industry. To foist these poisonous ideas on the Australian working class, groups of selected Catholics are being organised on a workshop and union basis, together with an organised infiltration of the Labor Party, and a planned use of the Labor Party as a cloak for their sectarian activity. (There can be no doubt as to the truth of claims of Catholic Action to have strongly influenced the "anti-communist" decisions of recent conferences of the Labor Party.)

An outstanding example of Catholic Action disruption, sustained over a long period, is the struggle in the Clerks' Union. Here certain Government offices, staffed during the war with a big proportion of middle class people and conservative salaried workers, including many of the Catholic Action type, provided a more fruitful basis than would be found in an industrial union. They are now attacking the Union Executive for granting sustenance to clerks thrown out of employment during the recent ironworkers' strike. This is an attack on an elementary union principle, for it means that in future industrial struggles, clerks would be faced with the alternatives of starve or scab.

Catholic Action also met with considerable success in disrupting the Ironworkers' Union, but, as far as the Balmain dispute was concerned, Catholic Action confessed that it acted as ally to a Trotskyite group. Minor successes have been recorded in Government workshops, where Catholic Action organised disruption against the shop committees, but there are indications that in some instances these successes have been only short lived.

It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the ability of Catholic Action to pursue and develop its campaign of disruption. The chief method is to concentrate the attack against individual Communists and militant officials, and by means of slander

and lying charges, unprincipled "criticism" (spread by whispering, anonymous leaflets, stickers and the daily press), harassing litigation, and other means, to undermine and weaken their opponents. This dishonest and semi-criminal activity is so much in contradiction to their religious pretensions that, apparently, a special system of indulgences must have been arranged for their absolution.

Apart from the activity in a number of workshops and unions, there has been a drive in various Labor Councils, particularly the Labor Council of N.S.W., where Catholic Action and A.W.U. elements have taken the leadership of the right wing. It was inevitable that honest elements, previously accepting right wing leadership, should revolt against the blatant strike-breaking role of this new leadership, and there is no doubt that in the course of the struggles to come the extreme right wing reactionaries within the Labor Councils will be defeated.

The methods of struggle against progressive unionists include: expulsions and removals from office (The A.W.U. and Queensland Branch of the F.E.D. & F.A.); decisions to prohibit Communists from holding official positions (Shop Assistants); decisions to exclude Communists from trade union membership (Builders' Laborers, N.S.W.). In the use, and attempted use, of these methods the extreme right wing has shown that it is prepared to abolish trade union democracy and seek to

maintain its own position by dictatorial methods. However, these methods are so blatant as to be in conflict with the law and in some cases the Courts would be obliged to decide against the scoundrel-responsible for them.

Special mention should be made of the reactionary clique dominating the A.W.U. Their chief method of struggle against progressive elements is expulsion. Last year they expelled a number of N.S.W. Branch officials, including A.L.P. members Bowen, Renwick, Moss and McCartney. This year Mat Lauder, an A.W.U. Convention delegate with 40 years active union membership, is threatened with expulsion because he supported proposals for greater union democracy, annual ballots, readmission of N.S.W. expelled members, affiliation to the A.C.T.U. and a more virile A.W.U. campaign for the forty-hour week.

To defeat the right wing it is necessary more than ever to establish the united front in action of the Communist, Labor Party and non-Party workers, regardless of religion, and to work in agreement with all progressive and honest trade unionists. The current struggles of the workers for the forty-hour week, an increased basic wage, reduced taxation, housing, factory amenities, etc., provides a wide scope for united action. The development of these struggles will reveal the treacherous role of the right wing and facilitate their exposure and defeat.

## THE COLONIAL UPSURGE

R. DIXON

(Abridged from a report delivered to the Central Committee, 19th January, 1946.)

AM in full agreement with the report delivered last night by Comrade Sharkey.

I think we all recall how, following the end of the 1914-18 war, revolutionary conditions existed in a whole number of countries and continued to develop over a number of years up until 1923, and that was a period when Communist Parties were actually only coming into existence. Well, the end of the great People's War against Fascism is also marked by a growing revolutionary upsurge throughout the capitalist world and the existence in quite a number of countries of actual revolutionary situations. This general revolutionary upsurge and the revolutionary situations in some countries create more and more complications for the imperialist powers.

We know that within the great imperialist countries themselves the situation is not at all a happy one for the ruling class. If you take America, there is a tremendous strike movement, the biggest strike movement in the history of American capital. The working class of America is playing a new role. But in addition to that, the morale of the American soldiers is not too good. There has been a demand that they must return home, which

has created a flurry in the leading circles of the bourgeoisie. It is not much use for Mr. Byrnes, Secretary of State, to say that he is going to get tough with the Soviet Union if the army is thrown down its arms and demanding return to America. I have no doubt that the collapse of the morale of American troops has had an influence on American foreign policy, and has been an important factor in causing them to pursue a more conciliatory policy than they were pursuing immediately after the war with Japan.

We witness significant developments in colonial countries. The war resulted in the destruction of two great props of imperialism, Nazi Germany and Fascist-Military Japan. We recognise that that was a devastating blow at imperialism. But imperialism rests upon colonies, on the exploitation of colonial people, and if this base is shattered or partly shattered, then obviously a blow will be delivered at the imperialist powers—maybe not the United States, but Britain, France and Holland. British imperialism today is in pretty desperate straits, because wherever the flag of Britain flies in the colonial world, there you can see struggles taking place. You have the Middle East which is

vital to imperialism because of the very important oil to be obtained there, but also because it is a decisive military position of immense strategic importance. The situation is that Zionists are demanding a Jewish State in Palestine. They have received a backing throughout the world. Truman has declared in favour of establishing a Jewish State. But the Arab Kines met a couple of days ago and carried a resolution demanding that Palestine be returned to the Arabs. Ernest Bevin has to tread a pretty sticky path between powerful conflicting forces in his effort to maintain imperialism in the Middle East.

Further East we come to India, the brightest jewel in the British crown. Anything can happen in India, and it looks as if everything will happen in this year; 1946 will be of decisive importance as far as India is concerned. Britain without colonies would be in a parlous condition, unless she achieved, as a result of granting independence, a thorough-going understanding with India that would enable maintenance of economic relations which would help stabilise the economic position in Britain.

Burma is also the scene of a very big struggle at the moment. During the Japanese occupation an anti-Japanese movement developed under the lead of the Communist Party and has grown into a broad people's movement of the Burmese. You can see a difference from the situation in India. For instance, in India, with the Indian National Congress and Muslim League, you have both Hindu and Muslim bourgeoisie, and they are powerful organisations with reactionary leadership. The Indian Communist Party and its working class policy is causing growing interest.

In Burma there is a broad national movement of Burmese people under the leadership of the Communist Party. Mr. Bevin, who weeps tears of blood for the people of Bulgaria, who, he declares, are without democratic rights because they can elect the kind of people they would like to see at the head of the Government there—his policy in Burma is a very interesting one. There the British Government appoints an Executive Council of 10 members, and although the Anti-Fascist People's League represents the vast majority of the Burmese people, it refuses to include any of these in the Burmese Council, because they wanted to select their own people and because it is under the leadership of the Burmese Communist Party. It is a question of selecting the Executive as subordinate to the Governor, and even under such a leadership they do not dare have representatives of the main organisations of the Burmese people.

The further we go, the worse it seems to get for imperialism.

Move across to Indo-China; there French imperialism is in pretty dire straits insofar as maintaining control over the peoples of Indo-China is concerned. The Annamese have declared for an independent republic. The Viet Minh, which is the great nationalist organisation, is under the leader-

ship of the Communist Party. Only a few weeks ago I heard a report from a journalist who had travelled through Indo-China and had met the leader of the Viet Minh; he was tremendously impressed by the great political and organisational capacity of the Communist leaders of this organisation. They have control over practically the whole of the interior, of those areas populated by the Annamese. The French have held a number of coastal ports, but there you can see also that the country virtually is under the leadership of the Annamese Republic.

In Malaya today the Communist Party is the only political organisation with any mass influence. Before the war the Party there was illegal, after the Japanese attack in December, 1941, the British found it was necessary to legalise this Party. After the Japanese seized Malaya it was the Malayan Communist Party which organised guerrilla warfare, organised a whole number of fighting regiments of the anti-Japanese army and today commands the respect and leadership of the people on the Malayan Peninsula.

The Party in Malaya, in spite of its great record in the struggle against the Japanese, is under attack from the British. Just a few days ago we heard a report of the ten days' strike in Singapore which, it appears, the workers won or in any case the British had to agree to pay them for the period they were out on strike, so it looks very much like a victory. We need to watch very closely the set-up in Malaya because here there is a great amount of Australian capital invested in tin dredge and tin mines and our Australian capitalists, from reports, are very busy in their efforts to restore the industries they formerly controlled there.

Comrade Sharkey mentioned last night about the prestige of Australia and the Australian working class, and there is not the slightest doubt that right throughout the Malayas, the Philippines, across to Indo-China, the prestige of the Australian workers and Communist Party is very high.

You will see from this outline of the developments in the South-Western Pacific area and a bit north of that, that we are living in a part of the world where the revolutionary struggle is today being waged at its highest levels and the role of the working class in this situation is really immense. The support that was rendered here by Australian workers to the Indonesians has given tremendous moral support, far more than the practical benefits of it, it has given immense moral support to the whole movement of the colonial peoples for their independence. It concentrated attention right throughout the world on the struggle the Indonesians were waging and it had its repercussions insofar as the New Zealand waterside workers agreed to take the same stand as was taken in Australia, the waterside workers or longshoremen in America likewise took their stand, following the decisions of the Australian workers. The Indian waterside workers, too, imposed a ban and, as a consequence of this, publicity was given throughout

the world to the struggle that the Indonesians were waging. So that the decisions that were taken have helped to raise immensely the prestige of the Australian Labor Movement and I understand that only recently, when a representative of the Australian Government was in Indonesia, he got an almost regal welcome from the Indonesian Government. They went to great lengths in order to welcome him, not so much as a representative of the Australian Government, but as a representative of the Australian Trade Union Movement. They assembled the whole of the Indonesian Government to meet this representative of the Australian Government and they, I understand, had quite a pleasant session. Other comrades, or other people who have been to Indonesia, all come back telling us how tremendously high is the prestige of Australia because of the actions of the Australian Trade Union Movement.

Administration in the areas controlled by the Indonesians is much better than in Batavia, Sourabaya or any areas controlled by the British. The National organisation is in an immensely strong position and both the British and Dutch understand this; the British have been striving to secure an agreement between the Dutch and Indonesian leaders which would leave the Dutch fundamentally in control of the island, so they seek to placate the Indonesian leaders into this position where they can force this position upon them.

There are a number of reasons for this. The British troops in Indonesia are unreliable; there is much discontent among the Indians, because they

are mainly Muslim troops and are fighting against the Indonesian Muslims and the demand is for a return to India, and the British Government has made it public that the Indian troops will have to be withdrawn by the end of March because the elections take place in India somewhere about that time and the Indian Government elected will probably insist that they be withdrawn because the Muslim League, as well as Congress, are demanding the return of the Indian troops. British troops are also discontented because they anticipated when the war ended they would be returned home and here they find themselves fighting against the independence of the Indonesian people.

The Dutch Government proposes this year to send over 40,000 Dutch troops to Indonesia; so, the British will permit the Dutch to come in and take over the areas they wish to occupy and the Dutch will send out troops in order to impose by force their policy in Indonesia.

That is the situation suggested by all the statements that have appeared during these last few days. We can expect a vigorous offensive by the Dutch against the Indonesian Republic, supported by the British. The Indonesians are preparing for this, that is why apparently the Government leaders have been sent to the interior, they have an army, they plan to wage guerrilla warfare over years if necessary, but they look for the assistance, the aid of the working class in the countries outside Indonesia and are looking particularly to Australia for support in this situation.

## THE WOMEN'S QUESTION AND INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

MRS. R. WHITFIELD.

If anyone doubts that there is a women's question (and in our efforts not to be feminist we have this tendency sometimes), let him run his eye over history for the past hundred years. In 1845 votes for women would have been regarded as fantastic. Women were not admitted to University education at Oxford or Cambridge till 1869. Not only had married women no control over their property till 1882, but at this date they had not even the right to control their own persons, and could still be put in gaol for refusing conjugal rights. Guardianship even of their own children was not given them till 1886, and widows did not get the same pension on the same basis as men till 1925. Women in England did not get the full franchise till 1928. These are some of the disabilities women have suffered in comparatively advanced democracies. What they have been and are in other countries, chattels, behind veils, in the fields as slaves and chattels, can hardly be imagined.

In Australia, as a result of a continuous struggle by a small minority of politically conscious women on behalf of their sisters, many of the legal dis-

abilities have been shed. Women can control their own persons and have a share in the government in the form of a vote. Nevertheless, much of the old conventional attitude that a woman's place is exclusively in the home and that her world should consist entirely of love and motherhood and domesticity, still persists. Marriage is her job. She can work for a year or two in the lower paid jobs in offices and factories while she is waiting to get married, but beyond that she really has no place there. Under capitalism where woman has really no part in the process of production, her position in society can, as a matter of fact, be very little improved. Engels, in his *Origin of the Family*, summarises the position. He points out that if a woman "carried out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently she cannot carry out family duties." And the wife's position in the home is the position of wives in the ranks of business right up to medicine and law. The modern individual family is

found on the one or concealed demands of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules. In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy, without any need for special legal titles and privileges. Within the family he is the bourgeois and his wife represents the proletariat. . . . The peculiar character of the supremacy of the husband over the wife in the modern family, the necessity of creating real social equality between them, and the way to do it, will only be seen in the clear light of day when both possess legally complete equality of rights. Then it will be plain that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry." The question is redolent with problems. Prejudices are not yet discarded, many obvious rights not yet won. There is need to take stock of the situation, and this is exactly the purpose of International Women's Day.

In the words of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, noted American writer, the aim and object of International Women's Day is "to recall the past, review our accomplishments, and define our expectations in relation to women's struggle in all spheres, social, economic, cultural and political."

It originated in U.S.A. during the Votes for Women campaign in 1908. At an International Congress of women held at Stuttgart in 1910 Clara Zetkin, a member of the Reichstag, moved that the date March 8th be designated International Women's Day. Her proposal was adopted unanimously, and since then International Women's Day has been celebrated in U.S.A., China, England, U.S.S.R. and, before the war, in France and Germany. It was on this date in 1917 that there was a mass demonstration by the women of Petrograd against starvation, war and tsardom. The men supported the demonstration by a city-wide strike. International Women's Day in 1917 became an historic occasion.

In Australia there have been annual celebrations for many years. These have taken the form of public meetings, international concerts, and conferences, at which representatives have spoken from all types of organisations connected with the needs of women. The Trade Union movement has also been interested, and meetings have been held in workshops with the co-operation of shop committees.

At a conference organised by the International Women's Day Committee in England in 1945 the following objectives were formulated in a charter: "As mothers: The right to bring children into a world free from fear and want and war; the provision by every government of decent health services and houses fit to live in.

"As workers: The right to enter all industries and professions and to receive equal pay for equal work, and the same opportunities as

men for training and promotion to all responsible positions; the ending of the exploitation of women as cheap labor, and the improvement of working conditions.

"As citizens: The right to equal status with men and full democratic expression; the opportunity to vote and serve on committees, juries and public bodies whether national or international."

When we review the position in the light of the foregoing demands we can see that some gains have been made since then.

The most important gain is the defeat of fascism, the greatest enemy of womankind, claiming that women are inferior and subject to men, fit only for kitchen, church and kindergarten. On taking their part in the fight against fascism, women have gained new freedom for themselves. In France women voted for the first time, and it is significant that the majority of the women elected to the Constituent Assembly stood on the Communist ticket which polled over 5 million votes. In Indonesia, one of the first reforms made by the new Government was to give women of Java the vote. Village women in unoccupied portions of Java are voting for the first time in the election of village councils. In China, women have gained many freedoms in the way of franchise and ability to enter the professions, etc., but a long task still remains for them to conquer the prejudice and resistance of the older generations. In America many alterations have been made in industry, both in accommodation and processes to suit the employment of women, and according to a publication of the Labor Bureau, women have come to stay. Indeed, it can safely be said that there is no country in which women served during the war, where there is not a greater respect for their capabilities in jobs not previously regarded as within their sphere, and everywhere there is a definite move towards the ultimate aim, full citizenship. An International Women's Congress was held in Paris, late last year, at which 350 delegates attended, representing over 81 million women. The agenda included the following: "Economic, Legal and Social Position of Women and Ways of Improving their Status without Delay"—this is surely further evidence of the growing interest women are taking in their own future.

In Australia, the woman question shows every sign of becoming acute in the post-war period. Gains have been made (in the phrase of the Charter)—for women are workers. They have been granted, certainly only as a temporary measure—but even this is an advance, 75 per cent. of the male rate, and in some cases as much as 90 per cent. and, in a very few cases, 100 per cent. As citizens, the fact that Mrs. Street was chosen to go to the San Francisco Conference was indeed a gain; and in other spheres such as equality of pay for servicewomen doing university and other training courses, some progress has been made.

However, women as mothers, as housewives have gained nothing.

It remains to be seen if, in the difficult period of rehabilitation of servicemen, women will be forced out of the jobs where they have earned from 75 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the male rate, back to ill-paid, ill-regulated domestic service, or the lower-paid traditionally women's jobs in industry. The wages in these industries have been raised as a temporary measure only, until six months after the end of the war, when the economic position will be reviewed, and wages revised. It is interesting to speculate whether the large number of women demobilised from the services, and forced out of higher paid jobs in industry, will constitute a sufficiently flooded labor market, for a general lowering of wages for women, hence a fall in the general living standard.

International Women's Day this year will be celebrated in a time of industrial unrest and objectives and aims should be clearly understood.

In industry, then, the aim is clearly to ensure that increased rates are written into the awards, and to continue the struggle for the rate for the job. The 40-hour week and £1 rise in the basic wage are aims around which all women can be rallied.

As citizens, women are still handicapped by many legal disabilities as regards domicile, serving on the juries. Many of us are really hardly aware of the extent to which Acts of Parliament (in England there are no less than 30) discriminate against women.

In the third of our categories, that of women as mothers, there is a very long list of demands. The proletarian woman has always had the whole burden of bearing and rearing children, cooking, cleaning and shopping—no domestic help for her! During the war years the middle class woman has had to bear the same burden—though perhaps in better surroundings. She, too, is expected to bear the children, do the housework, the cooking and the shopping without help, without rest and without reward. But she is not articulate and much rancour has accumulated.

Olive Schreiner, in 1890, noted that upon the bearing and rearing of children, the state set no

economic value. In 1946, with 50 years of struggle behind us, it sets a value of 7/6 a week for the second child, and gives a bonus at birth at a rate also determined by the number of children.

Relief can be given and should be given to overworked housewives, endeavouring also to be good mothers, in the way of creches and nursery schools for the pre-school child. The suggestion that there should be the responsibility of the Education Department should be strenuously supported. Housing, the scarcity of which adds to housewives' difficulties, needs to be hurried, health services and hospitalisation improved and that most difficult problem facing the mother of several small children, the lack of any help with the innumerable jobs in the home, must be tackled effectively, if we are to maintain, never mind increase, our birthrate.

International Women's Day is the rallying point for housewife, citizen and worker—they meet on common grounds as women and put forward their demands—demands that can only be fully realised in a socialist society—that actually have been realised in the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. Constitution states that "Women have equal rights with men in all spheres of economic state, cultural, social and political life. The equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, State protection of the interests of mother and child, pre-maternity and maternity leave with full pay; and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens." What a marvellous picture this is, and still more marvellous when we realise that it has already been achieved.

Fifty years ago votes for women were fantastic—with the example of the Soviet Union before us—where the position of women was even more subservient, we should be filled with hope for the future, and with the resolve that we shall take our part in the struggle—that we will fight for the retention of better wages, fight for creches and kindergartens, fight for municipal markets and cheaper food, and fight for socialism and an equal citizenship.

## ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

N. BALTISKY.

(From "New Times" No. 13, December 1st, 1945)

WHEN, in the autumn of 1944, Mr. Kent Cooper, Associate Executive Director of the Associated Press, stepped into the arena with the specious cry of "international freedom of the press," it served as a signal to the heads of the great American and British news agencies and other newspaper magnates to launch a general campaign demanding an open door and uncontrolled activity for their establishments in all countries of the world.

This campaign, it is easy to see, has nothing in common with the democratic struggle of broad masses of the people for broader civil liberties, including liberty of the press. Oh no, the American and British entrepreneurs of the newspaper industry are not a bit interested in enlarging the rights of the people in the matter of newspaper publication. On the contrary, they have long been striving—and not without success—to concentrate the whole

newspaper business in their own hands, in the hands of big capital.

In America and Britain concentration in the newspaper business has been carried to no less length than in other branches of industry. Owing to powerful competition, the "mortality" among the American newspapers is very high; their number (counting only newspapers published in English) has declined from 2,042 in 1920 to 1,754 in 1944. There are 1,103 American cities today where only one newspaper is published, and in 159 large cities where more than one newspaper is published, they are in the hands of a single owner, or a single group of owners. All, or nearly all, the big and influential newspapers belong to multi-millionaires. According to Oswald Garrison Villard, himself a former publisher (of the *New York Post* and the *Nation*), "no one would dream of starting a metropolitan newspaper with less than ten or even fifteen millions in the bank." Hearst, the notorious pro-fascist publisher, is usually called America's newspaper king. But he is certainly not the only one. It can scarcely be said that he is even the most influential of them. The real proprietors of the Associated Press, for instance, are a small group of wealthy publishers, who not only control the extensive activities of this agency (with its 10,000,000 dollars of annual revenue) but are at the same time the owners of many of the 1,124 newspapers affiliated to it, ostensibly on a co-operative basis. Another big American agency, the United Press, is under the control of Roy Howard, who at the same time runs the Scripps-Howard group, embracing 19 newspapers. We find a similar concentration of newspaper capital in Great Britain. All the big English dailies, with the exception of the *Daily Herald*, belong to a small number of wealthy proprietors. This equally applies to the Reuters agency.

But it is generally known that far-reaching concentration in any branch of industry inevitably leads to monopoly, and to an urge for expansion, i.e., to enlarge the sphere of domination of the monopolies both at home and abroad. The newspaper industry of Britain and America is no exception to this economic law, it seems. Reuters already holds a dominating position in Great Britain and the British possessions; moreover, before the war it constituted, together with the French Havas agency, an international cartel which had no serious competitors either in Europe, or in Asia and Africa. In America, the Associated Press and the United Press are still competitors. But both are rapidly penetrating into all parts of the world. All the three mentioned agencies have an extensive international network of branches and maintain thousands of staff correspondents in all the major cities of the world, apart from foreign correspondents of the big British and American newspapers. The agencies have exchange contracts with press associa-

tions in many countries. Furthermore, the American agencies have subsidiaries in other countries, e.g., in Great Britain (the Associated Press of Great Britain and the British United Press) and in South America (La Prensa Asociada). The Associated Press leases over 285,000 miles of telegraph wires for its exclusive use.

We thus see that these three news agencies represent powerful international capitalist (or commercial, as they call themselves) concerns. And there is nothing surprising in the fact that these concerns thirst for expansion, for the constant extension of their spheres of action and domination. But is it seemly on the part of the business men who head these commercial concerns to impose their economic expansion upon the world public under the guise of a fight for "international freedom of the press"? Does this not smack of unfair competition? When other merchants seek for expansion in the world arena they do not assume the pose of champions of the "liberties" of mankind, but talk of their interests and earnings in plain business-like language. And when the British and American newspaper concerns strive to secure a dominating position in the collection and distribution of international news, is it not also because it is for them a profitable commercial enterprise? Why then hide the fact under a false label?

It seems to me, in particular, that it is hardly becoming of the Associated Press and its director to don the democratic toga of fighters for freedom of the press and news. Did not the U.S. Department of Justice deem it necessary in 1942 to bring action against the Associated Press on the charge of unlawfully monopolizing the distribution of news by depriving its members' competitors of the possibility of obtaining information? And did not the court in October, 1943, declare the monopolistic actions of the Associated Press unlawful on the grounds that they prevented the free distribution of news? True, the Federal Supreme Court has not yet passed final judgment, but if Mr. Cooper had any modesty at all he would not, pending the Supreme Court's decision, come forward as chief hero in the fight for international freedom of the press. For such a role, it seems to us, little befits a man who even in his own country has been officially charged with violating the law on freedom of the press. If I mention this fact, it is not, of course, because I want to disparage the Associated Press as compared with its chief European competitor, Reuters, which has long been known as a monopolistic concern that dislikes free competition within its spheres of influence.

But this is not the main thing. It is the political character of the doings of the press agencies, of entities which is the main thing for the public of our country and of the world generally.

It is true that the directors of the three mentioned news agencies make a show of having no political trend. Desirous of supplying their news to all periodicals of the world, both reactionary and otherwise, they claim that their agencies are purely commercial enterprises which are independent of parties, governments or nations. And, on the basis of the alleged independence of their agencies, these businessmen claim that their enterprises are the sole free sources of objective information. This assertion was made, for instance, by Mr. Chancellor, General Manager of Reuters, in the *World's Press News*. At the same time, he advertised his own firm in the following, far from objective words:

"In Reuters our chief aim is to preserve our integrity in providing for the newspapers of the world a reliable, unbiassed, international news service. We are not purveyors of British news; news cannot be British or American — it is an international commodity."

We shall later give a concrete analysis of the political and moral quality of this "international commodity," as purveyed by Reuters, the Associated Press, the United Press and newspapers closely associated with them. But first, touching briefly on the fundamental question — does the capitalistic management of newspapers and press agencies have a good or a bad influence on their work? — it must be bluntly stated that, morally and politically, their work only suffers from the "commercial" character of their management. Everything essential on this score was said in our frank talk with Mr. Kent Cooper (*The War and the Working Class*, Nos. 1 and 2, 1945). We then noted that "in the United States, the enjoyment of freedom of the press by the citizens largely depends upon whether they own sufficiently large amounts of capital, and this, in the long run, moulds the predominant features of this press." In reference to this statement Mr. Chancellor, General Manager of the Reuters agency, in a lecture at the Czechoslovak Institute last February in which he commented on our article, said:

"Although admittedly important, this concerns only one aspect of the problem — ownership and financing of newspapers — the question which at the moment is exercising serious minds in France and other liberated countries of Europe."

Mr. Chancellor, as we see, is here trying by an elegant but too airy gesture to shield the commercial command of the British and American press from criticism. But can the chief and fundamental item of criticism, namely, the fatal influence exerted by the capitalist owners on the contents of their newspapers and the reports of their agencies, be disposed of so simply? For we pointed out that "in so far as the owners of the big American newspapers are interested in obtaining the largest possible amount of revenue from their enterprises, the national and ethical functions of the press are in practice, as a

rule, subordinated to this narrow object of profit-making." This, of course, is not a side issue or "only one aspect of the problem," as Mr. Chancellor declares. It is the crux of the matter. For therein lies the essential viciousness of the private capitalist, or commercial, system of control of the press.

This, too, is the source of the political tendentiousness of the commercial newspaper enterprises and of the news agencies. To say that these enterprises are politically independent is a childish fable. They are utterly dependent, economically and politically, upon their owners. Everybody knows that the general rule is: if the owner is a conservative, the trend of his newspaper is also conservative; if he is a reactionary, his newspaper will betray reactionary tendencies; if he is a fascist, his newspaper will infallibly lean towards fascism. And as there are very few progressives among the multi-millionaires who own the big commercial newspapers, it is easy to understand why nearly all the progressive newspapers in America and Britain are comparatively small and weak, or belong not to capitalist owners, but to public organisations of one kind or another.

Oswald Garrison Villard, whom we have already quoted, a man of anything but Left convictions, explains this fact in his book, *The Disappearing Daily*, published in 1944, as follows:

"Just as the profession of journalism has changed into a business, so there is every temptation for the proprietor to consider all political and economic questions from the point of view of those who have very large economic stakes and to look with alarm upon all proposed social and political reforms. The newspaper owner feels that he belongs in the Chamber of Commerce and the merchants' associations. . . . His property ranks with those powerful business corporations which in nearly every American community dominate its economic and financial life, whose officials and their wives set the 'society' tone and too often control all social progress."

Villard relates that the late President Roosevelt bluntly declared to the assembled journalists at a press conference on June 29, 1943, that there were a number of men in front of him who had to write under orders from their employers, the newspaper owners, or lose their jobs, and added that there were "Rocks" of such journalists. On one occasion he even brought a German Iron Cross to a press conference and requested one of the journalists to present it to O'Donnell, correspondent of the pro-fascist *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News*, as a merited award for his obsequiousness to the Nazis.

The *Chicago Tribune* for which this "decorated" correspondent worked and still works, is particularly clamorous in its demand for "freedom of the press." At the same time its gungnacious publisher, McCormick, advocates a gigantic imperialistic plan for

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incorporating Great Britain, France, Latin America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand into an American Union. And it is by no means fortuitous that both in America and Britain it is the imperialistically-minded who are calling loudest of all for "freedom" in general, and for freedom of the press in particular. In Great Britain, for example, the *Nineteenth Century* and *After*, the frankest of the proponents of imperialist policy, recently wrote literally as follows:

"The main defence of freedom abroad has, in this country, passed to a handful of Conservatives. The only concerted protest against the disastrous agreement concluded at Yalta came exclusively from the Conservatives."

Of course, not all the British Conservatives are pleased with the specific political aims of the American campaign conducted by Mr. Kent Cooper under the cry of "international freedom of the press." The *Economist*, for instance, bluntly declared that Cooper's slogans paved the way for the attainment of world hegemony by the United States with the assistance of the financially powerful American news agencies. To which Mr. Cooper retorted by accusing the *Economist* of wanting to retain the control of the world's means of communication in British hands.

Who is right — the *Economist* or Mr. Cooper? Both, it seems to me. In our era the "commodity" of reactionary news has become an effective instrument of capitalist penetration into other countries and continents — an undoubtedly more effective one than was the import of whisky, bibles and opium into non-capitalist countries in the early days of the spread of capitalism. And the role of the foreign correspondents of the reactionary press is far more important than was that of the missionaries.

There are, of course, different kinds of newspapers, editors and correspondents and different kinds of proprietors, too. Some realise their responsibility, some only dimly realise it while some are absolutely irresponsible. Let us examine the "commodity" of some of the bigger newspaper merchants more closely, and get the feel of it — not the whole stock, of course, but only that part which is of international interest.

In the controversy with Mr. Kent Cooper we noted as a favourable fact that owing to the participation of the United States in the common struggle of the freedom-loving nations against fascist Germany "the degree of truth and honesty of the American press had grown considerably" in handling international affairs. Many influential newspapers which had before the war played up to the fascist aggressors, began in 1941 to expose them; whereas formerly they had not hesitated to slander the Soviet Union, during the common war they paid incomparably greater attention to the truth about our country. We also admitted that the information distributed by the Associated Press after 1941 was on a higher level of objectivity than the tendentious

material which the newspapers received from this agency in earlier years. But while we noted these favourable developments, we even then, while the war was still on, suggested the necessity of consolidating the progress in objectivity achieved by the dating this progress in objective achievement by the American press. "If only we could consolidate this valuable achievement so that it may not be lost when the war comes to an end!" we exclaimed. "This is extremely important as a guarantee for a durable peace."

But apparently nothing serious has been done by persons in authority to consolidate this change for the better. For directly following the conclusion of the war (and partly even on the eve of the Allies' victory) a number of big American — as well as British — newspapers and press agencies began to display an increasing contempt for the truth which is so necessary for anti-fascist international co-operation. And today many of them have distinctly reverted to the old vice.

Even during the San Francisco Conference, whose purpose it was to unite all the peace-loving nations into a single security organisation, a large section of the American press endeavoured to set the Allied powers at loggerheads by publishing downright false reports about the course of the discussions. A reminder of this by a reader of the *New York Times* was given in a letter to that newspaper after the Berlin Conference, stating that if a man from Mars happened to land on our planet while the San Francisco Conference was in progress and read such newspapers as the *New York Daily News*, *New York Journal-American*, *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Sun*, it would never occur to him that this was a conclave of allies. He recalls to the memory of the *New York Times* newspaper headlines then current of the following tenor: "Russia beaten on the Argentine Question," "Soviet Union compelled to Yield on Veto Right," "Will Russia Walk out on the Conference?" And he asks what purpose these headlines served and whether they gave a correct picture of the course of the proceedings or were deliberately intended to arouse distrust among the Allied Great Powers.

And this reader quite rightly added, in reference to the complaints of pressmen at not being admitted to the Berlin Conference, that inasmuch as newspapers were unwilling to assume any responsibility, while at the same time claiming the privileges of freedom of the press, he saw no cause for waxing indignant because what was happening at the Berlin Conference was temporarily being kept a secret.

At the time when the Red Army had already reached the vicinity of Berlin (in the latter half of April, 1945) some of the American newspapers published a story from Washington which was a fabrication from beginning to end, and which said that American advance patrols had already been in of the Russians who declared that by previous agreement the Russians were to be the first to occupy

Berlin. Could the editors of the *Daily Mirror* and the other newspapers who printed this canard have doubted its falsity even for a minute? It is hard to believe.

But as a rule, as long as the war was on, influential American and British newspapers did not attempt to defame and vilify the Red Army by publishing false news. In September of this year, however, the majority of them began a systematic campaign of calumny against the Soviet forces of occupation in Germany. As though acting to orders, British and American correspondents in Berlin began flooding their newspapers with absurd fabrications about the behaviour of Red Army men in Germany and Austria. When framing their stories of pillage, violence and black-market operations allegedly committed by Soviet soldiers, these cautious gentlemen, to avoid being convicted of lying, studiously avoided mentioning names, time or place.

Reactionary newspapers of the type of the *Observer* and the *Daily Mail* are not the only ones that have distinguished themselves in this despicable campaign; many others, including *Labor* periodicals, are involved. One particularly vile article printed in the *London Tribune* called forth numerous protests from the readers of this "Left" journal. One of them, for instance, wrote:

"I am amazed that a Left paper should publish such a slander on the Red Army without a single verifiable fact and by a special correspondent without the courage to sign his or her name. I challenge you to publish his or her name and record and produce facts to prove such wild and malicious statements."

Evidently the campaign of vilification of the Red Army was not only conducted with the aim of counteracting the widespread sympathy entertained in Great Britain and America for the Soviet Union, but also with the purpose of surreptitiously inciting the population of Germany. This was obviously the purpose of a slanderous fabrication circulated by the Associated Press (under the guise of an interview with Senator Brewster) to the effect that Soviet authorities were "liquidating" German professional men in Berlin and other parts of Germany. The laurels of this American agency evidently aroused the envy of the Berlin correspondent of the *London Times*, who, as we learn from a London radio message of September 21, decided to present his employers with the following rank bouquet of lies:

"The Russians are abducting Germans from the British sector. The abductions are occurring at the rate of one a day. The victims are scientists, technicians or policemen. . . ."

The unusual proficiency of this British correspondent was displayed in the fact that he did not confine himself to simply slandering, but supplied his slanders with the following unctuous morals:

"It is much to be hoped that this frankness will lead to a quick transformation of a situation,

which otherwise could lead to strained relations between the Allies."

In the display of such "frankness" the British correspondent beats his American competitors hollow.

Following on this (on October 16th) the Allied Press, the agency of the British military administration in Germany, launched a canard to the effect that collective farms were being formed in the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany; such collective farms were allegedly being organised in the province of Brandenburg, where a special department had even been set up for the purpose. The administration of Brandenburg declared that this report was absolutely unfounded. But the London radio, broadcasting in German, continued to feed the population of Germany with such putrid dishes — with endless descriptions of the "awful plight of the Germans," and with grossly distorted accounts of the policy of the Soviet Government and of the new democratic governments in Central and Eastern Europe. These lies broadcast from London day after day, for several months now, in excellent German, bear the obvious stamp of incitement, likely to encourage fascist sentiments in Germany.

But for all the efforts of the London radio and of many of the English newspapers, their anti-democratic propaganda was for a long time rather anaemic — until Reuters came along and brought it up to the mark, so to speak. On November 4 it distributed the sensational story that according to reports reaching London about a million Germans were to be suddenly shifted from the Soviet zone in Germany into the occupation zones of the Western Allies. "This large-scale movement is to begin tomorrow" (i.e., November 5), it stated, and added that this was a measure apart from the transfer of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

That same day all the big English newspapers raised a desperate outcry over the "influx of millions of Germans forcibly expelled by the Russians," which was to take place the next day. The *Observer* warned that "masses of Germans will die by the roadsides next winter." The following morning Reuters reported that Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin had called for an immediate report on the proposed expulsion of a million Germans from the Soviet zone of Germany. More, that same day the question was raised in the House of Commons; and as Foreign Under-Secretary Hector McNeil was unable to furnish the House with any information on the subject, Labor Member Richard Stokes hastened to demand that "the strongest possible representations should be made" to the Soviet Government "in view of the conduct of the Russians."

But since the fatal day of November 5 passed without any signs of the "influx of millions of Germans" from the Soviet zone announced by the English press, some explanation of this strange fact

had to be furnished to the British public. And so Reuters, which, as Mr. Chancellor, its General Manager, assures us, always places reliable and unbiased information above all other virtues, quickly found what seemed a way out; it furnished the newspapers with a report of its correspondent at British Headquarters in Germany to the effect that "the Russians have apparently withdrawn their instructions."

This was explanation No. 1. And the English newspapers printed it under appropriate headlines—e.g.: "Soviet 'Reprieve' for Refugees. Mystery of Russian Order" (*Evening Standard*); "Soviet Order Toned Down" (*Evening News*); "Soviet Cancels Order to German Refugees" (*News Chronicle*).

However, it soon transpired that there had never been any Soviet order for the expulsion of Germans, and consequently that it could not have been cancelled. Reuters Berlin correspondent began muttering something about a "misunderstanding"; the Soviet order, it turned out, applied only to "several hundred non-Germans," and in any case "they were not ordered to return to Western Germany at once." Matters having taken such a turn, it behoved the worthy agency to issue explanation No. 2. Through the lips of its reviewer, Robert Lloyd, Reuters admitted that the false reports which had caused questions to be raised in the House of Commons and had led the Foreign Office to draw hasty conclusions

"were due partly to the unauthorised initiative of a district official and partly to a newspaper scare based on an inaccurate translation of a Berlin radio broadcast."

What was the panicky newspaper which suddenly loomed out of the thick fog of this explanation?

## BUILDING A NEW WORLD

MARCEL CACHIN, Chairman, Communist Party of France.  
(From "World News and Views," December 1, 1945.)

(Translation of the speech of Marcel Cachin, fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of France to the 18th National Congress, C.P.G.B.)

ON behalf of our French Communist Party, my Comrade Cigniot and I bring to you, brother and sister Communists of Great Britain, a most cordial and fraternal greeting.

In France, we follow with burning interest your persistent efforts in the difficult struggle you have undertaken.

We express hope that you, comrades of the British Communist Party, represented here, in this majestic Congress, by generous and ardent youth shall, in the near future, gain the political success so richly deserved by your persevering tenacity, and faithfulness to our common cause.

No doubt, comrades, you know what important political and trade union progress has been attained by French Communist workers, since the liberation of their country. The *Daily Worker* gives

The answer may be gathered from the following phrase in Lloyd's story:

"The panic was caused when an inaccurate report was reproduced in the *Berliner*, the British military government paper published in Berlin."

So that was the origin of the "mysterious order!" In other words, a sensational lie was fabricated, out of "panic," for distribution through the "independent" Reuters news agency.

But if anybody thinks that this newspaper scandal taught the British periodicals involved in this affair to moderate the tone of their reactionary propaganda in connection with German and European affairs, he is mistaken. The *Daily Mail*, for instance, continues to cry in the following strain:

"Distracted, demoralised, disintegrating Europe looks today for leadership, and she looks not to America or to Russia but to Britain. The question which will decide the fate of this generation is whether Europe will look in vain." Everybody knows where this sort of thing leads.

We have given a number of illustrations of how cavalierly the reactionary "news purveyors" handle the truth. The list of illustrations is anything but complete. And it stands in need of substantial supplementation in the form of a reply to the reader's legitimate queries: Why do they lie? What is their political purpose? And does democratic freedom of the press necessarily imply freedom of political calumny, or freedom from all responsibility for such calumny, which is so dangerous and detrimental to the peaceful intercourse of nations and states?

But of this we shall speak later.  
(To be continued)

accurate and precise information, concerning all our political battles. Permit me to summarise briefly the victories we have obtained.

Before the war, the Communist Party was already the foremost political party in Greater Paris. But since the October elections, it has become the strongest Party in France. It numbers in the Constituent Assembly, 151 deputies, seven-teen of whom are women. With associated representatives, it numbers 160 deputies. The Catholics Social Democrats, with 142 deputies. After these come the Social Democrats, with 138 deputies.

The Communist Party recorded 5,000,000 votes, 800,000 in the Paris region alone. One of fact that many of our candidates were elected in the rural districts.

The French Communist Party comprises one million members, grouped in 31,963 branches. Of these, 7,259 are factory and workshop branches, and 12,161 rural branches.

Our organisations of young people embrace 300,000, and our Union of Women of France has a membership of one million.

Furthermore, we must take into account our French Confederation of Labor, five million strong. Four-fifths of these vast forces have Communist leadership. One of these leaders is General Secretary Frachon who shares the directorate with Jouhaux. For a long period, our active members gave their main energies to work in their trade unions. Our Party is now reaping the fruits of these efforts.

In the French Government, the Communist Party, by its energy and firmness, in the recent period secured the entrance to the French Ministry of five Communists including Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Party. The four other Communists direct the departments of Armaments, Work, Industrial Production and National Economy. These comrades will ensure the success of nationalisation and the crushing of the omnipotence of the trusts.

In relation to these gains, the most widely-read paper in France is *l'Humanité*. Its daily circulation is 500,000 and, on Sunday, 600,000. In the last few days (during the political crisis) the daily circulation rose by 100,000. This circulation would be much greater if the Government, which monopolises the distribution of paper to the press, did not exercise arbitrary limitation of the share allotted to *l'Humanité*. Since the liberation of France, *l'Humanité* occupies the press machinery and offices of *Le Petit Parisien* which had the highest circulation of all French papers before the war. We expelled this paper from its premises because its staff were in collaboration with the enemy, and traitors to their country. Their property was seized and put in trust with the patriotic press. In the provinces, the Party publishes twelve daily papers and seventy weeklies. Two million copies daily is the total circulation of our Party controlled press.

These are the results we are glad, comrades, to bring to your attention.

What are the reasons for this success? We think that our Party has come to the front in French opinion, because its primary aim has always been the defence of the people of France, and their great national and democratic traditions.

Before the war, they evidenced their foresight by demonstrating the signal danger of Fascism—a danger to Peace, human progress and civilisation.

During the enemy's occupation of our country, the Communists took the lead in the struggle against the invaders. They put up the best fight for their country by creating an Underground army, 500,000 strong, the Free Shooters and Partisan troops, and the Interior French Forces who took an important share in the liberation of French soil. The largest contingent of hostages came from Communist ranks

—they were named the "Party of the Slain." Seventy-five thousand of their best members were shot by the Nazis. The great trust and confidence of their country was won by these sacrifices and terrific struggles.

Furthermore, the people of France called to mind our unceasing propaganda for Peace before the war, and our constant efforts to ward off the catastrophe. They remembered that the Communist Party protested unceasingly against the errors of the pre-war politics of reactionary Governments of Western Europe. We drew attention to the criminal abandonment of Ethiopia, of Republican Spain, Czechoslovakia, and to Munich. We battled for collective security, and against Hitlerism. We agitated for the Alliance of France with Soviet Russia. This necessary understanding was rejected by your Government and ours, owing to class interests.

The Communists were persecuted and their Party disbanded in 1939 because they upheld a political course of Alliance with Soviet Russia. The disaster of 1940 was the necessary outcome. And now, honest opinion recognises that we alone were right when the Red Army, guided by the genius of Stalin, saved Europe and the world. Justice is at last rendered to French Communist action and that is one of the principal reasons for our success.

And now, Fascism is downed. The time has come for the establishment of a just peace. French Communists demand that the Hitlerites, who pillaged and killed, should take their share in rebuilding what they have destroyed. They demand for France part of the coal of the Ruhr, and the raw material and machinery stolen from their country during four years. It is a case of elementary justice. But after justice is obtained, like all our peoples, the French want Peace. And, once again, Peace still depends on collective security. No more bloc politics in the world.

Yesterday, Harry Pollitt exposed all the vices of the Western bloc. With you, we opposed these politics energetically. We must consolidate the union of the Big Three, basis of the Union of all nations. No more secret armaments—like the Atomic Bomb! There must be a universal application of Democracy and the rooting out of Fascism.

This is the gist of our position with reference to Foreign Affairs, approved by the people of France, and by your own people.

In France, our Party is considered the most dynamic, the most united, the best disciplined, the most concerned with the immediate daily interests of the French working class and nation.

Our Party has preserved, intact, all its firmness of doctrine. It rejects all narrowness and sectarianism but remains attached to Marxist concepts and dialectics, the soundness of which has been demonstrated over one-sixth of the world's surface, and has proved that Socialism is a superior form of civilisation.



Soviet economy has downed Fascism and solved the problems of our historic period better than the forms of the old Liberalism, and better than the Reformist and opportunistic Socialism, which rejects Marxism and is mortal to the working class.

These are the reasons why our French Party exercises a vigilant and careful supervision over the formation of Party workers and officials. Many central and regional schools have been founded for the teaching of the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It considers that one of its primary tasks is the Marxist education of the "elite" of French workers. Permit me to advise you to do likewise.

Dear Comrades, we are certain that we are on the right road—the road that leads from formal democracy to real democracy. We shall persevere, without flinching, in the cause we have chosen irrevocably.

We have numerous foes. Like you, we meet with greater misunderstanding on the part of many workers, left as well as opportunists. But we shall remain faithful to our daily, patient action of propaganda and persuasion.

We cherish all our hopes of the infinite possibilities of the people. We are sure that Communism is the future of the world.

The course of events after the war justifies our position with striking evidence. The advance towards Socialism is henceforth inevitable and universal.

But the struggle will be severe. It will cost Communists persevering efforts, sacrifices, great political intelligence, exact appreciation of the balance of forces, unshakable confidence in our Marxist doctrine and in final success.

Both our parties are confronted with the same

## OUR STRUGGLE

SUTAN SJAHRIR.

(Extracts from the book of this title by Sutan Sjahrir, the Premier of the Indonesian Republic. Translated in Australia from the original Malay.)

AFTER two months of the establishment of the Indonesian Republic there is the hope and desire in every section of our people for independence and the determination to defend it. . . . For the people the slogan "Independence" does not merely mean the establishment of the Indonesian State, nor is our flag of red and white merely a symbol of the unity and ideals of the people and the state, but these things mean for them their own independence from tyranny, from starvation and misery; the red and white flag is for them a symbol of struggle, the struggle of the people. . . .

During the last 3½ years under Japanese subjection the basis of village life was disrupted and destroyed, by forced labour levies, the kidnapping of villagers to become slaves far from their homes, impressment into military service, the

reproaches. We are accused of professing too great a sympathy for the Soviet Union. We acknowledge that the Soviet Union has rendered immense service to the cause of all peoples. Its arms saved the world; its example illumines the future of all nations.

Your great people of Great Britain and our people of France played the same identical part of leadership in the history of the past. All intellectually honest minds admit that the sacrifices of Soviet peoples and the great genius of Stalin have cleared the road to a new world for humanity.

It is in Soviet Russia that, for the first time in the world, the exploitation of man by man has been suppressed. That is true progress, true democracy, the only true human morality.

Comrades, a few weeks ago, the World Federation of Trade Unions was founded here, in London, and later on in Paris. We consider this to be the greatest event of the year 1945. If henceforth, the manual, intellectual and technical workers of the world were to unite, they also, in the political field, would have discovered the only issue open to this stricken world for the attaining of peace and human happiness.

These young delegates, so numerous here, represent to my eyes the future of Great Britain. Before them lie exacting tasks: they are the builders of a new world. But, to fulfil their great mission, they must each and every day expand the possibilities of action and the power of their Communist Party. Such is the immortal teaching of Lenin.

A great Communist Party, well instructed, firm, disciplined, skilled, full of faith and confidence in the future, is, in every nation, the essential instrument of the liberation of mankind.

Hurrah! For the Communist Party of Great Britain!

forced surrender of crops, in short by a tyranny that knew no limits. Likewise in the cities. . . . thousands were thrown out of work, thousands fled from the villages to the cities to escape the tyranny and starvation in the villages, and thousands more fleeing from forced labour and military service swelled the unemployed army in the cities. All this caused unrest in the cities, too. The Japanese were faced with a rising tide of resentment which was likely to explode at any moment into open revolution.

After the Japanese were defeated and were awaiting to be taken captive, their government (in Indonesia) was without authority, and . . . popular resentment against them increased. Such were the conditions before the emergence of Independent Indonesia, and such are the conditions in which

Independent Indonesia has been established. . . .

The ending of the Second World War left three supreme military and economic powers, that is, the U.S.A., England and the Soviet Union. These three are the leading powers which control the international relations linking most of the countries of the world. This has caused the disappearance of the individual sovereignty of all other countries, a sovereignty which in any case was extremely limited previously.

The political system of Soviet Russia stands strongly on its basis of socialism, and has passed the difficult tests of the past years, its basis not being dependent on political or economic conditions outside Soviet Russia. The United States and England on the other hand require the whole world as a field for their economic existence, which is capitalist and imperialist. The Second World War which destroyed the wealth of the world to the extent of thousands of millions of guilders, has impoverished, with the exception of the United States, the whole world. Everywhere the means of production have been destroyed to a great extent, and there is a lack of manpower due to widespread starvation and sickness.

All this has brought about a weakening of the capitalist world, and it is difficult to see how capitalism can find the strength to continue its existence. In a large part of the world there are economic crises, confusion, and sharp political struggles. There is the increasing trend of the working-class to change the basis of capitalist society and create a socialist society. On the other hand those holding to the old system, despite this threat, still search every road by which they can strengthen their position, with plans to improve capitalism and imperialism. Thus we face a new imperialism. We are living now in a period which will determine the fate of mankind, that is, the new capitalism or socialism. The competition between these two tendencies and powers is reflected in the continuous political struggle of the world. We will experience continued political crises, economic crises, and there exists the possibility of conflict and perhaps of another world war.

Indonesia is surrounded by countries under the influence of the capitalist imperialism of England and the United States. The fate of Indonesia is bound up with English-American capitalist imperialism.

For more than a century past Dutch power over our people has been a fruit of English foreign policy. We know that in the beginning of the nineteenth century England seized Indonesia from the Dutch, and indeed, the Dutch would not be in Indonesia except by grace of England. They are merely a factor in English policy. English foreign policy towards East Asia has been carried on for more than a century, though new powers and conditions have appeared, such as Russia, Japan, USA,

the Chinese Revolution and the changed circumstances, especially in China, cannot be overlooked. The most important change in relation to our country occurred when the Japanese drove out the Dutch. On account of defeat Japan will temporarily disappear from the politics of North East Asia, and it can be said that Japan will fall into the hands of the USA which has now become the biggest Pacific power. The United States now feels that it can modify and reconstruct English policy of the last century throughout the East, and in our country too. If the English cannot reconcile their policy with that of the USA, which is concerned only with its own capitalist existence, then England will be overwhelmed by the power of the USA. It is clear that the Dutch power has only been a tool in English policy. It is also clear that the American attitude towards Dutch control of our country is not the same as the English attitude. In this circumstance it may be possible for us to occupy a position which will agree with the political aspirations of the United States, the colossus of the Pacific, but this possibility is limited as long as the world is capitalist and imperialist as at present. . . . Because of this the fate of the people of Indonesia is bound up with international conditions and developments. . . .

[Until the basis of society is changed and an end is put to capitalism and imperialism] the struggle of our people cannot be fully satisfied, and the independence which we can achieve, even freed fully from the Dutch, will still be nominal independence, similar to that of other small countries under the influence of big capitalist countries. . . .

Although for many years we have been in a modern world, and although the society of our country was changed and influenced by it, the existence and outlook of our people, especially in the villages, was still feudal. To maintain our subjection the Dutch retained all remnants of feudalism in order to restrict the development of our people. Thus for example, government officials are merely tools made by the Dutch exploiters from the feudal heritage of our society. . . .

Dutch exploitation sought its strength in alliance with modernity and Indonesian feudalism, finally to become a special type of fascism. Colonial fascism far surpassed that of Hitler or Mussolini. Long before Hitler's concentration camps of Belsen and Buchenwald, Boven Digoel was established. The movement of our people opposed foreign subjection from the beginning, and in opposing this feudal bureaucracy, the autocracy and fascism of the Dutch, our movement is a genuine social movement. . . .

The revolution emerges in its beginning in a national form and enters the setting up of a democratic society, thus giving it a social character. If we do not perceive this transition. . . . we face a great danger, that in not considering feudalism as

an enemy, we still permit the spirit of feudalism which still exists as a sort of nationalism. This would become nationalism with a type of solidarity that is feudal solidarity or hierarchism. . . . So in setting up the power of our society in our revolution, we must never forget that we are taking part in a democratic revolution. . . .

Having defined the nature of our struggle as above, it is clear that our revolution must be led by democratic groups, who are revolutionary, and not by nationalist groups who have been slaves to fascism, either Dutch colonial fascism or Japanese military fascism.

The revolutionary democratic struggle begins with the eradication of all traces of Japanese fascism, which prevents understanding amongst those who are still influenced by Japanese instruction and propaganda. Those who sold their souls and honour to fascist Japan must be separated from our revolutionary leadership (that is, those who worked in propaganda, Japanese secret police, those who took any part in the Japanese fifth column). All of these must be considered as traitors to our struggle and are not to be identified with the workers who worked for the time being only, to secure the necessities of life. Thus all political collaboration with the Japanese such as mentioned above must be regarded as fascism itself, or a tool of fascist Japan, and is a betrayal of the struggle and revolution of the people.

The State of the Republic of Indonesia which we create as a means in the revolution of our people, must become a means of democratic struggle, cleansed from all traces of Japan and its fascism. . . . The entire government must be democratised as quickly as possible, so that the majority of the people may participate in government affairs. This may easily be accomplished by setting up where necessary representative bodies of the people from the village up to the highest government authorities. All means of authority must be democratised as much as possible, so as to minimise dissensions among the people. . . . With the formation of new means of government any difficulties can be straightened out where they arise, that is in the village itself, and the government will have the means which can be used in carrying out the democratic revolution in the social and economic sphere in the village. . . .

Of itself, too, our position in relation to the outside world will increase in strength. With the strengthening of the organisation of our state in a democratic manner, the world will believe that we are quite capable of controlling our state and our people without disturbing the economic, political and cultural links with outside countries. As long as we live in a capitalist world we are forced to avoid the enmity of world capitalism, and so must allow an opening for capital, with the reservation that the security of the people must not be disturbed. . . .

Of great importance in our struggle is our attitude and policy towards those groups who are foreigners among the inhabitants, that is, those of European or Asiatic birth, Christians, Ambonese, Menadonese, etc. Up to the present we have not yet adopted a satisfactory attitude and policy towards these groups. Furthermore this can develop into a grave error, and can destroy our struggle. . . .

In this stage of capitalism, the capital of the world is highly concentrated, especially in New York and London, and more than ever there is a centralised control of world capitalist production, especially in Wall Street. As a result of this war it can be said that the whole world is in debt to Wall Street. These conditions make the world one international unit. Thus the resistance and struggle of the working class against this can only produce any result if this truth is fully realised. The activities and struggle of the working class must be on an international scale.

Our working class is now directing its struggle towards defending the State of the Indonesian Republic. This is as it should be, but . . . the national solidarity of the working-class must be raised to an international level, so as to be in tune with the struggle of the working class throughout the world. The excess of the spirit of nationalism can hinder the working-class from perceiving the international nature of the struggle, and may cause deviations which will weaken its position and cause retreat. In order to avoid the danger that in the nationalist struggle the basis of the struggle is overlooked and forgotten, that they will not be deceived or imposed on, it is necessary that in the nationalist struggle the working-class knows how to struggle for its position in its own manner as Indonesians, that is organised as workers with weapons of class struggle. The spirit which is necessary to carry on the struggle in this way is the spirit of its class and the solidarity of its class not weakened by the spirit of nationalism. The conditions for clarifying its position in the political struggle of the working-class are to claim full rights of the people, even from the State of Independent Indonesia itself, the freedom of speech, of writing, of assembly, of meeting, of the right to strike, of the guarantee of employment, of health conditions, education for children, the fixation of wages, etc. . . .

For our peasantry the struggle for independence can only have meaning if its mass nature is realised by them. If the present revolution of the Indonesian people is to be felt as a popular revolution for the peasantry, so that they can no longer be suppressed by the government, so that they can enjoy the fruits of their labour, and not be oppressed by laws which benefited only those who governed, then our revolution must overthrow feudalism in the rural districts, feudal government regulations, the impressment of labour and produce, as was the custom under Dutch subjection. The villages

are so overcrowded that although production from the soil is carried out as intensely as possible, it is still not enough to raise the living standard of the people in general. This condition is becoming more and more acute. Apart from attempting to redistribute the inhabitants of Indonesia more evenly among the islands with intermigration, the complete tripartite solution in Java is undeniably industrialisation. If the surplus population of the village is decreased so that the village becomes a cooperative endeavour, and industrialisation is brought about under government planning, a large part of the surplus village population can find employment as factory workers and the prosperity of Indonesia will be increased, especially with the basis of a prosperous peasantry. . . .

One of the most pressing problems of the moment is that of the youth. It cannot be denied that it seems as though the present awakening of our nationalism is largely represented by our youth. . . . When the youth widen their vision towards the basis of the new society, they will understand from that that the strength of our struggle is not centralised in the forces of the youth, but in the mass of the people, especially in the working class, which is organised and has a sharp consciousness and understanding regarding the class struggle in the world. If our youth understand this, they will know that their position is in the front ranks of the working class and the peasantry.

It is clearly an error to presume that the youth must lead our struggle of independence, an error which can lead to the destruction of our struggle.

## BATTLE FOR THE BANK OF ENGLAND

JACK GASTER

(From "Daily Worker," London, 30/10/45)

THE private owners of the Bank of England have had a good run. For 260 years they have manipulated the country's finances to suit the interests of their class and to line their own pockets.

Now a battle has started to end this private monopoly and to bring into public ownership and under public control a key instrument in the handling of the nation's credit. The Bank of England Bill empowers the Government to take over the existing Bank Stock and to appoint the future Courts of Governors, who will manage the Bank under the direction of the Treasury. The Court will in turn be empowered to request information from and give directions to other banks—and there's the rub.

The financial . . .  
tures of what this

. . . . In conjunction with a working class revolutionary party the youth become the shocktroops of the party leading our struggle. . . . It is necessary to organise to overcome the deficiency of understanding in all matters relating to this problem. . . .

Owing to the present conditions in the world it is necessary for us to heighten our readiness to defend the motherland and our people with fully organised resistance. We require that this resistance be organised. We require an army according to the need of the period. . . . As quickly as possible we must bring into being a people's militia in which all youth from a certain age must undergo military training for a certain period. On account of the deficiencies of material, this must be carried out with the limited means available, and meanwhile the lack will be made up. The need for this instruction is extremely urgent. It must include academics for land and sea. The shortage of instructors can be made up with assistance from overseas. In order to overcome the shortage of weapons for our resistance, it is only fitting that we sacrifice other necessities, owing to our circumstances at present. . . . The manufacture and purchase of weapons is of special importance at this moment. In admitting military requirements we must not for a moment make any mistake about the role of military force in our revolution. Having set up the Indonesian State in our struggle we are forced to use the weapon of State struggle, that is the Army. This does not mean, however, that we become slaves to the state or to militarism. . . . We must be careful lest we destroy the spirit of our popular revolution by being enmeshed in militarism and fascism.

They will be able to pry into the secrets of every little man's bank account"—as if the bankers were really concerned with the little man's account—or overdraft. They are more concerned that this Bill will enable the Government to discover how bank credit is being issued, whether to help industry or to encourage speculation; to keep track more readily of the affairs of the big trusts and cartels, and, by direction, to ensure the flow of credit into those channels where it is really necessary.

This private bank monopoly in pre-war days did inestimable harm to British industry in the way in which it sought to deal with the cotton industry, with shipping, and not least in the way it in fact helped to bring down the Labor Government in 1931. It is now, it is believed, to be transferred to public control and it is this public control that the

It is true, of course, that the Bank has been virtually under Government control for some years, and it may be said that this Bill merely gives legal sanction to the existing state of affairs. But the point really is that the Government is a new one, with new ideas about the extent and kind of control that must be operated if a great reconstruction programme is to be carried through without sabotage from the City. Coupled with the proposed National Investment Board, the Bank of England, through its power of direction to other banks, will be able decisively to direct the nation's finances in accordance with Government policy.

But there are still weaknesses. The Bank is to be controlled by a Court of Governor and Deputy Governor appointed for a five-year term (and apparently not removable during that time by the Government of the day), and 16 other Governors, four of whom shall retire each year, in rotation.

The people will require to be satisfied that this Court is answerable to the Government, removable by the Government, and is composed of people who represent the interests of the working people. The present close monopoly of finance and big business represented on the Court of Governors must be broken. We cannot entrust our destinies to Lord Catto (of Morgans), Hambro (of Hambro's Bank, G.W.R., etc.), Astor (of The Times), representatives of Barings, Schroeders, and Flemings, Cooper of the Hudson's Bay Company, the shipping magnates such as Anderson (P. and O.), Sanderson (Shaw Savill), industrial bigwigs such as Hyndley (Powell Duffryn, Guest Keen and Nettlefolds), Weir (G. and J. Weir), etc. These are all on the present Court. Where is the T.U.C.? Where is the Co-operative movement?

A substantial change will have to be made. Some of these Governors will have to be removed for good.

So will all the 17,000 stock-holders. These 17,000 people own £14,533,000 of Bank stock between them. They are going to receive £58,212,000 of Government stock carrying 3 per cent. interest in exchange. In other words, these people are going to be paid £1,746,360 a year for ever—unless the Government in 1966 prefers to stop paying them that annual tribute, and pays them the whole sum of £58,212,000 in cash, intact.

This immense sum of compensation must be examined. No measure has ever before been brought in requiring such a considerable expenditure without the fullest publication of the accounts and figures upon which the compensation has been based.

In this case, no adequate accounts have ever been published, no list of stockholders is disclosed.

But this much is known. The Bank has managed to pay an average of 12 per cent. interest over the last twenty years. It has done well for itself—out of the public.

For what is the business of the Bank out of which this considerable profit has been made? The Bank (in addition to its private banking work, which can produce only a small part of its income) derives its income from its functions as a Central Bank, from its management of Government stocks, of the Issue Department, of the Exchange Equalisation Fund, for all of which it is well paid by the Government.

In other words, the Bank has made its profit out of its activities as the Government's agent. Precisely by reason of its operation of Government policy in the money market, the present market price of its stock stands high; higher than it stood 20 years ago.

Can a progressive Government support the principle of paying out of public funds an inflated capital sum guaranteed to produce for ever an income that has only been earned because a private monopoly acted virtually as a Government Department?

Is this a satisfactory precedent to set, when it is hoped that many monopolies, some, maybe, in a decrepit state, but others now profitable, going concerns, will be nationalised?

The nation cannot afford this type of "generosity" to those who have sucked it dry for far too many years.

We may in the present circumstances have to compensate them. But in a reasonable manner, and for a reasonable period; not by placing an intolerable capital burden on the nation.

Fixed annuities if necessary at the present rate of income, for the life of the present holder or for 20 years, whichever should be the shorter period, would be quite enough. If that is not agreeable, in any event the proposed sum of Government stock must be drastically cut and should carry a lower rate of interest. The issue of new stock now at 3 per cent. is hardly in line with the Chancellor's suggestion that the Government is aiming to secure low rates on long-term securities, and is setting a bad precedent which the City is watching with eager eyes.

The principle of this Bill is sound, and must be fought for against the Tory barrage that will be put up against it. But the Labor movement will have to seek some amendment of the compensation proposals, and will require satisfactory guarantees that control really will be vested in the hands of those the movement can trust.

## UNSCIENTIFIC POLITICS IN THE B.M.A.

DR. G. P. O'DAY.

THE Medical Journal of Australia, January 19th, contains a lengthy presidential address delivered by Dr. John Dale, the well-known Health Officer to the City of Melbourne, to the Victorian Branch of the British Medical Association. This address is noteworthy because it is political, because it will be read by thousands of medical men throughout Australia, and as these men are persons of influence, it will have a political effect extending far beyond the medical profession; and it is also noteworthy because it gives a clue to the political ideas of a large section of our intelligentsia.

Dale begins by stating that political problems are at present of great concern to the profession. This recommendation of politics to the serious consideration of our doctors is welcome to Communists whose aim is that everyone should take their politics seriously and in the end should be able to take part in the government of the country. It may be safely stated that this president of a B.M.A. locale is quite unaware of that Communist objective. This is evident from his statement "that the period is at present a battleground between two opposed philosophies—on the one hand the philosophy of collectivism, under which the individual is subservient to an abstraction called the State . . . and on the other hand the philosophy of freedom which aims to secure the utmost development and liberty of each precious, unique individual." Naturally we ask, who are these state-worshipping collectivists? According to Dale "Germany and Russia have nationalised and socialised their medical services." Thus in this address Dale has managed to give considerable support to two errors fostered by anti-Communist, anti-Soviet war mongers; namely, that nationalisation and socialisation are identical and that Hitlerite Germany and the Soviet Union are profoundly similar. The conclusions drawn are two: (1) That the medical profession must fight against further nationalisation of medicine by the Labor Government, and (2) that the profession must oppose socialism—or else we may be enslaved as Hitler Germany.

It is remarkable and disturbing that statements so profoundly removed from reality can be made to the medical profession. Surely everyone knows that Germany was a capitalist State that Hitler was the representative of twenty millionaires and was, along with Goering and Goebbels, allowed to become a millionaire himself; that the land of Hitler Germany was owned preponderantly by the Junkers; that German business was still carried on for profit; in short, that collectivism had no place in Hitlerite Germany—and socialisation of medicine could not possibly exist there. Dale, perhaps, is deceived by the words National Socialism. Possibly he has not observed that political parties often cloak themselves with names that do not correspond to their reality. Yet he would not need to

leave Australia to make this observation. For example, the Liberal Party which is purely Tory and the Labor Party which is bourgeois liberal. Indeed Dale does not seem to be gifted with much talent for observation, or else he would know that collectivists do not set up an apparatus called the State to which the individual must be subservient. This was done by Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. These men in their writings and speeches affected to worship as mystic entities the German, Italian, and Japanese States respectively; to all, divine origin was ascribed. While in reality they developed the most powerful material states with an enormous bureaucracy, armed forces, courts, jails, torturers and executioners. These states enforced servile obedience to the commands of the monopoly capitalists and big landowners.

On the other hand, the collectivists, i.e., the Communists, do not idealise the State. They regard it, as our law schools do, as an earthly mortal organ of power directed against the external and internal enemies of the rulers. Therefore when socialism is universal, the State will no longer be necessary and will be relegated to the museums. Then and only then, the collectivists say, will man attain the fullest possible freedom, individually and collectively.

We agree with Dr. Dale that two philosophies are opposed in the world today. But this is nothing new. Idealism and materialism have been opposed for 2,000 years. Today Idealism is the philosophy of the reactionaries. Materialism is that of the progressives. Scientific medicine, like all science, is de facto materialist. Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo were Idealists. So, too, is Mr. R. G. Menzies. Dr. Dale expresses great fear of centralised power and bureaucracy. Is he not aware that monopoly capital is the consistent and persistent generator of bureaucracy and centralised power? However, he aims his blows at the collectivists who have shown in actual practice in the U.S.S.R. that socialism means local democracy which is not incompatible with central democratic authority—more, that socialism can only be achieved by the destruction of the tyrannic bureaucracy that Dale affects to hate.

Christian Science adopts the idealist approach to medicine. Dale comes very close to Christian Science in his address by stating that a wicked person cannot be well. This when America's pathologists have just declared Mussolini's body healthier than most of his age—and doctors continually see wicked people well by all medical criteria and good people rotten with disease. Here is another utterance of Dale: "May we be at length delivered from those who are sure they know what is good for other people." Quaint, isn't it? The good doctor evidently wishes to destroy the medical profession

—or do not doctors believe that they know what is good for other people?

"Only a people ethically prepared to do so can enter the promised land." By endorsing this statement of Sir Robert Erwing, Dr. Dale supports the Moral Rearmament racket sponsored by Dr. Buchman and Heydrich the foul gauleiter of Czechoslovakia. The usual inversion of the idealist. We must be good to be healthy and we must be good to have a sound political economy. The real truth is much more neatly expressed by saying that we must have a sound political economy in order to have in general a higher morality and sound health.

After introducing the absurd Douglas Credit phantasies about money, Dr. Dale concludes by appealing to the medical profession to stand firm against the "Planners." We hope that the medical profession will not be deceived by Dr. Dale's confused and reactionary utterance. We would urge the profession to examine politics in the same manner in which they examine their patients, i.e., scientifically.

If they do so they will discover that the Labor Government are reformists, not socialists. Thus reforms must be examined on their merits in this

## POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION

### Of The National Outlook

WILLIAM HATFIELD.

I MUST enter a plea for faithful reading of my article if criticism is to be levelled, as against the distortion resorted to by Joan Saxton in the September "Review."

This writer stresses my insistence on city dwellers learning at least something of the processes of agriculture at first hand as part of a normal education to a cry for "back to the land" and then accuses me of being fuddled by the theories of Rousseau and Henry George — "petty bourgeois theories which run contrary to Marxism." Marx never said anything about the "idiotcy of rural life," but spoke of industrialization ending the "idiotcy of the village" — a vastly different thing. Marxism is not a dogma, but a scientific approach to problems as they arise, which is what I insist on with regard to the problem of the land. In the same breath with which Miss Saxton attacks my pointing out our lopsided industrial development, she goes on to say that it has largely passed agriculture by, which is precisely my complaint, for I stress early in my resume of progress that the "search for better weapons" has been the greatest impulse in industrialization.

Normal critics, even reactionary critics in the capitalist press, pay me the compliment of at least being acquainted with my subject when I speak of

our capitalist state and a non-existent bogey must not be allowed to obscure an impartial view. They will also discover that the collectivists (the Communists) are staunch enemies of bureaucracy and firm supporters of democracy. On the great issue, the new world order, let us hope that, as in obstetrics, the profession will devote some attention to the study of the laws of delivery of this order, and help to make its delivery as painless and smooth as possible.

We, too, must draw our conclusions. They are simple and clear. This address reveals again to us the necessity of destroying the basic ideology of fascism. There can be no more important way of doing this than by the building of a Communist daily press. This is urgent today. Without the ideological confusion amongst the petit bourgeois so clearly evidenced by Dr. Dale's address, the fascists could never hope to achieve a mass basis. Now that we have saved our democracy from the foreign fascists, we must explain, explain and explain, as Lenin and the Bolsheviks did after the overthrow of the Tsar in 1917. Let us then think no sacrifice too great in our efforts to establish our press. Great trials confront the people and the dangers from misleaders and charlatans is truly enormous.

the land, the arch-reactionary in this country, the Sydney "Bulletin," conceding that "when Hatfield gets to the region of the Mitchell-grass plains he knows the country he is talking about," but this writer, after the narrow sectarian gibe about my "petty bourgeois" befuddlement, goes on to inform me, as though talking to a complete ignoramus, that "the country dweller is deprived of many cultural pursuits open to those in the cities, and also many technical advantages such as electricity and labor-saving devices connected with it, sewerage, running water, frequent postal services, and many others." The fact that there are books of mine still current, after years of reprinting, urging the introduction of these amenities to the rural areas, can be ignored by this critic, who seems bent on proving my ignorance and discounting my authority to speak on these and related subjects.

The slighting reference to "Hatfield's 'savages'" is a particular instance of this attempt to discredit. The sarcastic quotes definitely imply that I don't know what I mean when I speak of the savage. The critic goes on to inform me that "there was little possibility of hunting before the development of the bow and arrow!" This person with the Master of Arts degree, connoting some claim to be heard, can remain ignorant of the fact that the

savages of this continent have lived by hunting throughout the countless thousands of years since the disappearance of the Asiatic land bridge to this day without having seen a bow and arrow.

Further, an attempt is made to teach me history by the assertion that "the mariner's compass had its origin in the voyages of exploration made by the early merchants in their search for luxury goods from the east" — since the peak of the feudal period." One can attain to a Master of Arts degree, evidently, without having heard of the Arabs of the "wise iron" in their great voyages, including the circumnavigation of Africa, before feudalism became established, let alone reached its peak.

My article does not demonstrate a "horror of examinations," but only of the system of education which forces children of poor parents to pass them to secure an education which is the perquisite of children of the rich whether they can pass or not. Indeed, far from having a horror of examinations

## NEED TO REVISE WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY!

L. HARRY GOULD.

("Words are spoken to conceal thoughts."—Talleyrand).

LANGUAGE changes with social evolution. Man coins words to communicate thoughts and ideas. In the daily crucible of his experience and activities—in the home, at work, in politics—words are tested for their exactitude in conveying ideas, for the fidelity with which they describe feeling. Certain words never change; the meanings vested in them by early man survive the vast mutations of history. From primordial times to the present, these meanings have remained unaltered right through the different historical stages and the varied social developments and social catastrophes; they are indeed inalienable. Words marked with this "stamp of eternity" are, understandably enough, those denoting nature's phenomena, and hence are immediate to man, such as the parts or movements of the universe around him (sun, moon, tide, day, night), bodily organs and functions (hands, head to eat), biological divisions (man, woman, child, animal).

But the meanings of many words change, or go out of use altogether, some within extraordinarily short periods. Suffice it here to refer to any of the big standard dictionaries with their lengthy columns of words, once replete with vigor and life, now reduced to the category of obsolete or archaic.

The scientific Socialist, fighting for the new civilization, is continuously at grips with the problem of words and their meanings. His weapons of struggle are ideas, political programmes, transmitted to the masses by the oral or written word. Analysis of those words which are significant for the remaking of society is not a problem of philology; the essence of the problem is political, i.e., class. Select a group of words and terms com-

monly associated with the class struggle (democracy, law and order, defence of small nations, extremism, freedom, justice, pacification, illegality, etc.) and study the denotations given by Webster or any other authoritative work. One is immediately struck with the superficiality, the perversion of meaning, the unreality and the divorcement from verifiable fact. Sometimes, the definitions border on the ludicrous. But above everything else, the definitions are characterised by concealment of the real issues in contemporary class-divided society.

Are these defects deliberate? Yes, they are. An interesting example is to be found in that "fount of all knowledge and final arbiter of man's wisdom" — the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The article on atheism is written by a clergyman. The one on Bolshevism was supplied—guess by whom — by that most implacable enemy of Bolshevism theory and practice, Trotsky! Such are the standards of truth and scientific objectivity among the bourgeoisie.

The attempt to reduce my whole thesis to ridicule by condensing it to one potted gibe that "we began at the beginning," rebounds on the head of an ill-informed critic who yes-butts her way through those points of mine read honestly and conceded, when she winds up on the defeatist note that until we have the classless society we can never hope to get the education which will give us sufficient

sumption to establish it.

per se, I love them. I gained a scholarship, but my parents could not afford to support me while I availed myself of it, so I had to go to work at thirteen, and swot after working from eight in the morning till seven at night.

That is what this is all about.

And there need be none of the overpowering fears regarding an education obtained "within the framework of class society." Professor Haldane must have got his that way—as, come to think of it, must Marx and Engels, even Lenin and Stalin.

The attempt to reduce my whole thesis to ridicule by condensing it to one potted gibe that "we began at the beginning," rebounds on the head of an ill-informed critic who yes-butts her way through those points of mine read honestly and conceded, when she winds up on the defeatist note that until we have the classless society we can never hope to get the education which will give us sufficient sumption to establish it.

their later consummation—demand a corresponding advance in the method and practice of lexicography.

From a hundred examples that might be cited, take the words bureaucracy and bureaucrat. Webster defines the latter: "An official of a bureau; especially an official confirmed in a narrow and arbitrary routine; a member of a bureaucracy." Nothing more. This definition and the one of bureaucracy do possess a certain formal validity, one which the Marxist must comprehend. But it is only formal, or technical. Compare, now, with the Leninist explanation of the words, which un-

## PHILIPPINE PANORAMA

STAFF-SERGEANT A. KEESING.

### PART I

THE situation in which the Philippine Commonwealth finds itself today has no exact parallel anywhere in its history. Its historical development, though not markedly different from that of other colonial territories — indeed there are some striking similarities between the Philippines and Java, India and China — has proceeded along a rather strange course in that for half a century it has been tied to the wealthiest country in the world, and one that has two ideologies for export, political democracy and rugged individualism of the finance-capital variety.

It is necessary first to examine the impact of these forces by a rapid glance at past history; then to examine contemporary Filipino politics in the war's aftermath; and finally to assess the position of the Philippines in the world jigsaw.

The discovery of the islands by Magellan during his circumnavigation of the world in 1521 was the starting point of their modern history. The great sailor took possession in the name of the King of Spain of an archipelago of 7000 odd islands in which the majority of the population were of Malayan extraction, with minorities of indigenous Negritos and of some Chinese. Within the next half century Spain had completed the conquest, though not without considerable violence and bloodshed. This rule by violence continued to be a feature of Filipino society for the next three hundred years and more.

To facilitate their rule and the exploitation of the rich products of the country the Spaniards built an extensive road system, at the focus of which was established the walled city of Manila, from which a strongly centralised military government operated. Big estates were granted by the Spanish king to his most loyal soldiers and colonists, and these promptly introduced the feudal system of land tenancy in its entirety. In the 16th century this was the only recognised method of extracting the maximum profit from a recalcitrant native population. Nor did the Spaniards see fit

to cover the root of bureaucracy in the apparatus of administration needed by the exploiters in every State organ and government institution to serve their class interests against the exploited people.

Tallevrand's dictum quoted above is not just a clever sally, a bon-mot. Bourgeois pleas and declamations about cherishing everything "we" hold dear, preserving the sanctity of the home, administering justice and guarding truth, and the rest of the claptrap, merely express a principle of social conduct characteristic of every oppressing class in history.

to alter it for the whole period of their domination. The owners of these great landed estates sublet parts of them in minute parcels to the former Filipino owners who, in return, were required to surrender between 50% and 60% of their produce. The very considerable mineral wealth of the islands was left untapped while the production of secondary commodities was left to the village craftsmen or individual peasants.

The preachings and exhortations of the Catholic Church and its missionaries, although a powerful influence, did not fill the peasants' stomachs with bread. Poverty, land-hunger, and repression produced rebellion after rebellion in the 350 years of Spanish rule and gave birth to the powerful popular demand for independence still ingrained in the people. The struggle culminated in 1896 with a revolt on a national scale which almost released the Spanish grip. After two years of ineffectual attempts to suppress the revolutionaries Spain was forced, by her preoccupation in the Spanish-American War, to make a patched-up peace with her subjects and grant them considerable concessions. However, her defeat in the major war lost her this and most of her other colonies. The Philippines passed to American control in return for a payment to Spain of \$20,000,000 as compensation.

The new administrators were content to leave things very much as they found them, particularly in regard to the vital questions of land ownership and distribution. The former owners, Church and lay, continued in possession and the semi-feudal system was preserved. But the people were by no means content to exchange one colonial oppressor for another. The traditional struggle for independence, now sharpened and unified by partial success, was turned against the Americans. Only by pouring large bodies of troops into the islands were the Americans able to suppress fierce revolts and consolidate their control. For three years the country was under military government; not until

1901 was it possible to maintain control without overt violence. A progressive easing of restrictions and limitations began.

During this period many Filipino patriots were won away from their uncompromisingly militant stand on immediate national independence by the benefits received from several reforms (introduced by the new government) such as state education, public health facilities, hospitals, etc., and the introduction of a system of partly representative government which constituted a considerable advance on the Spanish regime. Filipinos were encouraged to qualify for administrative and professional posts and public works monies were made available for the development of Manila into a modern city.

Such a programme could hardly fail to impress a colonial people, more particularly those of them who had been enabled to rise from poverty into a comfortable middle class habitat. The desire for independence was just as strong as ever in the mass of the people, but there was a change in the character of the sentiments of those sections who became the partners of American capitalism. The Spanish landowners and the Catholic Church, proprietor of a third of the land, were also in on the deal. This was a period of shifting class forces. We shall see how American capital amalgamated with native proprietors and petit bourgeois professionals and administrators to take the revolutionary content out of the demand for independence.

The first native Filipino political organisation, the Nacionalista Party, had been, in the early days, a national revolutionary party of the masses. But in the brisk trade between the Philippines and the U.S.A., accelerated by the Free Trade Act, many of the party leaders had acquired big stakes. They dared not denounce independence. But they continued to play it down or divert the demand into other channels.

The progressive liberalisation of the administration which, by 1916, had evolved along American lines into a bicameral institution, with Filipinos in a majority in both houses, was partly responsible for obscuring the progress of events from the eyes of the ordinary citizen. He could see his own people in many important political and administrative positions, he could see fine buildings, new roads and bridges, school houses and a University, and irrigation works, all the product of the American regime. It was not so easy to see that the grip of U.S. finance capital was rapidly strengthening through the buying over of Filipino political leadership.

The Nacionalista Party was born, and emerged dominant in Filipino politics because of the fact that it was the most articulate champion of nationalism, the will of the people for independence. The popularity and rise to power of Quezon was rooted in this question of national independence. But in this question of national independence, and the development of US-Filipino trade and the increase in US finance capital investments brought

about economic changes and regroupings in Filipino society. The export industries, tobacco, sugar, copra, hemp, etc., developed a native bourgeoisie, comprador (merchant capital) in character, which amassed considerable wealth from the profits of this trade. On its side, American capital took in some sections of this bourgeoisie as partners of convenience or necessity. Leading members of the Nacionalista Party, mainly because they controlled the machinery of government, became the natural allies of finance capital; the partnership guaranteed legislation favourable to the exploitation of the labor and wealth of the Philippines in the interests of the U.S. and Filipino bourgeoisie. The dominant clique became deeply involved, agents of finance capital in the Government apparatus, guardians of vested interests. Thus U.S. finance capital became the real power in Filipino political life, with the Nacionalista Party as willing tools and running dogs.

The Spanish mestizos (landlords) and the Catholic Church also play a big part in economic life, through their ownership of great landed estates and a big share of the sugar industry. They are the most arrogant sections of reaction in the country and are well represented in the Government. Against the mass progressive movement these three, U.S. finance capital, the Church, and the Spanish proprietors, drew together, using the Nacionalista Party as their tool.

The change in the economic interests of the leading members of the Nacionalista Party also changed their political ideology. Separation from the U.S. would mean restriction of trade through tariff barriers and the collapse of the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie. Thus the real struggle waged by the Nacionalista Party became a fight against national emancipation. The divorce between real and ostensible aims became more acute as powerful American interests, whose products were subject to competition from Philippine imports, demanded complete independence for and the erection of full tariff barriers against the Philippines.

Partly on these lines, but also because of acute personal rivalry, there developed a rift between the two chief party leaders, Quezon and Osmena, from 1916 onwards. The former was in the stronger position by virtue of his position as Resident Commissioner to the U.S., but by 1923 a stalemate had developed. Osmena went to the elections with a new party, the Collectivista Party, having no basic political differences with the nationalists. However, neither party was able to gain a clear majority over the other plus the progressive elements, whom both sections were determined to keep out of power in any case. A patchwork compromise was worked out in which the opposing groups reunited within the Nacionalista Party. This incident is of importance today because of its bearing on the attitude of the mass movement to Osmena, now President.

Early in 1930, various organisations of the working class and peasantry began to appear. Due to the on-sided development of the economy of the country, in which all the emphasis was placed on the production of commercial crops and mineral ores for export with little or no attention to industrial development, the proletarian movement grew slowly, the main progressive strength being in the provincial peasant organisations. A few trade unions appeared and united in the Committee for Labor Organisation (C.L.O.) but the main field of labor was still in process of organisation at the outbreak of war.

In the provinces, however, a number of insurrections took place as a result of which Quezon in 1933 appointed a Fact Finding Survey. This body brought down a report which stated, inter alia: "... the average peasant does not enjoy his constitutional and inalienable civil and political rights. He cannot openly join associations nor participate openly in any movement organised for his betterment without courting the displeasure of the landowner and risking being deprived of the land he tills."

Nevertheless it was during this period that the basis was laid for several underground organisations, one of which subsequently became the now powerful Confederation of Peasants with more than 100,000 members in Central Luzon alone. And they provided the hard core of the resistance movements and guerrilla forces during the Jap occupation, just as today they provide the leading progressive opposition to the present collaborationist regime in Congress.

When the Japanese invasion occurred late in 1941, and MacArthur, in order to preserve the property of vested interests, allowed himself to be manoeuvred into an untenable position on Bataan rather than defend Manila (the city was a free gift to the Japs who had unrestricted use of all installations and facilities until 1945, when they dynamited them to prevent their use by the Americans), a large number of Nacionalista Party leaders, because of their long experience in collaborating with vested interests, found it easy to transfer their allegiance to Japanese fascist masters. They were made-to-order allies of Japan. Thus the Nacionalista Party produced some of the vilest traitors in Filipino history. Among these leaders were Laurel, Recto, Benigno, Yulo, Osias, Vargas and, most important of all because of his present role, Roxas. In view of the preposterous claims now being made by this Roxas of having been the "spiritual" generalissimo of the guerrillas, as well as his close association with MacArthur, whose support he is receiving in his present campaign to oust Osmena for the Presidency of the Philippines, we must examine his record in some detail.

In 1941 Roxas was already a powerful figure in politics. A leading attorney, owner of a chain of newspapers and large landed estates, he was a member of the directorate of about ten corporations,

and was the legal representative of Soriano, multi-millionaire and richest man in the Philippines. When organised resistance on Bataan and Corregidor came to an end and the American cause appeared hopeless Roxas quickly accommodated himself to the wishes of his new masters. He became chairman of the Economic Planning Board which gave him an ex-officio membership of the puppet cabinet. When the Japs asked this cabinet to declare war on America, Roxas gave vehement support and said: "If our allies (the Japanese!) want us to declare war, let us do so." To prove his bona fides he composed a letter to the guerrillas of Mindanao persuading them to lay down their arms and surrender. This letter was reproduced in thousands by the Japs and had the effect of hamstringing the patriotic movement in Mindanao. He then went on to join the committee set up to prepare a constitution for the puppet government and was one of the signatories to that constitution.

The Hukbalahap (People's Guerrilla Movement) in Luzon had been successful in persuading the provincial farmers and peasants against sending their rice production into Manila, where, on the pretext of feeding the people, it had been used by the Japs to supply their establishment. To counter this action, Roxas called a convention of ricegrowers and with the demagoguery of a would-be Hitler, made an emotional appeal, broadcast throughout the country, for the delivery of rice (July, 1944) just at the time when it was apparent to all that an American invasion was imminent. In that speech he attacked the guerrillas as 'bandits' whose aim was to starve the people, and was able to some extent to give a wedge between the guerrillas and the urban people. It may be claimed that many good patriots found it expedient to appear to collaborate with the Japs, the better to defend their people and defeat the enemy at the appropriate moment. But Roxas' associations with other reactionaries clearly disprove any such claims on his behalf, in particular his association with Soriano and Elizalde.

Racism has been one of the distinguishing features of the fascist mind and many a would-be fuhrer today has learnt nothing from the collapse of the Nazi and fascist scum. Here again Roxas betrays himself. A relatively small proportion of the Chinese population consists of merchants who control about 70% of wholesale trade and who share responsibility with the Army, Government and other agencies for the unrestricted black market which is impoverishing Filipino toilers. Roxas, notwithstanding his powerful position in the Government and influence with Army heads, has done nothing to combat the evil at its source, no doubt because the enormous take-offs are grist to his political mill. When the people complain, what is easier than to attack the Chinese, an alien race, as the cause of the people's privations? All of Roxas' journalistic mouthpieces are engaged in a

campaign against the Chinese based on the race issue.

Before the Jap invasion, Roxas had already shown his hand, his admiration for fascism. Along with Quezon he advocated a non-party government, on the same lines as the Japanese military fascist government, at the same time working to destroy the democratic organisations of the people by preventing their meetings and demonstrations.

This unsavoury background, collaboration with the enemy and admiration over a long period for fascist methods, made it necessary for reaction, after the liberation of the Philippines, to whitewash the name of Roxas and blot out the stigma of collaboration. The first step in this direction was taken by MacArthur, who gave him the rank of Brigadier-General. Soon afterwards he was chosen President of the Senate. When outraged public opinion attacked these actions, MacArthur did some fast work. He invited some non-fighting "guerrilla" leaders to a sumptuous banquet and, having dined and winned them well, got them to sign a prepared testimonial naming Roxas as the "spiritual" leader of the guerrilla movement.

It may be wondered to what degree MacArthur is implicated in this devilish intrigue to perpetuate fascism in the Philippines. When the 5-star general dramatically announced in 1942, "I will return!", did he have in mind his stockholdings in Avoje Chromite Co., Antamok Gold Mines, other mining interests in Palawan, his 50,000 pesos a year from

the Philippine Government, his palatial penthouse on top of the aristocratic Manila Hotel, board and rent free? At all events, his nomination of Soriano as his economic adviser, his powerful support for Roxas, and his activities in bringing terror and blackmail against the progressive movement are sufficient indictment of this self-styled hero of all Filipinos.

The third member of the evil triumvirate is Soriano, wealthiest individual in the Philippines and until 1941, when there was danger of his investments being frozen by the U.S. Government, a Spanish national. One of the biggest feudal landlords in the Philippines through his family holdings, he has controlling interests in most of the commercial and industrial enterprises in the country including mines, breweries, shipping and transportation, insurance and banking. During the Franco rebellion in Spain Soriano became Franco's honorary consul, and personally contributed 500,000 pesos to the rebel cause, besides organising the collection of 16,000,000 pesos. For these services Franco decorated him with the Grand Medal of Naval Merit. He was one of the principal organisers and leaders of the Spanish Falange, a fascist organisation with a powerful propaganda machine, in close relations with the Japanese government. When asked if he was a fascist, he replied: "I am accused by some of my friends of not being one."

(To be continued)

## SCIENCE AND THE FOUNDERS OF MARXISM

ARTHUR W. RUDKIN, B.Sc.

CRITICISING the followers of John Dewey's school of "Naturalistic Philosophy," a writer in the English scientific magazine "Nature" sums up their attitude thus: "Science is fashionable; therefore let us call our opinions on any subject scientific and stop thinking."

Such a jibe could not be levelled with justice against the founders of Marxism, but there are probably many people in the Party who, though they are aware that Marxism is called scientific Socialism, would quickly find themselves out of their depth if challenged by a non-Party scientist to explain just why Marxism is more scientific than any other kind of Socialism.

Marxism claims to be scientific, not merely because it happens to be possible to find some facts in natural science which tend to support it, nor even primarily because there are no facts in natural science which are incompatible with it. Marxism is scientific because it is the result of the application of scientific methods of investigation, analysis and confirmation to scientifically observed facts of politics, economics and history.

The interest of Marx and Engels in natural science and scientific method was not incidental

or accidental. As early as 1843—four years before the publication of the Communist Manifesto—we find Engels, in a letter to Marx, criticising the economists of the day for their failure to recognise the importance of the influence of scientific discovery on the development of the means of production. Two of Engels' best-known works, *Anti-Dühring* and *Ludwig Feuerbach*, are devoted to criticism of false theories based on misinterpretations of scientific discoveries put forward by contemporary Socialists: Engels also combated pseudo-Darwinism, which sought to justify capitalism and wars of conquest by distorted biological theories, and the tendency of some scientists to convert Newton's discoveries into a dogma, and many other false ideas among scientists, which were proving obstacles to both social and scientific progress. During the last thirty years or so of his life, Engels devoted much time and thought to collecting notes for a book he hoped to publish, under the title *Dialectics of Nature*, which was to show that the scientific principles of dialectical materialism were just as valid in the physical and biological as in the social sciences. Unfortunately Engels did not live long enough to complete the work, and at his death his notes fell into the hands of the notorious

German revisionist, Bernstein, who kept the manuscript hidden away for about thirty years before he even thought of raising the question of publishing it. It was first published by the Marx-Lenin Institute in Moscow—an interesting example of the contrast between the attitudes of Marxism and of revisionism towards science.

Engels, usually in collaboration with Marx, made important original contributions to the science of anthropology, especially in his famous work called *Origin of the Family*, which is recognised even by many bourgeois anthropologists as essential reading for students of pre-history.

The science of history, of course, was founded by Marx and Engels. All previous writers had either adopted a mystical attitude towards history, or treated it as a mere succession of disconnected accidents. It was left to Marx and Engels to discover the natural laws, the chain of cause and effect behind the seeming accidents of history, and so for the first time to enable man to understand his past, and, on the basis of that understanding, to predict and control in some measure the future development of human society.

So we see that there was a twofold basis for the keen interest of Marx and Engels in science: (1) The influence of scientific discovery on the development of productive technique and hence on social evolution, and the reciprocal influence of this development on the progress of science; and (2) the importance of scientific theory as a basis for a scientific philosophy and hence for correct social theory; and, arising out of this, the need to combat false theories based on false interpretations of science.

Lenin's theories on the State and on revolutionary tactics were a further elaboration, in the light of scientific analysis of later experience, of the scientific theories of Marx and Engels. Like Engels, Lenin recognised the need to combat false theories scientifically. For instance, he realised that not only narrow practical but also fundamental theoretical problems were raised by the new situation brought about by the defeat of the 1905 revolution, and in the years of the counter-revolution devoted much time and energy to analysis and criticism of idealist interpretations of recent discoveries in physics, which had penetrated the ranks of the Russian Labor movement through the writings of Bogdanov, Lunachersky and other inconsistent Socialist intellectuals. The result was his famous work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, which did for the science of his day what Engels had sought to do for the science of an earlier period in his *Dialectics of Nature*.

Today, despite the fact that recent advances in atomic physics (wave mechanics and quantum theory) and in cosmology (relativity) can only be understood in the light of dialectical materialism, and in some respects actually confirm predictions made by Engels over half a century ago about probable future developments in science, we find people like Jeans using them as a basis for reac-

tionary idealist theories. Even the pseudo-Darwinians still take forward occasionally with their mock-scientific chatter about the virtues of unrestrained competition and the biological necessity of war, despite the terrific blows dealt their theories by the discoveries of men like Fisher and Haldane. Whilst it is not necessary or possible for every Communist to be an expert on atomic physics, relativity and genetics, it is possible and desirable for most active Communists to know at least enough science to be able to combat pseudo-scientific theories when they penetrate the ranks of the Labor movement.

Marx and Engels showed how social relations, from being forms of development of productive forces, become fetters on their further development. Lenin and his co-workers showed how and why in the epoch of Imperialism one manifestation of this tendency is the phenomenon now usually referred to as the frustration of science. Great capitalist monopolies hold up scientific development by preventing free interchange of information among groups of research workers in closely related fields; they often buy up patents and deliberately use them to prevent the full application of science to industry. Various estimates have been made of the standard of living that present-day technique makes possible. One estimate (probably exaggerated) puts it at the equivalent of £200,000 a year at present prices for every family; the most conservative estimate puts it at £2,000 a year for every family throughout the world. This refers only to what could be achieved by the universal application of techniques already in use in the most up-to-date sectors of industry; one can only guess at the magnitude of the further advance that could be achieved by the application of techniques already discovered but never applied, or of the still more stupendous advances that could be made in the near future if the development of research were freed from capitalist fetters.

Medical scientists know that, given a free hand, they could, in a matter of a few years or even months, completely wipe out some of the most dangerous infectious diseases, such as diphtheria and malaria; within a generation they could stamp out the venereal diseases and reduce the incidence of tuberculosis, cancer and the rheumatic diseases to a small fraction of today's figures. The chief obstacle under capitalism is that it is not possible to issue shares in the venture and declare a dividend at the end of the year.

It is obvious that such facts have enormous propaganda value, both among scientists and among the people generally, provided we are able to explain them intelligently and not merely announce them dogmatically.

Coming to the post-revolutionary writings of Lenin, Stalin and other Soviet leaders, we see that under the proletarian dictatorship, in the period of Socialist construction, technology becomes of decisive importance. We remember Lenin's slogan, "Soviets plus electricity equals Socialism," and the

slogan of the first Five-Year Plan: "Bolsheviks must master technique."

Most technologists in pre-revolutionary Russia were counter-revolutionary. This made it possible for enemies of the revolution to obtain highly responsible posts in vital sectors of the national economy, and caused enormous difficulties in the early stages of Socialist construction, until the U.S.S.R. was able to train its own proletarian technologists. In Australia the possibility exists to by-pass this stage. Since Lenin's time the frustration of science has become more open and more intense, and is bringing scientific workers more and more into conflict with the ruling class. The economic and educational gulf between professional scientists and

proletarians is not as deep in Australia as it was in Czarist Russia, so that the task of winning over large numbers of scientists and technicians to the labor movement, or at least overcoming their active hostility, should be much easier for us than it was for the Russian Bolsheviks.

Hence we see that science is vital to an understanding of the laws of development of human society, as a means of winning over the people to help hasten the transformation from capitalism to Socialism, and finally to build Socialism after the working class has seized power. Anyone who in the face of this can claim that science is only a side-issue for Communists might also claim that Communism itself is only a side-issue for us!

## SIDELIGHTS ON ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

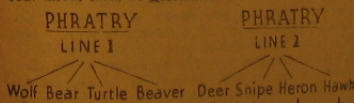
CAPT. A. H. JOLLY

PART VI

### The Origin of Gentle Society.

In northern Queensland, according to Mrs. Caroline Kelly, besides the Matrilineal Lineages which alternate from generation to generation there is another factor, totem, which does not alternate. Thus a Green woman of Emu totem would give rise to a White offspring also of Emu totem, and a White woman of Emu totem would give rise to a Green offspring of Emu totem.

Once all main taboos have been eliminated the stage is set for gentle society. If the economy of the tribe improved to such an extent that they could live in a primitive communal village and cease a semi-nomadic existence, then the need for lineage society has vanished and the direct descent through the new totem becomes the order of the day. We would then have two matrilineal lines each with four direct lines of descent thus:



and this is exactly what we find in the Seneca tribe of the American Indians and of course in other Indian tribes. Further, according to Cunow these Indian tribes still have relics of the old alternating lineages and prohibitions of marriages.

If we consider each old matrilineal line as a phratry, then we have a logical explanation of this institution which up till now has been shrouded in mystery. The totems become the gens or clan. The gens in one phratry consider themselves brother gens, and those of the other phratry as cousin gens exactly as we would expect from lineage society.

Marriage is prohibited within the phratry and the gens is strictly exogamous. Taboos are present as relics of the past and the only possible type of marriage is with a very distant relative outside phratry and gens. Again we see a logical explanation of development from lineage society, for the exogamy of the phratry and the gens which would otherwise be unnecessary.

Gentle society ushers in a new social freedom and with it a new impetus to communal economy, where men and women could work together as a whole tribe and as a federation of tribes, where the mill stone of social restrictions was cast aside and remained only as an inconvenient relic. With gentle society came agriculture and the domestication of animals, quite impossible in the nomadic organisation of lineage society where the village was an impossibility with the strict avoidances that had to be observed.

Two conditions were necessary for the formation of gentle society.

1. Enough natural game and fruits etc., for the society to congregate in a village and cease their nomadic existence, with the necessary technical advancement.

2. Animals and plants which could be domesticated.

Conclusions. It is now possible to give a sociological table for human society.

Epoch 1. General promiscuity with the introduction of taboos leading to the consequent family and group marriage.

Epoch 2. Lineage Society and the elimination of taboos.

Epoch 3. Gentle Society.

Epoch 4. Civilisation and Class Society.

Epoch 5. Civilisation and Socialist Society.

## BOOK REVIEW

## China's New Democracy (Mao Tse Tung)

JOYCE METCALF

NOW that Japanese imperialism and its dreams of a colonial China have been shattered, and in China itself the most reactionary section of the Chinese bourgeoisie have been forced to desist from their insane policy of civil war against the Communist armies and the people of the Communist-led territories, the questions arise—What sort of a society does the developing Chinese revolution now demand? What are the aims and the policy around which the great Communist Party of China must rally and unite the people to ensure the advance of the revolution?

The answers to such questions are given by Mao Tse Tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, in an article written in 1941. This article, a masterpiece of Marxist analysis and application of Marxist historical method, applies not only to China but to other semi-colonial and colonial countries today.

China, semi-feudal, semi-colonial, and colonial, says Mao Tse Tung, cannot proceed to the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship similar to that prevailing in European countries and America. Nor can it press on immediately to the achievement of the socialist revolution. "The present task of China's revolution is the task of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, before the accomplishment of which it is empty verbiage to talk about the realisation of Socialism."

The present task and first step in the Chinese Revolution is the establishment of the New Democracy, of the New Democratic Republic of China, of a "national polity for a certain historical period, transitional in character but a form indispensable and unalterable." What this New Democracy is—its politics, economy and culture—how it is a necessary development and stage in the whole process of the Chinese revolution, and how the struggle for it is a part, and a magnificent part of the world socialist revolution, are the main themes of Mao Tse Tung's discourse.

He shows how, since the Opium Wars of 1840, China's bourgeois democratic revolution has been proceeding and the country turning from a feudal country into a semi-feudal, semi-colonial and colonial country. Till the first imperialist world war and the Russian October Revolution, China's bourgeois democratic revolution had characteristics similar to those bourgeois democratic revolutions in Europe which were to smash feudalism and clear the way for the domination of the various national bourgeoisies. But the rising Chinese capitalist class had also the task of opposing imperialism and

establishing an independent bourgeois-democratic society.

After the October Revolution the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries changed their character. With the whole world now in the epoch of the proletarian socialist revolution, when the capitalist world cannot go on without relying more than ever on the colonies and semi-colonies; when the socialist state has been established and declares its willingness to assist the struggle of the liberation movements of all the colonies and semi-colonies . . . at such a time any revolution of the colonies and semi-colonies against imperialism or international capitalism becomes a part of the new, world revolution—the proletarian-socialist revolution, and its struggling peoples become allies with the socialist and international proletariat in the front of the world socialist revolution.

Thus, although the first stage of China's revolution is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic and its objective demands are to clear the obstacles in the way of the development of capitalism, this kind of revolution is no longer the old type led solely by the bourgeois class aiming merely at the establishment of a capitalist society, but a new type led wholly or partially by the proletariat and aiming at the establishment of a new democratic society or a country ruled by the alliance of several revolutionary classes in its first stage.

China's bourgeois-democratic revolution is not yet consummated nor can the Chinese bourgeoisie themselves solve its fundamental tasks and problems. "Being the bourgeoisie of a colonial and semi-colonial country it is extremely weak politically and economically and exhibits the characteristic of compromise with the enemy of the revolution. Even in the process of revolution the Chinese bourgeoisie is never willing to break with the imperialists completely; and being closely associated with rural land exploitation it is also not willing and is unable to overthrow imperialism and feudalism thoroughly."

For ten years the Chinese bourgeoisie, represented by Chiang Kai Shek, waged bloody, ruthless warfare against the revolutionary people led by the Communist Party. During the latter years of the war against fascism, it became more and more apparent that this powerful section, in fear of the people, were increasingly ready to surrender to the Japanese imperialists and increasingly concerned with fighting the Communist armies rather than opposing the invader. The only people who

today can lead the Chinese people to overthrow feudalism and imperialism are the proletariat, the peasants, intelligentsia and other petty-bourgeois elements, with the main responsibility on the shoulders of the proletariat and its revolutionary party. These are the basic forces that determine the destiny of the country, and "without the guidance of communism even the democratic revolution of China cannot be a success, let alone the final stage of the revolution."

China cannot go the road of a capitalist society ruled by the bourgeoisie, says Mao Tse Tung, because this is not permitted by international capitalism or imperialism; nor is it permitted by socialism since in the struggle for independence against imperialism China cannot be separated from the Socialist state nor from the aid of the international proletariat. The Democratic Republic at which the Chinese people are aiming can only be ruled by an alliance of all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people, by several anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people, by several anti-imperialist classes jointly. It must have a governmental polity of democratic centralisation. Such a government of democratic centralisation can be a system of peoples' congresses of various grades from the national congress down to the village congress, based on genuine, universal election.

As for the economy of the New Democracy, it must rest on the principle of restriction of capital. China's economy is still in a very backward state. There can be no confiscation of private property nor restriction of small capitalist production. But

capitalist production which "can manipulate the life of the people" must certainly be restricted by means of nationalisation of all enterprises, foreign or Chinese, "which possess a monopoly character," such as banks, railways, aviation, etc. Further, the New Economy will be based on Dr. Sun Yat Sen's slogan of "Land to those who till it," which means confiscation of big land holdings—not a socialist agriculture but the land turned into private property of the peasants. Restriction of capital and equalisation of land rights is the basis of the New Economy.

Eighty per cent. of China's population are peasants, says Mao Tse Tung. The fundamental problem of China's revolution, as of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, is the problem of the peasantry; the main force of the revolution is that of the peasantry. The war of resistance against Japanese imperialism was fundamentally of the peasantry. Next to the peasantry the working people rank second in number. Without them China cannot exist because they are the producers of China's industrial economy. Without them China's revolution cannot succeed because they are the most revolutionary elements of the population and led by the revolutionary Party, the Communist Party.

"The mast of the Ship New China is appearing on the horizon," he concludes. "We should clap our hands to welcome it."

"Raise both your hands. The New China is ours."

## SEAWEEED YARN

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

DURING the war a new branch of the textile industry has come into being, based on a raw material which we can get in our own country without using a square foot of land which could have produced food. The whole process was secret until recently, and many details are still secret. But the Labor movement should know something of the facts, in order that this invention should be used in the interests of the public, not in those of a few rich men.

The raw material is a slimy stuff called algin, which forms up to 40 per cent. of the dry weight of some of the commoner seaweeds. It is chemically related to starch and cellulose, and seems to act both as a food reserve, like starch in a potato, and also as a structural constituent, like the lignin of wood. Algin is the calcium salt of an acid called alginic acid, and the free acid or the salts of other metals can easily be made from it.

Before the way it had been used to some extent as a glaze for fabrics, as a "deodoriser" for explosives, and to mix with rubber in the manufacture of waterproof materials. It has now been found

that it can be spun into threads by much the same methods as are used in the rayon industry. These methods were largely devised by Professor Speakman, of the Textile Chemistry Laboratory, Leeds University, and he has recently described them in "Nature."

A sticky solution of sodium alginate is forced out through a spinnerette into a bath of acidified calcium chloride solution, containing a little oil emulsion, which prevents the fibres from sticking together. The yarn produced is a little tougher than cellulose acetate or viscose rayon. It has, however, the very serious defect that it is easily destroyed, not only by strong alkalis, but by soap. It is therefore useless for ordinary domestic purposes. But it is excellent for making materials which do not have to be washed. It proved useful during the war for various purposes.

The yarn can be made alkali resistant by treatment with solutions of chromium or barium salts, by soaking in a solution of formaldehyde, or, better, by a combination of these methods. The



product is said to be cheap, tough, elastic, and suitable for weaving or knitting. It can also be dyed satisfactorily.

But beryllium is expensive, and both chromium compounds and formaldehyde attack the skin, while formaldehyde (formalin) also irritates the eyes and respiratory passages. "It is remarkable," wrote Legge in 1932, "how acclimatised workpeople support atmospheres, vitiated with formaldehyde vapour, which a newcomer finds unbearable." But men and women should not be called on to support such atmospheres when they can be avoided by a proper ventilating system. It is essential that the trade unions concerned should see that what may be an important new industry starts with every possible safeguard to the workers' health.

All these safeguards may have been taken already. I hope they have. But if they have not, it is very important that conditions which may be justifiable in war should not be regarded as normal in peace.

The untreated calcium alginate yarn is easily dissolved by carbonate of soda. Several patents take advantage of this property. For a cloth can be woven of a mixture of the soluble rayon and some other fibre, and then dipped in alkali, leaving the second fibre behind. For example, a yarn can be made from alkali-soluble rayon and mohair in such a way that the mohair is coiled round the rayon in a spiral. When a cloth woven from this composite yarn is dipped in alkali, the loose mohair fibres form loops on the surface of the cloth, giving an effect for which ladies will doubtless pay extra, though I find it hard to believe that the stuff will wear as well as ordinary cloth.

I have kept to the last the greatest advantage of these new rayons. They are totally non-inflammable. This is partly because they contain

a lot of mineral matter, partly because they take up a great deal more water, as compared with wool, from a damp atmosphere. It is this property, along with their ease of production, which has made them so useful in war. It is also a most desirable character in peace, particularly for use in nurseries.

Will these new textiles be fully used? I don't pretend to know. If we go back to monopolistic restrictions in peace-time, they certainly won't. On the other hand, if they are developed to the full, they may give our textile trade the change of a fresh start after the war, a start on a British invention, wholly made from British materials.

In this case it will be very important to regulate the harvesting of seaweed. At present anyone can do it. If it is done indiscriminately, it will be done uneconomically, and this may also spoil our inshore fisheries, and the scenery of our coasts. In fact, a Labor Government could see that these discoveries formed the basis of a flourishing new industry, without ruining the health of workers or the amenities of the seaside. A Tory Government will no more do these things than it has stopped speculation in land and building materials at the expense of the homeless.

By the way, the whole invention is an excellent example of planned research, carried out by Speakman, Chamberlain, Astbury and others at Leeds.

It has incidentally led to an analysis of the fibre structure which will be of considerable value for the study of immunity, and perhaps for that of muscle contraction.

If we are to get off the mark in peacetime, we need more planned research of this kind, but above all the national planning which will allow it to be used in the public interest.

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