

56

COMMUNIST REVIEW

Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission through the post as a periodical.

January, 1939

Kembla Iron Not For Japan

SIXPENCE



S
335.4
C73R

COMMUNIST REVIEW

A Monthly Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Len.

EDITOR: R. DIXON

Associate Editors: E. W. Campbell, G. Baracchi.

Room 2, 193 Hay Street, Sydney.

Vol. VI., No. 1

Sydney, January, 1939

5/-

Contents

THE NEWS REVIEWED	E. W. Campbell	1
A FREE AND HAPPY LIFE	J. D. Blake	8
LENIN'S LAST TEACHING ON WAR		14
PAGES FROM THE PAST	J. N. Rawling	17
MUSIC AND CLASS STRUGGLE	(Concluded) Sid Kelly	22
CONGRESS FOR PEOPLE'S FRONT	L. Sharkey	23
STAND UP TO IT (Story)	Alan Marshall	29
INCREASING PRESSURE (Cartoon)		32
RULING CLASS, WORKING CLASS, AND DEFENCE OF AUSTRALIA	L. Harry Gould	33
CONTROVERSY (40-Hour Week in Tas- mania)	W. Morrow	38
"WORKERS, BEWARE!" (Play)	Betty Roland	39
NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST	Gordon Grant	43
TO SPAIN (Poem)	Bob Lambert	46
MILESTONES IN HISTORY (Victims of Reformist Betrayal)		47
AUSTRALIAN "LEFT NEWS"		48
NEW GUINEA, THEN AUSTRALIA	J. B. Miles	49
FAMILIAR PICTURE	Mikhail Koltzov	54
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM	R. Dixon	56
LIEBKNECHT AND LUXEMBURG (Ex- tracts From Their Writings)		60
A LUXEMBURG (Poem)		64

THE NEWS REVIEWED

NO IRON FOR JAPAN

THE action of the Pt. Kembla waterside workers in refusing to load pig iron for Japan is in keeping with the best traditions of Australian democracy.

It is, in addition, in complete accord with the principles of international law, which lays it down that no materials of war should be supplied to an aggressor nation.

There is no disputing the fact that Japan is acting as the unprovoked and brutal aggressor in China today.

This much was reaffirmed at a recent meeting of the League of Nations. The League Council, in consequence, called upon member States to apply appropriate measures to restrain Japan.

Australia is a member State of the League of Nations. Leading Cabinet Ministers have oft repeated the government's adherence to League principles.

In fact, one of the main catches of the present government in the last election campaign was its claim to stand by collective security.

From all this it would have been expected that the Australian government would have been to the forefront in responding to the call of the League to apply economic sanctions against Japan.

More so in view of the ever grow-

ing menace to Australia's own national security which is offered by the unchecked advance of Japanese aggression.

But no. The Australian government, in spite of all its talk about defending this country's independence, never lifted a finger in the cause of peace.

It has been left to the waterside workers of Pt. Kembla to give a lead to the nation in this direction.

Their courageous stand has been acclaimed by democrats and peace-lovers from one end of Australia to the other.

Even Mr. Lyons has admitted that, as individuals, most people would agree with the principle of refusing to send war material to a country which was waging war on another.

And yet Mr. Lyons and his Cabinet leave no stone unturned in the frantic endeavor to bludgeon the waterside workers into loading war material for Japan.

Justification for this reactionary attitude is sought in the plea that a matter of government policy is involved.

It might be asked at this stage what is the government's policy?

Some short time ago the Lyons government placed an embargo upon the export of iron ore to Japan.

It did so on the grounds that ex-

pert investigations had revealed a visible shortage in iron ore resources to meet Australian needs.

No one can accuse the "Sydney Morning Herald" of being sympathetic to the labor movement, and yet this conservative paper, in commenting on this aspect of the matter, states:

"If this stand were correctly taken (i.e. the placing of the embargo on iron ore) why, it may be asked, should not the concentrated raw material in the form of pig iron be equally conserved for home requirements?"

The same pertinent question will be on the lips of thousands of Australian people. But the Lyons government will only be running true to form if it evades giving any answer.

But we know the answer.

The truth is that the Lyons Ministry is guilty of the crime for which it seeks to accuse the Pt. Kembla watersiders.

Lyons and Co. have not dared to base their case upon the real issues at stake, namely, whether or not war material shall continue to be shifted from this country to aid aggressor nations.

They know full well that to do so would foredoom them to defeat.

Instead they seek refuge in the claim that irrespective of whether the waterside workers are right or wrong in their views of what the international policy of Australia should be, they are wrong in acting as they have.

The vital point at issue, they say, is whether that policy is to be

determined by the duly constituted government or by some industrial section.

Menzies, in his telegram threatening the application of the iniquitous licensing system, declared, "that in a matter that concerns international relations the government cannot submit to dictation by a section of the people and is determined to enforce its authority."

Can Mr. Menzies, or any of the Cabinet Ministers deny, however, that the government's policy is being dictated by a section of the community? Is being dictated by the most reactionary, most ruthless and greedy profit making interests connected with the B.H.P.?

They cannot. How else to explain the apparent contradiction of policy which bans the export of iron ore but encourages the export of pig iron.

There is no difference in the use to which both materials might be put. Pig iron is merely iron ore in another form. It is iron ore which has been processed.

And the firm which carries out this processing is the wealthy B.H.P.

By placing an embargo on iron ore exports and exempting pig iron from the ban, the way is opened up for Australia's "upper ten" to participate in the looting of China by Japan.

Lyons is filling the role of a modern Judas Iscariot.

Judas betrayed his Master for the sake of 30 pieces of silver.

Lyons is prepared to betray the people of Australia for the sake of

the profits which the B.H.P. will gain from the export of 30,000 tons of pig iron to Japan.

It has been further revealed during this struggle that even the ban on iron ore exports is only partial. It only applies to Yampi Sound deposits, with which certain British and Japanese interests were connected.

The B.H.P. is still exporting iron ore from Wyallda in South Australia.

The Commonwealth government must not be allowed to get away with its attack upon the waterside workers.

Human life and liberty are more sacred than profits.

The pig iron lying on the wharf at Pt. Kembla must never be allowed to reach Japan, to be used in the

manufacture of guns to shoot down the defenders of China's freedom, bombs to be rained down upon defenceless women and children.

It can be put to far, far better use here in Australia. It can be made into steel by Australian workmen and used in the construction of dwellings, schools, hospitals and other public undertakings.

It must be clearly demonstrated to the Lyons government that this is the will, not of a narrow industrial section of the community, as he claims, but of the overwhelming majority of the Australia people.

Resolutions, letters, and telegrams should continue to rain upon Canberra, upholding the attitude of the waterside workers and condemning the stand taken by the government.

• FORWARD AUSTRALIA •

THE 12th National Congress of the Communist Party took place in Sydney on November 18, 19, 20.

The major decision of the Congress was to launch an Australian People's Front Movement.

What is the People's Front?

In the words of the Congress Resolution it is described as an alliance between working class organisations, farmers and the middle class—a democratic alliance against reaction.

Does the history of Australia offer any precedent for the formation of such a movement?

Undoubtedly it does.

In fact the most glorious pages in our history have been written as the result of democratic movements

of the masses against reaction.

Let us revert to 1840 and the struggle against transportation.

The spearhead of reaction then was represented by the British government which aimed at retaining this country as a receptacle for convicts.

They were supported in this aim by the then dominant class in the colony—the big squatters, who wanted convictism continued because it provided a source of cheap labor.

It was the movement of the masses, the small businessmen, the free settlers and the working men, which ended transportation.

It was mainly due to the effort of these sections of the community

that attempts to resume transportation after 1840 were frustrated.

The Australasian League, founded to lead the struggle against transportation, was a form of People's Front movement suited to the tasks and conditions confronting democracy at that period in our history.

Let us move on to 1848 and the struggle for self-government.

Reaction was still represented by the British government, whose plans would have stifled the free development of this country and kept its economy and people subservient to the interests of British capitalism.

In 1848 Lord Grey, on behalf of the British Cabinet, made certain proposals for a colonial constitution which were extremely undemocratic.

Again, what may well be described as a People's Front arose to defeat his designs.

Historical records show that all classes in the community were represented at the meetings of protest against Grey's reactionary proposals.

Landowners, lawyers, farmers, graziers, merchants, mechanics and laborers attended these meetings in their thousands to voice their demand for self-government—their demand for freedom to determine for themselves how and by whom they should be governed.

Once again the democratic alliance carried the day.

The Act of the British Parliament in 1850 conferred the right of self-government upon the colony and left it to the colonists to work out their own constitution.

Then it was that the class divisions, that had been evident in the struggle against transportation, again came to the forefront in the colony.

The wealthy squatters wanted a constitution which would confine power in their own hands. There was even talk of founding a colonial peerage and establishing an Australian House of Lords.

Still once more the mass of the people took a hand in things.

In 1854 a glorious chapter was added to our history by the Eureka Stockade.

Eureka, it is true, was not responsible for Australia obtaining self-government. But we can certainly thank it for the fact that the Constitution of 1855 was as democratic as it was. We can thank it for the fact that the main points of the People's Charter were realised in this country long before they were in Britain where the Charter originated.

It is important to recall what Karl Marx had to say about Eureka.

"We must discriminate between the riot in Ballarat and the general revolutionary movement in the colony. The former has probably been suppressed by now. The latter can only be ended as a result of considerable concessions. The former is only a symptom, a concrete manifestation of the latter."

And this, as history bears out, is precisely what happened. The revolt of the diggers was forcibly suppressed, but many of their poli-

tical demands were later embodied in the Constitution.

Continuing his analysis, Marx stated:

"The revolutionary movement in Victoria arises from the following important circumstances.

"The gold prospectors demanded the abolition of licences, i.e., the abolition of a direct tax on labor; secondly, they insisted in the abolition of property qualifications for members of parliament and in this way they would themselves receive the right to control taxes and legislation.

"It is not difficult to notice that these in reality are the same reasons which led to the declaration of independence of the United States of America, but with this difference, that in Australia the opposition against the monopolists united with the colonial bureaucrats arises from the workers."

The significance which Marx attaches to the leading role of the workers is important when we regard the Congress resolutions.

All through the latter we find the insistence upon a united labor movement becoming the central core and driving force in the People's Front.

If we take a great leap from Eureka in 1854 to the war and 1916 we will find another example of an Australian People's Front in the great anti-conscription struggle.

The spearhead of reaction is still represented by the British government, which is now imperialistic. The old period of free competition and "peaceful" expansion of capi-

talism has given way to the epoch of imperialism—of monopoly, sharp clashes and decline.

British imperialism received much stronger support from the "colonial bureaucracy" in 1914 than it did even in 1854.

The Australian capitalists were finding their legs, this country was dragged into the world war in the wake of British imperialism.

Australian democracy did not discover the strength within itself to struggle against the reactionary war as a whole.

Only the revolutionary section of the working class took up the struggle from this angle.

However, Australian Democracy did wage a valiant and successful fight against one of the war's reactionary phases—conscription.

The No Conscription League which was set up in 1916 was a form of People's Front movement suited to the conditions and tasks of the struggle against reaction's plan to foist conscription upon this country.

All sincere opponents of conscription sank their differences on other questions and united with the common aim of achieving a "No" vote.

Again it was the working class which formed the backbone of the movement, and its revolutionary wing of that time, the I.W.W., which waged the most consistent and courageous struggle.

It was no easy task to achieve unity then. The Rightwing elements in the camp of Labor had to be fought.

But they were fought and van-

quished. The democratic alliance carried the day.

Thus, when we look back upon our own history, we see how time and again the united people have triumphed over the forces of reaction.

In 1840, it was transportation, the British government and the squatters which the democratic alliance had to fight. It won.

In 1848, it was Lord Grey's reactionary Constitution. Again a victory for democracy.

In 1854, it was the licensing system and the tyranny of the British governor supported by the colonial bureaucracy which democracy was forced to challenge. Again victory came its way.

• LYONS MUST RESIGN •

LYONS must resign. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the result of the Wakefield (South Australia) by-election.

Butler, erstwhile leader of the South Australian Parliament, resigned his seat in the State House to contest this issue on a programme supporting the Lyons-Page administration.

His defeat at the hands of Labor candidate McHugh, must be taken as a decisive vote of no-confidence in that government.

Attempts are being made in some quarters to trace the reasons for this setback to local causes.

There is no doubt of Butler's unpopularity in his own State.

His party was given a terrific

In 1916, conscription. Again the British government and its allies in Australia, led by Hughes, represented the spearhead of reaction. But again the people's movement triumphed.

In 1938, it is Chamberlain and Lyons who represent the chief forces of reaction. The major evils to be fought being war and fascism.

Having due regard to our past we can have every confidence that the people will respond to the needs of the situation.

We can be confident that a united, strong, and virile labor movement, acting in alliance with the farmers and middle class, will arise and once again achieve victory over the whole system of poverty, reaction and war.

thrashing by the independents in the recent State elections.

It has anything but a secure grip upon the reins of office.

In fact the resultant jolt from Butler's defeat may prove sufficient to jerk them from its hands.

However, the disfavour in which Butler is held in his own State is not enough to explain away the loss of Wakefield.

The Wakefield seat has always been regarded as a safe U.A.P. stronghold. It was only a short 12 months ago that it was held by the Lyons government by a majority of 14,000.

The landslide to Labor, therefore, places the final stamp of public dis-

approval upon the government's policy.

There is, in fact, every sign that the rising tide of opposition to the Lyons government is nearing its highest level and will soon engulf it in defeat.

Whilst Wakefield is a happy augury for the New Year, foreshadowing as it does the early demise of Lyons and Co., we should not be too sanguine.

Lyons in the past has shown great tenacity in clinging to the government benches. He cannot be expected to go quietly on this occasion.

Besides, it must be remembered that Gwydir was hailed similarly as indicating the government's loss of prestige. But it was not followed by the government's defeat.

It is true that much water has flowed under the bridge since then, and that Wakefield presents even more striking evidence than did Gwydir of the U.A.P.'s waning prestige.

But it would be a mistake to think that the government's downfall will automatically follow on this occasion any more than it did on the previous.

It is necessary to go back to the lessons of Gwydir in order to draw the necessary conclusions for today.

The greatest contributing factor to the U.A.P.'s ability to regain the ground lost in Gwydir and go on to subsequent general elections victory was the disunity which existed in the ranks of Labor.

It is most unfortunate that this state of affairs persists today.

Not only that, but Labor leaders

have not acted as energetically as they might have in mobilising opposition to Lyons.

In the process of forcing Lyons to resign these weaknesses must be overcome.

In this regard the remarks of Mr. Curtin, if they really foreshadow some practical action, are encouraging.

Commenting on the Wakefield result, he said:—

"A salient feature of the campaign was the close and harmonious unity that existed between the Federal A.L.P. leaders and the leaders of the South Australian A.L.P."

"This unity should exist in all States."

Mr. Curtin could only have had N.S.W. in mind when making these remarks.

In that State disunity is perpetuated by the disruptive activity of the Lang "inner group" and the position will not be remedied of its own accord.

It seems that it could be overcome in the shortest possible space of time if the Federal executive of the A.L.P. took some action.

In this connection the A.C.T.U. proposal for the calling of an "all in conference" in N.S.W. seems a most sensible one.

If as a result of such a conference unity was achieved in the Labor party it would pave the way for that still wider unity in the Labor movements which would place the defeat of the Lyons government beyond all shadow of doubt.

A FREE AND HAPPY LIFE

J. D. Blake



A FEW weeks ago I returned to Australia after spending a little more than a year in the Soviet Union. Without the slightest hesitation I can say that this year was the most splendidly rich 12 months I have ever experienced in my life.

This was my second stay in the U.S.S.R. For more than two years up to the beginning of 1933 I also lived in the land of Socialism, so that I had the rare good fortune to live amongst a great people for considerable periods of time during two of the most important stages in their history.

To comprehend the significance of the sweeping changes in Soviet life between these two periods in

Soviet history is of extreme importance for democratic people in every part of the world.

Nineteen hundred and thirty one was the deciding year of the first five year plan; it was the time when reactionary elements in all parts of the world talked so confidently of the coming breakdown of the Soviet system; everywhere in the capitalist world there was confident talk about the imminent collapse of what was termed "Stalin's mad scheme to industrialise a backward agrarian country."

During this period the Soviet people never wavered for one moment in their determination to consciously build a new life for them-

selves by following the path pointed out to them by the genius of Stalin. Certainly there were doubters, most of whom were later proven to be agents of the enemy, but the brilliant leadership of Stalin and the Bolshevik Party guided the Soviet people through seemingly insoluble difficulties to victory, and Socialism.

That period of the first five year plan was the period when visitors to the Soviet Union returned home to speak of difficulties and hardships being consciously endured by the Soviet people in order to lay the foundations for a happy life in the future. That was the time when all energies were devoted to building a mighty heavy industry; in those years some of the greatest industrial giants in the modern world were created by the hands of the Soviet workers.

The Soviet people made sacrifices and confidently followed the line of march indicated by Stalin. I will remember the air of grim determination among these people during those years of great building, and I have equally vivid impressions of how assuredly they proceeded with the utmost confidence in the future.

I had the great good fortune to return in 1937 to see the confidence of these people justified fully and completely—living in the Soviet Union in 1931 and then in 1937-38 gave the impression of living in two different worlds.

Today, it is unnecessary to explain why Soviet workers make sacrifices; the period of sacrifice is gone, it belongs to the past history of Soviet life, taking its place with

such epic stages as the October Revolution in 1917 and the long years of intervention and civil war.

All the great expectations of the first five year plan period have now come to fruition; the Soviet people are being repaid for their labors with compound interest. Everywhere in the U.S.S.R. there is abundance and plenty; vast quantities of new goods, clothing and luxury articles flow endlessly into the hundreds of new shops and stores, and as quickly out again into the hands of millions upon millions of customers with ample supplies of money.

These Soviet shops and stores never ceased to amaze me during the whole of my recent stay; I will remember the closed co-operatives and the ration cards of five or six years ago; today all this is gone, every shop is packed with such an assortment of foodstuffs and other goods that would have been unbelievable during the years of my first visit.

But probably the most striking change in Soviet life is the new atmosphere existing among the people, the air of grimness has gone and has been replaced by a spirit of joy and happiness which is without comparison in any part of the world.

The State holidays such as May Day, November 7, and New Year's Day develop into real carnivals of joy. Hundreds of thousands dance in the streets which become strewn with flowers, and reverberate with thousands of voices singing the latest Soviet popular songs.

The evenings of such holidays, especially New Year's Eve, are the occasion for happy family gatherings and reunions which always open with a champagne toast from glasses filled with Soviet champagne, the quality of which is excellent and the price easily within the scope of any worker's pocket.

Father Christmas, under the Soviet title of Grandpa Frost, brings presents and merriness to every Soviet child on New Year's Eve. Brightly lit Christmas trees laden with presents can be seen in the home of every worker on the eve of the new year.

This spirit of freedom, joy and happiness reached new peaks during my stay with the first election to the Supreme Soviet, and the election of the Republican Soviets under the new Stalinist Constitution. This was also the case with the destruction of the central band of spies and wreckers known as the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists.

Some Australians have expressed doubts about the effects of the ruthless treatment meted out to these spies and wreckers. I had the pleasure of personally witnessing many of these effects.

Some years ago visitors to the U.S.S.R. often spoke about inefficiency and bureaucracy in Soviet institutions, and I saw a good deal of this during my first visit. Today, and especially since the trial of Bukharin, Rykov and the others, practically all this bureaucracy has gone. Soviet institutions now work smoothly, efficiently and with the

greatest care and attention for the needs of Soviet citizens.

The basic reason for this change is undoubtedly the exposure and crushing of Trotskyist agents of fascism who had wormed their way, by double dealing, into many Soviet institutions. These treacherous enemies, in addition to wrecking and murder, followed the line of creating a wall of bureaucracy wherever they secured responsible positions; bureaucracy was one of their favorite weapons to prevent the full flowering of Soviet life.

That is why the destruction of these bandits has made the Soviet Union an infinitely freer and better place to live in.

To those Australian daily papers which spoke of an atmosphere of terror existing throughout the Soviet Union during the trial of Bukharin and others last year, I reply that the very opposite was the case. The Soviet people, men, women and children, were overjoyed to know that these bandits were caught and brought to justice.

As I have already pointed out, far from any atmosphere of terror prevailing, the Soviet Union has become even more free and better to live in than it ever was before.

Many Australians, and even some Australian Communists, express doubts when they hear reports of how the Soviet people express their great love for Stalin. The great love which those millions of Soviet people feel for Stalin is a very genuine thing based on long years of experience of the genius of his

leadership; it is something which can only be fully comprehended when one feels it and sees it.

This love for Stalin is not a new kind of religion, and it is not due to any peculiarly Russian manner of expressing such things, as many seem to think. It arises from the way Stalin has stood at the head of the Soviet people during the march through some of the most difficult years in the history of their country.

In periods bristling with difficulties; when it seemed almost impossible to find a path through seemingly insurmountable obstacles, it was Stalin who saw furthest, most clearly and correctly, the path which had to be taken. For that spirit of joy and happiness, which is now a part of Soviet life, the Soviet people have to thank Stalin and his genius more than any other living man. Every Soviet citizen knows this, and knows that through it all Stalin has remained "a simple Soviet person"; that is the reason for the great love and affection they hold for Stalin.

It is said that Australians are not accustomed to the terms of love and affection which Soviet people use when speaking of Stalin; that may be true, but it is also true that Australians have not yet had the great pleasure of a Stalin to lead them to a happy Socialist life.

Probably after what I have written about some aspects of Soviet life many people will more readily understand why the Soviet Union is such a powerful force for peace in the world today.

The replacement of capitalism by

Socialism is the foundation upon which the Soviet peace policy has developed, but this policy of peace would be meaningless if it were not backed by military power. The military might of the U.S.S.R. is beyond question, and it is this great striking power which gives such force and strength to the peace policy of the Soviet government, which is the greatest barrier against the war which the fascist states are preparing.

The pro-fascist Chamberlain group, and similar supporters of fascism in the capitalist democratic countries, try to create doubts about the military strength of the Soviet Union. During the Czechoslovakian crisis Chamberlain circulated rumors that the Soviet Air Force was useless as a fighting force, and could not be relied upon to stand up to real war-time conditions.

These slanders were an important part of Chamberlain's whole pro-fascist policy. The overwhelming strength on the side of the peace forces if a collective stand was made against Hitler was one of the greatest hindrances to Chamberlain in his policy of treachery—for this reason Chamberlain tried to create doubts about Soviet military power.

Sufficient refutation of these slanders of Chamberlain could be found in the reports of the officers of the British general staff who attended recent Soviet military manoeuvres. The reports of these British generals paid glowing tribute to Soviet military strength.

The Red Army possesses stu-

mous technical striking power; its mechanisation per man is more than five times greater than that of the British Army, which is the most highly mechanised army in the capitalist world. But on top of this it must be remembered that the Red Army is a mass army, while the British Army is a much smaller specialised force—the mechanical power of the Red Army is far greater when viewed from this angle.

The striking power of the Soviet Air Fleet is revealed by the fact that ordinary standard types of Soviet bombers can fly from Moscow to Vladivostok, a third of the way round the world, in one day.

But this mighty military technique gets its real power from people—from the millions of Soviet patriots—who know how to use it. Nowhere else in the world is it possible to find such patriotism as that of the ordinary Soviet citizen. This is a new kind of patriotism based on real love for their Soviet country and a willingness to give their lives if necessary in its defence.

At the same time this patriotism has no chauvinism in its make-up; it does not engender hatred for any other people in the world; it is a patriotism whose essence is a spirit of real internationalism.

In recent years hundreds of thousands of a new type of epic hero have grown up in the Soviet Union; they differ from the epic heroes of the ancient Greek legends in that they are ordinary working people and this new heroism is not confined to individuals—it is a mass phenomenon.

During the last call up of recruits to the Red Army the management of one large factory tried to get the Defence Commissariat to release some of its best skilled workers from military service. When these young workers heard of this the storm they raised demanding that they be given their right to serve in the Red Army would amaze anyone from a capitalist country—these young workers entered the Red Army for their two years' service.

The Stalin principle of care for people is the basis of Soviet military practice. Under the guidance of Stalin the Soviet military forces have been developed on the new military principle of delivering the most powerful and crushing blow against the enemy with the smallest possible bloodshed among Soviet men and women.

The working of this principle was shown in a small way in the fighting against the Japanese at Possiet Bay.

The Japanese used more than 20,000 troops, with tanks and artillery, to occupy and fortify the heights on a narrow three-mile strip of Soviet territory between the Soviet-Manchukuo frontier and Lake Hassan. Had the Soviet forces crossed the frontier to the rear of the Japanese forces they would have speedily wiped out the invaders, but the Soviet government refrained from breaking the frontier and the Red Army fought under the most difficult conditions along a narrow open stretch of ground swept by machine-gun and artillery fire from

the fortified heights held by the Japanese.

A few hundred yards at a time the Red Army units advanced and dug themselves in until they were through the last lines of barbed wire entanglements, and within a hundred and fifty yards of the Japanese front line. Then the fleet of Soviet bombers, and the heavy artillery came into action and blew the Japanese fortifications into the air. When the Red Army made its final attack the Japanese artillery had already been silenced. The Japanese lost nearly 3000 killed and the Red Army 500.

If that happens when the Red Army fights under the most difficult conditions, what will happen when the Soviet government does not think it necessary to concern itself about frontiers?

Voroshilov gave the Japanese militarists fair warning that next time the frontier won't help them, and that the Soviet military forces

will deliver far more effective blows when fighting on the territory of the enemy. The Japanese militarists would be well advised to mark well these words of Voroshilov.

The Japanese military-fascists are also the declared enemies of Australia; there can be no doubt that the surest guarantee we Australians could wish for against Japanese aggression is a regional defence pact with the U.S.S.R.

The greatest power in the Pacific, against which the Japanese militarists will break their heads if they dare to attack, is the Soviet Union—the events of Possiet Bay proved that beyond doubt—Australia could secure no greater guarantee of peace and safety than a Pacific defence pact with the U.S.S.R. would give it. The sooner we begin to organise such an agreement the quicker will we eliminate the dangerous insecurity which hangs over us today.



LENIN'S LAST TEACHING ON WAR

ON the question of combating the danger of war in connection with the conference at The Hague, I think that the greatest difficulty lies in overcoming the prejudice that this question is a simple, clear and comparatively easy one.

"We shall retaliate to war with a strike or revolution"—that is what all the prominent reformist leaders usually say to the working class. And very often the seeming radicalness of these replies satisfies and calms the workers, co-operators and peasants.

Perhaps the most correct thing to do would be to start by refuting this opinion in the sharpest manner; to declare that particularly now, after the recent war, only the most stupid, or hopelessly false people can assert that such a reply to the question of combating war is of any use; to declare that it is impossible to "retaliate" to war by a strike, just as it is impossible to "retaliate" to war by revolution in the simple and literal sense of these terms.

It must be explained to the people how great is the secrecy with which war arises, and how helpless the ordinary workers' organisations are in the face of war that is really impending, even if these organisations call themselves revolutionary.

Again and again it must be explained to the people in the most concrete manner how matters stood

in the last war, and why they could not be different.

Particularly must it be explained that "defence of the fatherland" becomes an inevitable question which the overwhelming majority of the toilers will inevitably settle in favor of their bourgeoisie.

Therefore, first, explanation of the question of "defence of the fatherland." Second, in connection with the latter, explanation of the question of "defeatism." And finally, explanation of the only possible method of combating war, viz., the preservation and formation of illegal organisations in which all revolutionaries taking part in the war shall carry on *prolonged* work against war—all this must be brought into the forefront.

Boycott war—is a stupid phrase. Communists must take part even in the most reactionary war.

It is desirable to illustrate with special concreteness, with the aid of examples from, say, pre-war German literature, and in particular, the examples of the Basle Congress of 1912, that the theoretical admission that war is criminal, that war is impermissible for a Socialist, etc., turns out to be empty phrases, because such a presentation of the question lacks all concreteness; we give the masses no really vivid idea of how war may approach and break out. On the contrary, every day the

dominating press, in an infinite number of copies, obscures this question and spreads such lies about it that the weak Socialist press is absolutely impotent against it, the more so that in peace times the latter adheres to fundamentally wrong views on this point. In all probability, the Communist press in the majority of countries will also disgrace itself.

I think that our delegates at the International Congress of Co-operators and Trade Unionists should distribute their functions among themselves and examine in the most detailed manner all the sophistries by which war is justified at the present time.

Perhaps the principal means of enlightening the masses for war are precisely the sophistries to which the bourgeois press resorts; and the most important reason for our impotence in the face of war is either that we do not examine these sophistries beforehand, or still more, that, in the spirit of the Basle Manifesto of 1912, we brush them aside with the cheap, boastful and utterly empty phrase that we shall not tolerate war, that we understand that war is a crime, etc.

I think that if we have several people at the Hague Conference who are capable of delivering speeches against war in various languages, the most important thing to do would be to refute the opinion that those present at the conference are opponents of war, that they understand that war may and will come upon them at the most unexpected moment,

that they, to any extent, understand what methods should be adopted to combat war, that they are, to any extent, in a position to adopt reasonable and effective measures to combat war.

In connection with the recent experience of war we must explain what a number of theoretical and mundane questions will arise on the morrow of the declaration of war, which will deprive the overwhelming majority of those who are called up for military service of the opportunity of approaching these questions with anything like a clear head, or in anything like a conscientiously unprejudiced manner.

I think that this question must be explained in extraordinary detail, and in a twofold manner:

First, by relating and analysing what happened during the last war and declaring to all present that they do not know this, or that they pretend that they know it, whereas, in fact, they shut their eyes to the very crux of the question which, if not understood, puts all effort to combat war utterly out of the question. On this point I think it is necessary to examine all shades, all opinions which arose among Russian Socialists on the last war. It must be proved that these shades did not arise accidentally but as a consequence of the very nature of modern wars in general. It must be proved that unless these opinions are analysed, and unless it is explained how they inevitably arise and that they are of decisive significance in the question of combating war, unless this analysis is made, preparations for the war, or even an intelligent attitude towards it, are entirely out of the question.

Secondly, present conflicts, even the most insignificant, must be taken as an example in explaining that war may break out any day as a consequence of the dispute between Great Britain and France over some detail of the treaty with Turkey, or between America and Japan over some trivial disagreement on any Pacific question, or between any of the big powers over colo-

nies, tariff policy, or trade policy generally, etc., etc. It seems to me that if there is any doubt about being able at The Hague to say all one wants to say against war with the utmost freedom, it will be necessary to consider various stratagems in order to be able to say at least the most important things and to publish what it was not possible to say in pamphlet form. We must take the risk of our speakers being stopped by the chairman.

I think that for this purpose the delegation, in addition to speakers who are able, and whose duty it shall be, to make speeches against war as a whole, i.e., to enlarge on all the main arguments and all the conditions for combating war, should consist of people who know all the three principal foreign languages, whose business it would be to enter into conversation with the delegates and to ascertain to what extent they understand the main arguments and to what extent it is necessary to raise this or that argument, or to quote examples.

Perhaps on a number of questions the mere quoting of practical examples of the last war will be sufficient to have serious effect. Perhaps on a number of other questions serious effect can be produced only by explaining the present-day conflicts between the various states

and their connection with possible armed collisions.

On the question of combating war, I recall that a number of declarations were made by our Communist deputies, in parliament as well as outside, which contained monstrously incorrect and monstrously frivolous statements about this subject. I think these declarations, particularly if they have been made since the war, must be subjected to determined and ruthless criticism, and the name of each person who made them should be mentioned. One's opinion concerning these speakers may be expressed in the mildest terms, particularly if circumstances require it, but not a single case of this kind must be hushed up, for a frivolous attitude toward this question is an evil which outweighs all others, and which cannot be treated leniently.

A number of decisions have been adopted by workers' congresses which are unpardonably stupid and frivolous.

All material must be immediately collected and all the separate parts and particles of the subject, and the whole "strategy" to be pursued at the congress, must be thoroughly discussed.

On such a question, not only a mistake, but even incompleteness on any essential matter, will be intolerable.

—December 4, 1922.



PAGES FROM THE PAST

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

Edited with introductions by J. N. Rawling.

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

3—POLITICAL FERMENT (Continued)

UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1843

[The following contemporary newspaper cutting is enlightening on the question of unemployment. It is from the "Weekly Register" for August 5, 1843.]

We have undoubted authority for stating that a great number of the working classes, in Sydney, are in a state bordering on starvation. This is a subject to which our Councilors, both for the Colony and the City, would do well to direct a portion of that attention which seems to be absorbed in wild financial schemes for the benefit of the great, or in silly squabbles and idle chant about Sabbath observance, which give neither pleasure nor profit to anybody. One thing must be taken care of, men must not be allowed to perish in our streets. We must find them work, or we must begin to levy rates to keep them from starving.

A short time since, the working men themselves devised a very simple remedy for their present distress, in a Petition to the Governor, setting forth the fallacy of the prospects which had been held out to

them, as an inducement to emigrate, and their present condition: and praying his Excellency as a means of affording them work, to withdraw all convict labour assigned in Sydney. The answer of the Governor, if we remember rightly, was to the effect, that the Government was not answerable for the frauds practised upon intending emigrants; bounties having been held out only to agriculturalists and shepherds; and that, while his Excellency regretted the condition of the unemployed operatives, he could not without injustice, and without putting a stop to the public works, transfer the labor of the convicts to the interior. We must confess there is a good deal of sophistry in this answer. That persons have been induced to come hither, whose labor was never wanted in the colony is true enough and that the Government was no immediate party to those frauds is

true also. Still the Government was for a short time the dupe of the bounty speculators; it was indirectly a party in the transaction, it is at all events responsible for the lives and health of its subjects under any circumstances. If Sir George Gipps cannot afford employment to these starving men, he is bound as the representative of the sovereign, to bring in a bill to levy a rate for their support.

The remedy we confess is not to our liking. Far from it, but it necessarily flows from his Excellency's determination to permit convicts to perform a large portion of the labour, which free citizens would be happy to obtain. We cannot for our own part see what injustice would follow from the withdrawal of assigned servants in Sydney. The argument with respect to convicts employed on public works is more

plausible, but still we cannot admit its cogency, excepting, perhaps, as relates to those operations immediately connected with the purposes of executive government.

All works of general public utility, which the public demand—ought to be paid for by the public; the free operative has, by the nature of society, a just claim to share in the advantages of such works; and the state is bound to look to the welfare of its own free subjects, in preference to all others.

It appears by the report of a meeting of operatives, in another column, that they are much dissatisfied with the Governor's answer; and we understand a meeting will be held on Monday at which the Mayor will preside, to discuss the subject still further, and we hope his Excellency will see reason to reconsider it.

[The meeting of operatives referred to was held at "Mr. Tait's Odd Fellows' Hall opposite the Haymarket." Gabriel Bennett was in the chair. Speakers were: Mr. Maxwell, who said that the aim was to draw up resolutions and a petition to be submitted to a Public meeting—"the working classes," he said, "were not feeling at all satisfied at the cool manner with which his Excellency had treated their last"; Mr. Lynch, who was of the opinion that, "if the working classes would not now struggle for their rights, they deserved to be crushed"; Mr. McNeilly, who urged the necessity for the workers to have a Press and suggested that there should not be a new petition but a remonstrance on the Governor's answer to the previous one; Mr. McCarthy, who referred to the proposed society to cement the liberal interests.—The Public Meeting was held on the Race Course (now Hyde Park) on August 7, 1843, where 3000 attended!—A deputation waited on the Governor who said that on account of the depression he could not withdraw the convicts but that he would give work at low wages and workers would have to adjust their demands to the state of the labor market.—An unemployed registry was set up.—At a meeting of the Benevolent Society (31,743), figures were given indicating the extent of the poverty in Sydney: Number of inmates at June 30—847 men, 421 women, 53 children; out-door relief—174 families, 5 single persons; and in the House—233 men, 81 women and 116 children.]

THE SEAMEN STRIKE

[One early important strike was that of the seamen and laborers employed on the whalers in 1837.]

The Merchants principally concerned in the shipping interest, held a Meeting at the Assurance Com-pany's office, in Mr. Grose's new buildings, George St., on Tuesday, to take into consideration the gen-

eral demand made upon them, since Monday last, by the seamen and laborers employed in fitting out their ships, for an increase of wages, these men now demanding 4/- a day, instead of the previous rate of 3/- and 3/6. We are glad to say that, notwithstanding the seamen have struck, and refused to engage with the shipowners except on their own exorbitant terms, the Merchants have very properly come to the resolution of putting down this extortionate system. Although many of their vessels are now lying idle for want of sailors and laborers, the shipowners have determined not to succumb; and have agreed, one and

[The following resolution was carried by the Masters:]

That this Meeting view the conduct of the seamen and laborers of the Port of Sydney, as the acts of a systematic organised body, whose intentions are not yet fully de-

veloped, but whose object, if accomplished, would materially retard the progressive advancement of our Colonial marine.

FRIENDS OF IRELAND

[Organisation of societies of friendship with Ireland began early in Australia. The following announcement is from "Bell's Life in Sydney" for September 12, 1846.]

To the Friends of Liberty in Australia

The Repeal Committee of Parramatta take leave to inform the Members and Associates of the District, and the friends of Ireland in general, that they will hold a public meeting of the Association, on

Wednesday evening, the 16th inst., at Mr. Maurice O'Flaugherty's Coach and Horses' Inn, Church Street.

AIM: Collecting funds (by distributing cards sent by "The Liberator") for the parent Association. —W. R. Moore, Warden.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION

[The Constitutional Association was organised at a "meeting of gentlemen" at Mr. Douglas's Hotel, Sydney on the evening of Monday, 20th November, 1848, J. R. Wilshire, Esq., in the Chair. Below we present the Association's "Address to the People," a list of the members of the Provisional Council and its "Objects." These three reveal its character and composition. Among the names are many of those who were active in reform and anti-transportation movements of the forties and early fifties. One of the names is familiar to all Australians—that of Henry Parkes!—SOURCE: "Objects and Laws and Regulations of the Constitutional Association and Address of the Provision Council," Sydney, Printed by D. L. Welch, at the Atlas Office, George St.—1848.]

Address to the People

Fellow Colonists,—the want of organisation among the people has been insolently misrepresented by the abettors of injustice as the public acquiescence in their aggressive schemes. In every emergency, our humiliating consciousness of the decrepitude of the public mind and the apathy deadening the nation's heart, has been embittered by the arrogance and unscrupulous power of faction. Under the afflictions of mis-government,—before the audacity of class-usurpation, our inactive indignation has still grown more galling from the clinging remembrance, the ineffaceable knowledge of the triumphs gained in our fatherland by our countrymen's vigorous and well-directed union,—their wise and lawful co-operation, in demanding rights withheld, and in resisting the violation of liberty. Shall we longer remain disunited and endeavorless for any great end or purpose,—shall we still gaze idly on the cunning, advancing, crest-elated serpent of Caste that seeks to coil itself round the soul of the people in this land—the common patrimony of all,—and to hold our energies in its loathsome subjection for ever? Shall we stand in the midst of our sons reduced to serfdom, self-accused of their enslavement, and still reproached for our effeminacy by the dominant descendants of our enemies? No! You will respond as brethren to the call of duty, and rise in the majesty of that free spirit of our glorious ancestors which has breathed new light and grandeur into every nation of the

earth. You will rise in the calm might and magnificence of peaceful resolve—

And the laws of England, they
Whose reverent heads with age are
grey,

will support us in demanding our full and entire liberties.

The Constitutional Association is based on the great immutable principle of universal liberty. Political and social necessities arising from grievous misrule have called it into existence,—patriotic determination and perseverance will sustain it,—justice and brotherly love will direct its movements. In seeking to elevate the masses, its supporters wish no injury to any class in the community. The founders of this union have incorporated their moral powers, to oppose wrong, to dispel ignorance, to abridge human misery;—to support order, to disseminate truth, to achieve liberty, to maintain justice, to establish national prosperity. The cause they have espoused is that of the human race; the end they have in view is the true greatness and independence of the country in which their common lot is cast,—its fullest participation in the benefits and glory of the British constitution.

Fellow Colonists,—If we have taken a righteous stand in the service of our country, we call on you to rally round our constitutional standard. If our cause is good, come manfully and join us. In good heart, and steadfast faith, add your strength to ours, and assuredly our

efforts shall be crowned by complete success.

By Order of the Provisional
Council,
Angus Mackay,
Hon. Secy.

Sydney, 13th Dec., 1848.

Members of the Provisional
Council

Isaac Aaron, Surgeon, Pitt St.,
John Boulton, Corn Factor, George
St. South; Daniel Coughlan, Boot-
maker, Phillip St.; William Mc-
Curtayne, Gloucester St.; Patrick
Grant, Gentleman, Pyrmont; E. J.
Hawksley, Newspaper Proprietor,
King St.; J. K. Heydon, Agent,
King St.; Richard Hipkiss, Horti-
culturist, Kissing Pt.; George
Hewitt, Cutter, Hunter St.; Edward
Knight, Painter, Parramatta St.
South; George Alfred Lloyd, Auctioneer,
George St.; Thomas Magee,
George St.; Angus Mackay,
Gloucester St.; Edward McEncroe,
George St.; John McPhail, Carver,
Elizabeth St. South; Henry Parkes,
Manufacturer, Hunter St.; Richard
Peek, Grocer, George St.; Alexander
D. Murphy, Schoolmaster, Pitt St.;
Robert Stewart, Pitt St.; B. Sutherland,
Upholsterer, Kent St. South;
Thomas Taylor, Grocer, King St.;
Alexander Thomson, Type Founder,
Edward St.; Richard Driver, Publican,
Elizabeth St. North; E. T.
Macdonald, Publican, Cumberland
St.

Mr. Edward McEncroe,
Treasurer.

Mr. Angus Mackay,
Hon. Secy.

Objects of the Constitutional
Association

1.—To obtain an immediate extension of the Elective Franchise.

2.—To obtain a just and equitable application of the Representative Principle to the local necessities of the Colony, by increasing the number of representatives for Sydney and other constituencies in proportion to the amount of population.

3.—To effect a complete reformatory change in the administration of the public lands, so as to throw open a field for the introduction and prosperous growth of an industrious permanent class of agriculturists, thereby counteracting the barbarous effects of the present iniquitous system of land occupancy in the interior, discoverable everywhere in the unnatural condition of humanity.

4.—To avert by all justifiable means the gigantic evil which Landed Interest would inflict on posterity.

5.—To secure to the people the greatest possible degree of public safety in the fullest responsibility of Government.

6.—To concentrate and direct public opinion in the prosecution of these and kindred objects, by giving permanence to the means of free discussion, and by placing their right of petition in the hands of the people.

7.—To unite all classes, rich and poor, of whatever creed or calling, in working out and securing the liberties of the country.

Music and Class Struggle

Sid Kelly concludes his article from last issue, continuing his comparison of Hitler's class use of music with the practice of Yankee medicine vendors from 1850 to 1890.

THEN in his tent he commenced his show. His Indians commenced their dance, and the rhythmic thud of their drums, monotonously repeated, tore at the very souls of the listeners, while the dance rose to a pinnacle of savage fury. Then the minstrels and musicians took their places on the stage, and the stirred audience, its tension relaxed by the strains of music and the antics of the minstrels, was easy prey to the persuasive selling powers of the "Doctor." His speech was followed by "demonstrations" of the power of his pain-killer and his ability as a tooth drawer. After that the sale of his medicines commenced, accompanied by music and the monotonous chant of the Indians and the beat of their tom-toms. The music, the rhythm and the noise continued until no further purchasers could be found. With this technique it is stated that Lamereux got twenty dollars a time for his "consumption cure," ten dollars for his "blood purifier," five dollars for "pain-killer," and similar high prices for other wares. This due to his method of inspiring confidence, and then breaking down resistance by means of the emotional appeal of rhythm and music.

There is a psychological reason behind his success and the success of the use of music in churches, the army, and Nazi Germany.

Your mind may accept a statement, but if that statement is accepted when your emotions are stirred, then the idea is doubly implanted. It has not only become a part of your reason, but has become almost part of your instincts. It is imbedded in a part of your mind that lies deeper than your reason. Logic will not drive the idea entirely out of your make-up.

Communism does not make enough use of music. I do not know of any song which may be said to be soul-stirring, or inspiring. The "Red Flag," apart from the fact that it has been sung for so long, can only be classed as a most lugubrious chant. The "Internationale" is merely passable, and a search through the music of the movement reveals a sad state of lack of inspiration.

The movement needs more music. We should use music more. It is a weapon which is being used against us, should we not use it, too?

It is not suggested that it be used in the manner in which Hitler and the medicine vendors used it; but, as an attraction to the people, as a method of propaganda, to reinforce conviction with emotion, and to give a sense of unity, music is a factor than cannot be ignored.

Congress for People's Front

L. Sharkey

WITHOUT doubt, the 12th Congress was not only one of the most important, but the best, from the point of view of the level of the discussion, of the representation and all other essentials, that the Communist Party has yet held.

It reflected the fact that our party is "growing up," is becoming mature. The outstanding speeches were many and all showed that sectarianism and leftism are dying out of the party and that our party realises its growing responsibilities to the masses.

Among the delegates were important leading trade union officers, leaders of the struggles of the unemployed, real mass leaders in all spheres of the Party's activity, alongside the leaders of the Party.

Delegates came from almost all parts of this vast continent, from the factories, mines, ships, fields and offices.

For the first time, two Tasmanians were present at a Communist Party Congress.

It was with real regret that comrades left the Congress and the interesting and fruitful discussions, as well as the friendships made with comrades from far-off areas.

The central theme of the Congress was the building of an Australian People's Front.

Coming soon after the betrayal of Munich, the Congress realised that the threat to democracy and peace had not been lifted, but in-

tensified. The policy of Chamberlain of strengthening fascism and aggression, of crushing the working class and democracy in all countries, of everywhere assisting the growth of fascism as a menace to the people's liberty, stood out in bold relief, as the Congress assembled.

It is clear, as the fraternal greeting from the Communist Party of Great Britain pointed out, that the Lyons government is a prop of the reactionary Chamberlain government, a partner in its crimes and supporter of its policy, a policy that sacrifices the national interests of both Britain and Australia to the interests of the fascist dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini and the Japanese militarists.

Remove the Lyons government, the government that aids the Japanese fascist aggressors who menace Australia, the Japanese ruling clique that is guilty of every fiendish crime: the merciless bombing of defenceless towns; the wholesale trade in women; the poisoning of whole populations with poisonous drugs! The Lyons government of the Crimes Act and the "dog collar"; of the attack on free speech, the radio and the press; the government whose millions, allegedly for defence, go into the pockets of its rich backers, whilst Australian defence is in a muddle and the Japanese are provided with the raw materials for making war upon the country — this government of

national betrayal and friendship to fascism must go! Like a call to battle, this cry was on the lips of every delegate.

The way to the defeat of the Lyons government: the united front and the People's Front—that is the way Congress summed up the task confronting the Australian democracy at the present perilous period of its history.

Following the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the attack on the workers of France, the new plots against the Spanish Republicans resulting from the Munich agreement, the Congress recognised that the Chamberlain government has joined with Hitler for the offensive against the people's movement, against the working class everywhere. Their aim is the defeat of democracy as a part of the plans for the imperialist war for the redivision of the world and the war upon the great Socialist bulwark of peace and democracy, the U.S.S.R. All this means the utmost slavery and degradation of the living conditions of the toiling people in all countries, including Australia. This dread menace must be met by the united front of the labor movement, by the People's front of the workers, small farmers, small business people, professionals and all oppressed by the monopoly capitalists.

The Congress was critical of the policy of the Rightwing clique of leaders of the A.L.P. whose policy is preventing unity. The Labor Party must be made the basis of unity for the People's Front. The Labor governments that already ex-

ist must more consistently improve the conditions of the toilers and especially work for closer relations with the farmers who, in most States, are starting to break with the Lyons-Page reaction.

The spirit of the People's Front is abroad in our land; the strengthening of the trade union movement, its broader outlook and scope, its growing militancy shows that it is marching towards unity and preparing for the great future struggles against reaction for a better life for the people, in defence of peace and democracy. This spirit of the trade unions is entering into the Labor Party, as witness the spirit and policy of the new A.L.P. in N.S.W. There is the Country Party in Victoria which has broken with the Lyons-Page reaction and has the support of the labor movement; it is the herald of the progressive development of the farmers' movement. There is the victory of so many independents in South Australia which also indicates in a different way the possibilities of the People's Front. The "sectarianism" of many of the Rightwing Labor leaders in regard to independents, representative of the middle class who are breaking with Lyons and also those representatives of the Country Party who are discontented must be ended, in order that, with their aid, Lyons, Stevens and Page can be defeated and progressive Labor governments take their places in N.S.W. and in the Federal Parliament. With unity between the Communist Party and the Labor Party, with a fighting in-

dustrial movement, with a joint struggle together with the progressive farmers' movement, then the whole situation of the Australian people can be transformed; the standards of living be raised; democracy made secure; the Crimes Act and Transport Workers' Act repealed, and a real policy of defence of the Australian nation against fascist aggression pursued, a real policy of defence based upon the organisations of the labor movement which would not only depend upon arms, but also on collective security with all the other democratic nations who stand for peace, a Pacific Ocean peace pact as part of a world anti-war front, which can alone provide a guarantee that our people will not experience the horrors of fascist invasion.

To thus secure the future of Australia, Congress pointed out that both the policy of Lyons of friendship with the Japanese aggressors and support of Chamberlain's deals with Hitler must go, as well as the "isolationist" tendencies of the Rightwing Labor leaders, both of which are a menace to our security from fascist attack.

Congress was thus able to give a solution to the masses, to point the path out of the present terrible situation towards a position of freedom, peace and economic and social well-being.

That is why the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party boldly placed before the masses—an Australian People's Front as the reply to reaction and its pro-fascism and treachery.

The starting point for united front activity is in the mass struggles in the localities in defence of the needs of workers and farmers. The most immediate measures to ease the position of the toilers were formulated as follows by Congress:

Higher wages.

40-hour week.

Holidays with pay.

Equal pay for the sexes.

Control of food prices, rents and profits.

Abolition of taxes on wages.

Non-contributory social insurance.

Debt relief for the farmers.

Reduction of taxation on lower incomes.

Increased financial grants for education.

Rapid extension of public works and Federal, State and municipal undertakings to relieve unemployment and to meet the danger of a new crisis.

Repeal of all anti-democratic legislation (Crimes Act, Transport Workers' Act).

Abolition of government by regulation and by boards independent of parliament.

Congress adopted a draft Constitution of the Party for submission to the membership for discussion. Owing to the lateness of its preparation, the C.C. was unable to place it before the party organisations for consideration prior to the Congress.

The proposed Constitution champions Australian democracy and pledges every Party member to re-

sist any and all attacks upon our liberties by any "selfish minority group, party or clique." Thereby, the Communist Party declares its faith that the majority of the Australian people can be won for the defence of democracy, for the struggle for the interests of all toilers, for the defence of peace and, finally, for the great change from capitalism to Socialism, through democratic methods. The Communist Party has always stood for democratic methods; it has always been the ruling class that has resorted to violence.

The Preamble of the draft Constitution pledges every Communist to defend the democratic rights which our forefathers won in hard-fought battles for this fair land. Their heritage must be extended and made secure. The Preamble makes clear the proud position the Communist Party occupies in the fight for liberty when it declares: "The Communist Party of Australia is a working-class political Party carrying forward today the best traditions of Australian democracy . . . and standing for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of the country." The Communist Party further, in the Preamble of the Constitution, points to the need to press forward the achievements of democracy to the necessary and logical conclusions: to establish the common ownership of the means of production and Socialism, according to the scientific teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Communist Party thus does not at all forget its own special, inde-

pendent role as the leader in the fight for Socialism.

The re-draft of the Constitution also aims to make it easier for the workers to understand; a simplification of the rules, a more easy and Australian language is used.

The Constitution also has a clause prohibiting any "political or personal" friendship with confirmed Trotskyists, those inveterate enemies of the working people.

The draft Constitution is in line with the Party's policy and tasks; it breathes the spirit of working-class unity, of democracy, of the Australian People's Front movement. It will be a powerful lever for the further growth of the Party and for the defence of democracy against fascism, either the local kind or from abroad.

The addresses of several Party leaders to Congress were models of the manner in which the Communists must link, not only the democratic traditions, but the greatness of our people and country, the beauties and tremendous possibilities of our land, with the Party's appeal to the masses indicting the clique of monopoly capitalists who have got possession of the resources of the country and hold its people in bondage; whose rule is stifling progress, a shackle on production and the real cause of poverty and unemployment, a hindrance to the further growth and development of the Australian nation. Party agitators in the Press and on the platform have not sufficiently understood the need for this approach, which is in line with the statement

of Comrade Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress on combating fascist demagogy.

In line with its democratic principles, the Congress elected the leading organ, the Central Committee of the Party. Every delegate had the right individually to nominate whom he saw fit. Nominations were made by delegations and by individuals. There was no official "ticket." Delegates could enquire from the Elections Committee as to the length of membership, etc., but received no advice as to whom they should vote for and the election was by secret ballot, each delegate receiving a ballot paper. The C.C. elected reflects the growth of the Party and is no doubt the strongest politically that the Party has yet had.

The need to work in the countryside, to develop the Communist Party there and to carry on an intense campaign to answer the lies spread by the reaction among the farmers was recognised by the Congress. The Party has far from carried out its tasks in this sphere in the past. It is a very difficult task because of the huge expanse of the wide open spaces. Yet something has been done: there are evidences of Party growth in many country areas. Congress recognised that neglect of the rural populations is evidence of a hang-over of the Social-Democratic attitude to this problem.

The inclusion of Comrade Gowland, who is experienced in country conditions, on the Political Bureau of the C.C., is an evidence that the

C.C. is going to drive for wide-spread activity in bringing about the alliance of the farmers and workers in the mutual defence of their interests following the 12th Congress.

The section of the resolution dealing with the problem of building the Communist Party was the subject of a special report to Congress. Attention was drawn to the slowing up in the rate of recruiting, approximate figures being: in the period 1929-'32 the Party increased its membership from 300 to 3000; in the period 1932-'38 only 2000 new members were permanently recruited, a total of around 5000. Fluctuation has also not been overcome. The Congress generally agreed with the paragraph dealing with the slower recruiting in the C.C. report: "immersion in trade union work, a relative decline in mass propaganda, distortion of the united front concept, hiding the face of the Party and sectarian errors, inability to seize on the issues agitating the masses, more than "prosperity" are the reasons for the slow growth."

It was shown that the directions of the leading Party organs to brighten the branch meetings, to have a proper agenda, orderly discussions and an early adjourning hour, and to secure proper headquarters for the branches as befitted the Communist Party's position in the life of the country—had often been disregarded, thereby accentuating fluctuation.

The need to show the face of the Communist Party as the most

consistent fighter for unity and the People's Front, as the best organiser of the daily struggles of the toilers and the leader in the fight for Socialism, was stressed. The resolution adopted by the Congress reads on this point: "Given a scientific basis by the great Socialist thinkers and leaders, Marx and Engels, Communism came into being as the standard bearer of the worker's fight against poverty, war and oppression and for Socialism."

It is only by keeping these basic truths in mind that "distortions of the united front" and "immersion in trade union work" will be overcome and every Communist will be an organiser of all the masses, a real tribune of all the toiling people and clearly understand the meaning of the united front, at the same time attending daily to the task of building the Party.

The necessity to build the Party in the workplaces and in the country, where organisation is still in the initial stages, was pointed out.

Just as the Congress will give an impetus to the development of the People's Front movement, so also will it be the starting point for the rapid growth of the Communist Party. The stronger the Communist Party, the stronger the labor movement, is a real slogan.

The opening and closing sessions, which were public, witnessed a very

high note of enthusiasm, not witnessed at previous Congresses. The fact that there were public sessions, whereas in the past, because of the continual threat of the illegality, the Congress had to be held more or less in camera, allowed large numbers of visitors the opportunity to actually witness the Communist Party debating and working out its problems, the problems of the whole working class.

Who that was present can forget the contagious enthusiasm of that closing session on the Sunday evening, affecting delegates and visitors alike; the fervent singing of the "International"; the heartfelt cheers for the leader of the Party, Comrade Miles; for our international leaders, Comrades Stalin and Dimitroff?

Enthusiasm for the Party; confidence in its leadership and policy; determination to carry forward the resolutions carried by the Congress, to build the Communist Party, to fight fascism and war, to win a new life for the toilers, to build the unity of the labor movement, to establish the People's Front, the powerful weapon of victory — all this was inspiringly demonstrated by the resolute men and women from the factories, fields and offices, the delegates and visitors to the stirring 12th Congress of our rapidly developing Communist Party.

STAND UP TO IT

Alan Marshall

"**YOU** are not as game as Ned Kelly," said the fat man.

"Game!" exclaimed the Stuff Cutter. "I'm not frightened to die."

"You reckoned you wouldn't have that tube in your guts again for a fiver."

"Neither I would," said the Stuff Cutter. "But that's different to dying."

"The tube's nothing," said another out-patient looking at the clock. We had been waiting before the Clinic door for three hours. "What's a tube in your stomach? They put an electric globe down mine. Then they looked into me with a mirror."

"What did they see?" I asked. I was nursing my head, but it didn't relieve the pain much.

"They saw something black, they said. A growth, I reckon."

The Stuff Cutter said: "Dying's not so bad. A chap's game to live these days."

"If you never have worse than a tube down your throat you'll be alright," said the man who had first spoken.

"See my neck," said the Stuff Cutter, addressing me. He raised his chin and, holding down his shirt collar with one hand, revealed the thin, scrawny column supporting his head.

"Yes," I said.

"It's too narrow," he said. "I can't even swallow a pill. I've put

pill in jam and then swallowed. I can get the jam down but the pill always stops in my mouth. I've tried to take them with water but it's no good. My neck's too narrow, see. That tube nearly strangled me. I'm not frightened to die but, by hell, I don't want to be strangled to death.

"Fancy that now," murmured the laborer sitting on my left. He was reading a notice painted on a board high on the wall before us. He couldn't sit quite erect because he always kept one hand pressed tight against his belly as if restraining, by pressure, some live thing within him.

"What?" I said.

"It takes four bob a minute to run this hospital."

"I don't suppose you could rake up four bob amongst the lot of us," said the Stuff Cutter wryly.

"Four bob an hour," said the laborer softly, smiling at the thought. "Just imagine earning that."

A stout woman said: "I get a shilling an hour for washing."

"How much money have you got?" asked the Stuff Cutter in a friendly fashion, looking at me.

I pulled two threepenny pieces and a penny from my pocket. "Sevenpence," I said, looking at them.

"What do you know about that!" exclaimed the Stuff Cutter, de-

lighted. He extracted a sixpence and two halfpennies from his vest. "I've got sevenpence, too. Fancy that now."

He suddenly became very friendly. "I've had this for two days."

"You can get a sevenpenny three-course meal in Lonsdale Street," I said, thinking of food.

"So they say," said the Stuff Cutter. "You'd wonder how they could do it."

He put the sevenpence back in his pocket. I noticed he had lost a thumb.

"Cut off in the big press, I'll bet," I said. I had worked in a boot factory.

"Yes," he said, looking at the stump with a revived interest.

"What's wrong with you now?" I asked.

"Pains in the chest," he said. "I get them at night. I get the shakes."

"They'll fix you here," I said.

"So they say," he said. The suggestion comforted him. He said: "Fancy us both having sevenpence." He looked round as if seeking an understanding face. He wanted to speak of the sevenpence.

The laborer said: "I'd feel good only for my stomach."

"I'd sooner something wrong with my stomach than my head," said a man with a bandage covering one eye. "You can stand things wrong with your stomach but when you have something wrong with your head it seems closer to you somehow."

"I know a bloke," said the laborer, "who is as stiff as a crutch. He's only a young bloke and he's got this 'ere Rheumatoid Arthritis. But he's always smiling. He lies on the verandah and when you pass he yells out, 'How's things?' Just like that. I don't know. It's marvellous."

He increased the pressure on his belly with his clenched hand. He leant forward a little. "Game! He's the gamest bloke I know."

"I'm frightened of pain till I get it," said the Stuff Cutter. "That's funny now, isn't it?"

"I'm like that myself," said the laborer with interest. "Some bricks fell on me once. I got my inside crushed. But the bloke I was with—young Sid Kelly—his old man died last week—he went white as a ghost. He told me after, he was sick for a week. Yet I didn't feel sick or anything. The pain was bad after but I was ready for it then. I fought it, you see."

"Life's a fight," said the Stuff Cutter.

"How do you mean?" I asked.

"Well, sitting back like," said the Stuff Cutter. "That's no good. You've always got to keep fighting. It's like the Government in Spain. What you don't fight for you'll never get. And if what you are fighting for is right, then you're happy and that. I mean it's no use taking it in the neck—pain or anything. These coves who lose their heads in an accident, or like . . . well . . . lose them . . . you know . . . lose them when they shouldn't. . . . Well that's no good.

It makes the others frightened and then they lose their heads, too. You've got to face up to things and never give ground."

"I was just thinking about down on the wharf," said the laborer. "We fought for better conditions when I used to work there. Now all that we got is being taken from the blokes that are carrying on. They've cut out a smoko—things like that. The owners are always at it. A bit here and a bit there. Young Sid was telling me. The owners are tightening up all round. I said to Sid, I said, 'You'll have to do the fighting all over again.'"

The bell above the Clinic door rang.

"If you're feeling crook," said the laborer nudging me, "you can take my place and go in first. I'm not so bad sitting down."

"Thank you very much," I said. "But I'm feeling pretty good now."

"A bloke's got to fight it," said the Stuff Cutter. "It's no use thinking you're bad."

"Oh! I'm not bad," protested the laborer. "See that chap over there." He nodded towards a man sitting on the front bench. "He's been coming here for three months. They say he won't live much longer. Look at him smiling now. Just

look at that."

"He's game," said the Stuff Cutter.

"It's good when you are all together," said the laborer looking round and embracing with a glance every patient there. "That bloke said that to me once and I've never forgotten it. He's a fighter if ever there was one."

"We're all fighters," said the Stuff Cutter. "Sickness is like Capitalism. If you give in to it it gets worse. Stand up to it and you feel yourself getting better and better. By cripes!" he exclaimed with sudden delight. "I'd never thought of that before. It's a fact though, isn't it? We're all sick with Capitalism besides these pains and that. That's what we are sick with—Capitalism. By hell! I'm feeling better already."

"So am I," said the laborer.

"So am I," I said.

"We'll be cured," said the Stuff Cutter.

The laborer took his hand away from his belly where the pain gnawed him. He straightened and smiled at me. We sat together, he and I and the Stuff Cutter.

It felt good sitting there before the Clinic door with the laborer and the Stuff Cutter.





From "Low Again," Cresset Press, London, 1938.

Ruling Class, Working Class and Defence of Australia

L. Harry Gould

MARX and Lenin repeatedly emphasised that the working class is the only consistent champion of democracy.

Today we must add: "The working class is the only consistent champion of genuine patriotism."

Exploiters have never hesitated to betray their country at the dictates of selfish class interests. Whenever in past times a popular movement removed them from power, aid was sought from foreign lands for war against their own country and people. The Roman slave-holders invited in the barbarian hordes; British monarchs in the 17th century appealed to France to restore them to power; the Bourbon monarchy and nobility in the 18th century allied themselves with the reaction in every European State for ruthless aggression against France; finally, there is the notorious treachery of the capitalists in the Paris Commune in 1871, and after the October Revolution in 1917.

The ruling class today is no different, but there is one additional feature: This is the epoch of imperialism, of the triumph of Socialism, of the developing United Front and People's Front in different countries. Once dispossessed, there may not be any outside aid. The capitalists understand as well as we

do that we are indeed, in the words of the "International," "facing the last fight."

The dialectics of social evolution and the class struggle therefore impel capitalism to sell out this side of the Revolution!

Witness the Munich betrayal; the Cagoulauds who are financed by the French bourgeoisie; the "red"-baiting Dies Committee, which supposedly protects American security, but connives with Nazi spies and saboteurs for the destruction of Labor and Democracy, and grants Hitler's "Deutscher Bund" a free hand; and Lyons and the combines who not only trade with the sworn enemy of our country, but actually supply him with the necessary munitions for the invasion of our land!

There is no unity possible between the brigand powers, for it is not in the nature of capital to combine. The law of capitalist existence is bitter rivalry and, at times, fierce bloody strife. But temporary thieves' bargains are patched up. Anything is preferable to them rather than democratic ascendancy and rule. The Austrian bourgeoisie, and now the Czech, have exhibited the basest cowardice and treachery. "Let Hitler grab the country rather than permit our own

toiling masses secure a measure of freedom." This is capitalist class logic.

Perhaps Dr. Schussnigg in Hitler's concentration camp has had time to reflect. . . .

The British bourgeoisie reject Collective Security, which provides a mighty rampart against fascist aggression. "Faced by such forces (collective action by the world's democratic States) German fascism would have had no alternative but to retreat." (From the C.I. Manifesto on the 21st Anniversary of the October Revolution in referring to the Czech issue.)

Capitalism is not only exploitative, oppressive and reactionary in every way; capitalism, by the material conditions of its existence, is also traitorous.

Astounding evidence of this is discoverable in recent publications on military strategy. (See "Sentinel's" article in the October "Review.") The old principle of "Maintaining the Objective" has been abandoned. This means that if Chamberlain landed as a result of his present pro-fascist policy into a war against fascist Germany, he would say in effect to the British General Staff: "Our objective is really not so much to defeat Hitler as to defeat any democratic upheaval in Germany and here, if and when one arises. It is this new objective that we must closely watch for; be prepared to cast aside the other one at any moment."

It is in this muddy swamp of the menace of aggression from abroad,

and of treachery from within, that Labor must define its own defence policy.

"Active participation in the external struggle for freedom is a primary condition for the winning of emancipation at home," said Marx. He warned the German workers that they could not on peril to their own interests remain indifferent to the strivings of the Polish, the Irish and other peoples for national liberation. Applied to the present, the security of the Australian people would become seriously jeopardised if we were to ignore our responsibilities to our class brothers of Spain and China. This is the first Marxian principle. Just as peace is indivisible, so too freedom is indivisible. So long as anyone is oppressed anywhere in the world, there can be no final assurance of Australian liberty.

The second governs the situation where the workers may find themselves fighting side by side with their own bourgeoisie against a common enemy. China is a concrete example. The boundless greed and rapacity of Japan's militarist-fascism drove China's upper classes to fight. A sheer instinct of self-preservation may force the British and Australian bourgeoisie to stand up to the fascist aggressors. Lyons and Menzies at the moment prescribe labor camps for Australians, but the gloomy prospect of finding themselves in a Japanese one might engender some genuine patriotic impulses even among such people. Whatever the reason, the armed struggle against an invasion by

Japanese fascism, even if led by the capitalists, would be a democratic struggle, one which the workers would support.

In such a situation, "the working class must guard above all things its own independent class interests." (Marx.)

This was almost reached in the Czech crisis. Things almost went beyond both Chamberlain and Hitler. (It's worth noting that in spite of the British public's clamor for a firm stand against Hitler, Chamberlain didn't resign. He was determined to entrench himself in the most advantageous position, the premiership, so as to be able to more effectively sabotage the anti-fascist movement no matter what happened.)

Here then is the specific problem: How could we fight side by side with (or support) such treacherous "allies" as the British imperialists? How would the independent class interests of the working class have been defended?

And the immediate question: Lyons is calling for "defence," and the labor movement is also demanding a defence programme. Big sections of the people cannot as yet see through Lyons's deception. Isn't there a danger of working-class submergence?

How is Labor to take part, as it must, in defence of our country against fascist aggressors when we have the enemy in our midst occupying positions of control?

First, by Labor formulating and applying an *anti-fascist* defence policy. (Note: Not just a defence

policy, but *anti-fascist*, for the only potential invaders are the fascists. This characterisation is necessary. If carried into effect and consistently developed it will encompass the required action to deal with fascist moves and attacks as these inevitably arise in our country. It will also provide the ideological weapon with which to overcome the isolationist and similar vagaries within the ranks of Labor.)

Second, by studying the form and technique of bourgeois propaganda, by exposing their duplicity and treachery, by outmanoeuvring the class enemy!

One illustration: On the eve of what appeared to be the outbreak of war (September 28), Lyons proposed the enactment of a War Precautions Act. The purpose was clear. It was designed against all genuine anti-fascists. The Communists, militant Labor Party sections and individuals, and the unions were to be suppressed. The policy of sell-out to the fascists was to be advanced another stage.

What should have been our policy? Simply to denounce such legislation?

No! The labor movement should have replied to this provocation:

"Yes! We need a democratic 'War Precautions Act!' There are enemies within our borders who must be rooted out. There are fascist spies, terrorists and wreckers. There are traitors among the people, and indeed among those who supposedly lead the people, such as bankers and manufacturers who in

the last war traded with the enemy, and who are responsible for arming the foe at our gates!"

Parry and riposte! Lyons pleads for greater efficiency. Very good, we too demand greater efficiency. "Mr. Lyons, there is the blood of Australian men and women on your hands. Last year 73 miners were killed, and only because the profits of greedy investors had to be protected. You have taken millions for your pretended defence plan, and what have you to show? A military man says that Australia, after all these years of preparation, possesses only 10 modern tanks, a few serviceable planes, and ammunition for a one day battle! Efficiency, forsooth! The real increasing efficiency of the Spanish and Chinese peoples is in direct proportion to the ridding of those countries of corrupt, weak and inefficient administrations such as now plague Australia.

Menzies wants national unity. "We too want national unity," we retort. "We are establishing the unity of all the useful, progressive people in Australia for action against the parasites, the conscriptionists, the would-be Hitlers of this country. By getting rid of you and your type (as in Spain and China) we shall grow strong enough to really defend our land. To leave you in control would be fatal!"

The full story has still to be told of how the Munich affair was stage-managed: the working up of the war scare, the absurd digging of trenches in London, the pre-arrangement for the dramatic delivery

of Hitler's telegram during Chamberlain's speech in parliament, the copious flow of tears from Queen Mary and Sir John Simon.

We expose and denounce these enemies of democracy and peace by skilful persistent work. And vigilance! But in demanding the suppression of traitors, and in calling for greater efficiency, we do so not only from the narrow standpoint of outmanoeuvring them tactically. True, we have to be capable strategists; this is vitally important.

We put forward these demands because they are practical necessities from the standpoint of Labor!

And it must be done now! To wait until another war crisis develops would be dangerous. The labor movement could establish a sort of "Labor Defence Council" (the name doesn't matter). Its specific job would be to organise the real defence of the country, and an important feature of its policy would be vigilant watch upon the corrupt bourgeois at home, the fascist spies whom the authorities now protect, and all other enemies and traitors.

Should war in defence of Australia—a progressive democratic war—break out, the council could then become a "Labor Defence Cabinet." There must not be, now nor then, the slightest idea of "unity" or "co-operation" with the Lyons Ministry.

Some form of contact could be established, liaison officials with the various government departments and the like. In so far as the bourgeois made some serious efforts to

work out a worthwhile programme, there would be no difficulty.

The guiding principle of such a body would be that if a successful struggle against fascist aggression is to be waged, then the fullest democratic liberty at home must be guaranteed.

The least attempt by reaction to curtail democratic rights would have to be sternly resisted; it would be treated for what it really is, namely, treason!

Not only would Australia be in a better position to defend itself against invasion, but the application now of a correct anti-fascist, anti-militarist line here and in all democratic countries might yet achieve the defeat of Hitler, Mus-

solini, and the Japanese fascists without the need of armed struggle.

A final word. Militarism becomes the special form of existence of capitalism in its present, dying stage. This tendency is manifested to the most extreme degree under fascism. Fascism is militarism; fascism is war.

The growth of reaction in all countries is marked by a corresponding growth of the spirit and practice of militarism.

Therefore, the waging of the class struggle against capitalism demands persistent struggle against militarism; conversely, the struggle against militarism becomes a frontal assault by the working class and its allies against the rule of capital.



Study of a "patriot."

CONTROVERSY

40-Hour Week in Tasmania

WMORROW, State Secretary, A.R.U., writes from Launceston:—

The article headed "40-hour week" contributed by L. Donald and printed in the September issue of the "Communist Review," wherein it states that Tasmania has a 40-hour week is likely to mislead.

There are a few in the mining industry who enjoy the 40-hour week under certain conditions and these are working under Federal awards. The others are a few clerks and schoolteachers.

We believe the workers in Tasmania to be one of the greatest exploited. The figures show that for every £100 that was expended on salaries and wages during 1935 and '36, the average value of net production was £205. During 1937-'38, for every £100 that was expended on salaries and wages, the average value of net production reached the record figure of £218.

The State Government through its Educational Department officially condones the exploitation of child labor in the hop-picking field by arranging that the school holidays are arranged to coincide with the hop-picking season in order that children may be exploited.

The writer visited one of the fields recently, when hop-picking was at its highest, and whilst discussing with the hop-pickers, learned that a family consisting of the father, mother and two children picked hops from 7 o'clock in the morning till 6 o'clock in the evening with a lapse of $\frac{1}{2}$ -hour for lunch, whilst the total receipts for the family for the day reached the magnificent sum of 15/-. In addition the children's hands were bleeding from the rough hop vines. Other cases I saw were married women with their babies lying in bag-cots alongside of them. The child would cry and the mother would pick the child up and give it a drink for a few minutes and then put it back into the cot again. Really typical of coolie labor.

Small-fruit picking workers' conditions are somewhat similar to the hop-pickers, only worse. During last season owing to the poor money, the worker would not take on picking raspberries.

Consequently, in order to force the workers to take on picking, single men were deprived of the dole and they had to go picking fruit. The pickers informed me they worked anything from 12 to 15 hours for 5/- per day.

"WORKERS, BEWARE!"

Betty Roland

DRAMATIS PERSONAE: B.H.P. KING COAL. SHIPOWNER. WORKER. SEAMAN. WATERSIDE WORKER.

[B.H.P., a fat and prosperous looking individual, takes the stage. He strikes himself on the chest and recites with great ferocity:]

B.H.P. I'm B.H.P., the B.H.P.,
And so, you see,
It's best to be
Good friends with me.
For if you're not,
I'll make it hot
And dam' soon have
You on the spot!

[Worker strolls up to him.]

Work: Oh yea-ah? Well, I'm the chap from Lysaghts, see? And what the hell do you mean by giving two of my mates the sack just because they've got the guts to tell you a few home truths about yourself?

B.H.P.: What do you think I mean? I won't have these red-raggers, these bolsheviks, these trade union busy-bodies poking their nose into my affairs.

Work: You won't, eh? Well, poke your nose into this: we're behind those blokes, every one of us, and you don't get us back to work until they come too.

[He turns and begins to go off, B.H.P. following, shouting after him.]

B.H.P.: How dare you talk to me like that? You bounder, you vulgarian, you common, low-born thug!

Work: [turning round] And another thing, don't you start any funny business with that new award you're cooking up in Broken Hill. I've got my eye on you, don't forget.

B.H.P.: And I'll have the Arbitration Court on you. Laugh that one off.

[Worker gives a hearty raspberry before he hastily goes.]

B.H.P.: [in a fury] Strike would they? Interrupt production! Reduce my profits? Oh, for a Hitler! Oh, for a Mussolini even! Oh, for a good sound Fascist government!

[While he is ranting round the stage, KING COAL comes in. He wears a paper crown and a purple robe but looks as though he has just come out worst in a fight.]

K.C.: Hello, Prop., old boy, what's the matter?

B.H.P.: What's the matter? Did you hear what that rude fellow just said to me?

K.C.: Said to you! Take a look at what some of them have *done* to me.

B.H.P.: Yes, you do look a bit the worse for wear.

K.C.: My boy, you don't know what strikes mean. You've only got one subsidiary workshop out, I've had every mine in the Commonwealth closed. Just you wait till you have that sort of thing to put up with. Oh, what a headache!

[*He recites in a mournful voice:*]

Old King Coal, is a poor old soul,
With profits going up the pole.
That fellow Orr, makes me feel sore,
I'd like to sock him in the jaw.

B.H.P.: Well, it might have been worse, they're back at work and you can always depend on the Arbitration Court to do its best for you.

K.C.: Don't you believe it. I'm not going to be able to get away with much this time. They're waking up, we can't fool the workers like we used to.

B.H.P.: It's scandalous! Outrageous! The way they let those agitators poison their minds against us. Only in a democratic country are such things possible.

K.C.: Democracy! Oh, how I hate that word.

[*SHIPOWNER strolls in. He is dressed in a natty yachting suit.*]

Ship: Hello, old pots, what the deuce is biting you? I say, reahllly, you look hot and bothered, dontcherknow?

B.H.P.: You'd get hot and bothered, Shipowner, if you had to put up with what we have to.

K.C.: With the way the miners are going on a man can't call his coal his own.

Ship: Ah, what you need, my dear old beans, is a little sympathetic legislation.

K.C.: What do you mean?

Ship: Why, you perfectly priceless old peach, do you really mean you don't get me? Here, take a look at this.

[*He pulls a rope which he holds in his hand and a WATER-SIDE WORKER is dragged in with rope fastened to collar round his neck; Shipowner pulls a second rope and a SEAMAN appears in the same manner.*]

Ship: My two most humble and obedient servants, Waterside Worker and Seaman. [*He indicates each with a wave of hand.*] Nicely on the string, what?

[*Both men struggle and try to loosen "dog-collars," much to the amusement of the others.*]

B.H.P.: Marvellous!

K.C.: The very thing. Why have I never done it?

Ship: Never too late to mend, old fruit.

B.H.P.: How did you do it?

Ship: Oh, influence, my dear boy, influence. It took a little time, a little, what you might term—argument but once I got the government behind me, then the rest was easy.

B.H.P.: We must make a note of this.

K.C.: Yes, we must indeed.

Ship: Look, I'll give you just a little illustration of the way it works.

[*He goes up to Waterside Worker.*]

Ship: Well, go on, get busy. Why aren't you loading those tin-clippings for Japan?

W.W.: Because they're war materials. I'm not going to help those lousey Japs. make war on innocent women and children.

Ship: You're not! And since when have you had any say in what you're going to do? Another word from you and I'll cancel your license and you won't get another job if you go down on your knees for it.

W.W.: I'm not going to load that tin.

Ship: You're going to do as I tell you.

W.W.: I'll be hanged if I am.

[*Shipowner tightens his grip on "dog-collar" so that he half-strangles the Watersider.*]

Ship: You'll be hanged if you don't. I'll tighten up this "dog-collar" act till you can hardly breathe—and that goes for your wife and children, too. You'll all starve together. [*He gives the collar a vicious jerk.*] Now, do as I tell you and look sharp about it.

W.W.: [*To Seaman*] Can't you do anything to help me?

Sea: What can I do? I'm just as helpless as you are.

[*Watersider is gradually forced onto his knees. B.H.P. and King Coal cheer Shipowner on and slap him on the back.*]

B.H.P.: Atta boy! Give him the works.

K.C.: What an inspiration! What a grand example!

[*Shipowner releases his grip on Watersider and gives him a shove.*]

Ship: Now, get going on that job and look sharp about it.

W.W.: You wait, you cow. I'll remember this.

Ship: You remember that dog-collar's round your neck and I can force you into doing what I want.

[*He makes a threatening move towards Watersider, who dodges behind B.H.P. and King Coal, pokes his head out and*

gives a loud and derisive "bow-wow-wow," ending up with a vicious "G-r-r-r!" Shipowner goes for him and he beats a hasty retreat.]

B.H.P.: Dear me! The impertinence!

K.C.: The cheek of the working class!

Ship: Don't you worry about him. He can only bark.

B.H.P.: My dear boy, I am full of admiration.

K.C.: I am almost moved to tears.

Ship: Well, take a leaf out of my book. Now's your chance, B.H.P.

You've got a new agreement being fixed up, slip in a little clause about "national emergency," and you'll soon have things like you want them.

K.C.: [*tearfully*] But what about me?

Ship: We'll find a way to fix you up and all the other key industries, too. We boys have got to stick together these hard times.

K.C.: Too right, we have.

All: All for each and each for all!

[They link hands and begin to sing, dancing round in a circle.]

"For the more we stick together, together, together,

The more we stick together the wealthier we'll be!

For your friends are my friends and my ends suit your ends,

So, the more we stick together, the wealthier we'll be."

[They go off arm-in-arm and still singing. Seaman and Watersider are left and come forward to address audience.]

W.W.: Comrades, fellow-workers, you have seen what they can do to me.

Sea: They can do the same to me. I am also at their mercy.

W.W.: We are faced with victimisation, loss of licenses, unemployment, if we raise our hands against the boss.

Sea: I can be forced to scab on the Waterside Workers; I can be sent to gaol; I can be fined and fired if I refuse to carry out instructions, no matter how unjust.

W.W.: The liberties that years of constant struggle won for us are lost.

Sea: We are in the worst position of any set of workers in Australia.

W.W.: Help us in our fight to free ourselves.

Sea: Help us to get this collar off our necks.

Both: **HELP US TO GET IT OFF BEFORE IT GOES ON YOU!**

THE END.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Gordon Grant

MUCH work remains to be done by Australian writers to give us some idea of the real story of the people who founded and built Australia.

This is a field that has been badly neglected so that any published document or story dealing with the earliest days of Australian settlement is welcomed and takes to itself an absorbing interest for people who live here. There is much more interest for us in the mysterious past of Botany Bay, shrouded in a certain amount of historical obscurity than in many old-world places we have never seen, but which are familiar to us in stories of the past and present.

From the pen of an American, Frederick A. Pottle, comes the latest historical document—"Boswell and the Girl from Botany Bay." Published this year, it is a revised version of his address to the Elizabethan Club of the Yale University given on May 4, 1932.

The author tells again the story of Mary Bryant, a 22-year-old convict girl who came to Australia in the First Fleet, the victim of a harsh old-world social system. She escaped from the convict settlement with her husband at 10 o'clock on March 28, 1791, in the Governor's open boat, leaving Sydney Cove with her husband, their little boy, aged three, their daughter (a baby at the

breast) and seven other convicts, and making a voyage of 3,000 miles to Timor (approximately the distance from New York to Southampton.)

They all survived the hardships of that voyage. In documentary fragments the tragic story of their subsequent treatment by British authorities is presented: how she lost her husband and children and faced trial.

Although the author says he desired to avoid sentiment in the book he permits himself to give two pictures of the girl.

"In one she sits at the tiller of the boat steering it, under a light breeze, through the night. Bryant stands at the prow, scanning the sea for shoals; all the other convicts lie stretched out on the bottom of the boat. Her little boy sleeps beside her knee; her baby slumbers in her lap. The great tropical seas are mirrored in her hopeful eyes . . .

"In the other she stands in the hard light of day on the deck of the *Gorgon* (the ship in which she was transported back to England), haggard, unlovely in her tattered filthy clothes. The captain, very stiff and smart, is just closing the prayer book, and two sailors are dropping over the side the little canvas sack that holds the body of her baby. Her hands grip each other tightly, but she makes no outcry."

In the log of the *Gorgon* the baby Charlotte's death is described, "a supposed deserted convict from Port Jackson."

The final part of the story is new and tells of the kindly connection between James Boswell, the author of the "Life of Johnson," and how he interested himself in the girl, who eventually went back to her people in Cornwall and disappeared from record. The author says he hopes she emigrated to America to become the ancestress of someone now reading the book.

"I can say with complete sincerity," he adds, "that I know of no one whom I should more proudly claim as my forbear than the heroic girl who escaped from Botany Bay and was later befriended by James Boswell."

An important aspect of such stories and documents to us is the reflection they give of the attitude of the ruling class of that day towards the oppressed class who did

"*The Jewish Question*," by George Sacks (Victor Gollancz, London). Australian price, 2/3.

Although published in 1937 and therefore lacking the significant revelations of recent events, this little book is a first rate summary of a subject that is becoming increasingly prominent, even in the minds of those who "pride" themselves on taking no part in international affairs.

Perhaps its most valuable lesson is that it points out the danger that

the work to make the foundations of civilisation here and their utter lack of vision regarding the possibilities of this country. Yet it is the very members of this class and their official lackeys who are honored here at the instigation of the succeeding members of the same class when we commemorate our centenary and other anniversaries.

Let us read available documents and get a true perspective of the historical background of our settlement (it is not difficult to do so) and then write so that all may know the truth of our origin. The result should help to honor and reward the preservers of our real traditions—the working class of Australia today and in the future.

"*Boswell and the Girl from Botany Bay*," by Frederick A. Pottle (William Heinemann Ltd.—London). With maps, illustrations and appendix of notes. Australian price, 7/6.

lies in the universal response which the fascist policy of anti-semitism arouses. Who can deny that there are many people, otherwise hostile to fascism in all its forms, who admit to a sneaking sympathy with Hitler on his policy of Jew-baiting? Herein lies the menace and peculiar cleverness embodied in the anti-semitism of fascism.

The common dislike of the Jew is at least one channel through which vast numbers of otherwise hostile people can be approached.

That this aspect of the question is considered of primary importance is revealed by the fact that from its headquarters in Hamburg the Foreign Department of the National Socialist Party sends funds, pamphlets and scurrilous cartoons all over the world, even to such places as Brazil, Mexico and South Africa, where there exists no vestige of a "Jewish question." That Australia has not been overlooked we know from evidence provided by the unpleasant excrecence of anti-semitic posters and leaflets that periodically make their appearance on lamp posts and street hoardings.

The author gives a brief outline of the history of past persecutions and shows in a clear and impressive manner the direct connection of pogroms with class struggle and revolutionary situations.

He deals also with Zionism and effectively dissipates that dream of a Jewish paradise by the clear logic of an understanding of the irreconcilable conflict of interests that lies between the Arabs and the Jews and, again, between rich Jews and poor Jews, because in addition to their struggle with the outside world, the Jewish race is as sharply divided into hostile classes as are the proletarians and capitalists of every other section of the bourgeois world.

Mr. Sacks draws the inevitable

conclusion that there will be persecution of the Jews as long as there is class struggle and exploitation. In support of this he advances the indisputable fact that the only country in the world where there is no trace of anti-semitism is the only country where there is no class conflict.

It is no myth that racial prejudice is non-existent in the Soviet Union. Having personally worked and associated with Chinese, Hindus, Negroes, Germans, Spaniards, Jews, Poles, Latvians, Japanese, English, indeed, representatives from most nations in the world, this writer can speak from experience. Apart from language difficulties there is no trace of differentiation between these widely divergent peoples. It is no accident that this state of affairs exists in the one country where the basis of class antagonisms has been removed.

While Mr. Sacks's valuable little book may not make all his readers become ardent supporters of the classless society, he nevertheless presents an unanswerable argument in support of his contention that the Jewish people will find no permanent solution to their woes as long as there is class against class and they can be used to serve the political and financial ends of the master exploiters of all men and all situations.—B. R.

TO SPAIN

Bob Lambert

*Comrades, this is not my song,
of hot dazing skies, seagulls
curoing timelessly down the wnd
or by hypnotic mutterings of endless
waves upon a white beach.*

*All these are songs about me,
lying, a pigmy figure, in a vaulted
sphere, that hangs outside life
suspended crazily from humanity.*

*I have written those songs
as though from a peak pushed
high above the world, writing
of sun and sea, never heeding
comrades, your marching feet.*

*Now upon my ear impinges
sharply, a song of freedom flowing
in the wind, the stamp of men
marching with the waves, onward
in countless ranks. O my brothers!*

*No pasaran. They shall not pass!
and the beach thunders
with your voices and above
waves, high above their spray
a forest of clenched fists springs.*

*I too, upon my feet,
shout hoarsely with the wind
"They shall not pass!" clenched
fist, too, raised to the sky.*

*There sings a mighty chorus,
comrades, of victory on the earth,
birds, waves, sun, the winds
and I, even I, unfettered for a day,
we shout to you across the sea.*

*Courage, march on to freedom.
They shall not pass.*

MILESTONES IN HISTORY

Victims of Reformist Betrayal

FASCISM today has the masses of Germany in its bloody clutches. Twenty years ago they were within an ace of ending capitalism itself and ushering in Socialism. What lies between? Largely, the betrayal of Labor leaders and its terrible effects.

"Five hundred corpses in a row, Liebknecht, Rosa, Radek and Co. Are they not there also?"

Thus mocked the Social Democratic newspaper, "Vorwaerts" on the eve of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg on January 15, 1919.

With voice and pen these two great revolutionary leaders had struggled against the "revisionism" of the German Social Democrats, who began by misinterpreting the teaching of Marx and ended by capitulating to fascism.

When the German Social Democrats forgot their resolutions of working-class internationalism and supported the "Fatherland" in waging an imperialist war, Liebknecht alone called for resistance to the plans of the capitalists and voted against war credits.

In 1916, the Spartacus League was formed of the elements of the Social Democratic Party which remained true to the programme of revolutionary Marxism, and, toge-

ther with the Independent Socialist Party, they led the masses in the struggle for liberation from the yoke of German militarism.

When the workers turned towards Socialism as the way out of the desperate conditions created by the war, it was Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and their colleagues, who showed the way to the goal.

Workers' and soldiers' councils were set up. To all intents and purposes, the old order ceased to function, but the Social Democratic leaders allied themselves with the old generals to prop up the capitalist system, and the brutal suppression of the revolutionary Marxists began.

The masses revolted and, like true leaders, Liebknecht and Luxemburg placed themselves in the vanguard, to be slaughtered virtually at the behest of the leaders of the Party they had endeavored to prevent from betraying Socialism.

Just prior to her death, Rosa Luxemburg exposed the role of her murderers when she cried: "Order reigns in Berlin! You senseless thugs! Your 'order' is built on sand. The revolution will rise tomorrow, bristling to the height, and will to your terror sound forth the trumpet call; I was, I am, I am to be!"

The truth of her words has been demonstrated in the years that have followed. Capitalism was restored, but has found it necessary to resort to more and more terrorism to maintain its sway.

Today, it is bankrupt, propped up on British loans and at the expense of the workers of Germany

and conquered countries. Built on sand, it enters the phase of pogroms in a last desperate attempt to prolong its existence. When it crashes to the ground, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will come into their own. They will be honored when the names of their murderers and their successors are forgotten.

AUSTRALIAN "LEFT NEWS"

A HEARTY welcome to our latest contemporary, *The Australian Left News*, born in November of last year. The first number is a creditable production, the price is twopence and we strongly commend this periodical to our readers. Its specifically Australian features make it an indispensable supplement to the English *Left News* for Left Book Club members in this country.

The "Additional" Book of the L.B.C., *Exiles in the Aegean*, by

Bert Birtles, can also be heartily recommended to our readers. The author and his wife (who wrote *North-West by North*) are Australians, who arrived in Greece before the restoration of the monarchy in 1935 and saw every event, from the fake plebiscite organised by General Kondylis previous to the arrival of the king, down to the *coup d'etat* by which General Metaxas finally rivetted the shackles of dictatorship on his country. The book is fully documented.



New Guinea Then Australia

J. B. Miles



SINCE Munich there has been world wide speculation and alarm about the future of the ex-German colonies handed by the League of Nations to the powers victorious in the world war. Success after success for fascist blackmail and bluff leads to more insistent hints and propaganda on colonies by the Nazis and to demands by Mussolini upon France. The policy of appeasement, the treachery of Chamberlain and Daladier toward Czechoslovakia, gives rise to fearful doubt as to which territory, which people will next be handed over to the Hitler gangsters, murderers and pogromists by his allies in Britain and France?

German Propaganda Minister Goebbels says the German man in the street is asking, when will colonies be served up? In the British, French and Australian parliaments questions are asked and statements are made. The press reflects the alarm of the people as well as the rumors, inspired and otherwise, and also, the suggestions of those who have not learned that fascism cannot be appeased.

The white population of New Guinea holds many meetings and demands that the territory shall not be given over to pogrom rule. More meetings are planned. Travellers by air and sea speak about the alarm felt in the islands and

hint at Nazi activity. It is suggested that the natives in contact with civilisation are alarmed at the prospect of Hitler control.

No doubt the owners of the Australian capital invested in New Guinea and those persons in the territory who share in the exploitation of the native population and the natural resources are alarmed lest they lose their right to exploit. The working class will not defend the exploiters, but, while it is the duty of the Australian labor movement to assist to improve the lot of the New Guinea natives and other workers, to force the Australian government to do so, they also have a duty to themselves and to democracy and peace.

The major issue at this moment is not to end capitalist exploitation in New Guinea or Australia, but to fight fascism and its allies, the pro-fascists and fascist agents, to prevent fascism plunging the whole world into war, to preserve Australia from fascism at home and from abroad.

Self-determination, the right to secede, is not a real issue in New Guinea. Even if it was it would be overshadowed by the greater issues of the struggle between fascism and democracy, between the forces making for war and the forces making for peace. The task, then, is to fight for a better life for the New Guinea masses, to win the toiling population, native and white, for alliance with democratic Australia, against being handed over to Hitlerism, and to ensure that the British and Australian governments

are not permitted to further endanger the security of the Australian people.

Control of New Guinea by Nazi Germany would place the fascist beast within easy striking distance of Australian shores, within two hours' flight by the latest planes, according to Mr. Hughes. Japan, partner with Nazi Germany in the fascist axis, controls islands to the north of New Guinea, and these fascist powers could readily reach agreement to divide Australia and New Zealand between them. The war upon Australia, contemplated now by Japan, would be inevitable with Hitler entrenched in New Guinea.

The strategic importance of New Guinea (of African colonies also), its control by an aggressor or by a peaceful power is the issue raised by the Nazi demand, by Mr. Chamberlain's policy of aiding the fascists to attain their objectives, by Mr. Lyons's spineless acceptance of the foreign policy of the pro-fascist British National government. Compromise with the fascist powers over colonies means a continuation of the redivision of the world now proceeding by means of war, blackmail, treachery and cowardice. World war would probably become inevitable and Australia would be menaced by forces much more formidable than a few raiding war vessels.

Declarations have been made by many important persons but Munich demonstrated the power of fascist bluff when aided by treacherous reaction in the democracies. Munich demonstrated the power of

reactionary governments when the forces of progress are divided and unclear. Australian security is in the greatest danger so long as the workers and other anti-fascists fail to unite their forces, remove the Lyons government and change Australian foreign policy.

Mr. Chamberlain has made statements which, like his statements about Czechoslovakia and aid to France, leave the way open for his policy of aid for the fascists. No British territory (including protectorates and mandates) "would be transferred from British sovereignty without the fullest regard being paid to the interests of the populations concerned . . . the government will not commit themselves to any statement in connection with this particular problem without giving full opportunity for discussion in the House." A day or two later the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macdonald, said a wire had been sent to the Governor of Tanganyika (East Africa) authorising him to announce that the British government was not contemplating the transfer of any territory under British administration.

It will be noted that Mr. Macdonald did not say the government would never contemplate handing territory to Nazi terror. Mr. Chamberlain did not say no bargaining would be conducted except openly before the people and their representatives in parliament. His assurance about a statement is worthless as is his alleged concern for the interests of the populations. True, Czechoslovakia contained the popu-

lation of another sovereignty and some people are so simple as to hope that the Munich method of securing "peace" will mean that our turn will never come. But New Guinea is not in the middle of Europe, it is next door and this, as well as the reality of Chamberlain-Lyons policy, is what must be realised by the isolationists and those still deluded by the theory of appeasement.

Mr. Chamberlain's concern for populations is to be measured by the failure of his government to in any way restrain the Japanese fascists who attack British residents, and British forces and ships, as well as the Chinese people, by his aid to Hitler, Mussolini and Franco in their attacks on the Spanish population. If he were really concerned about the welfare of colonial populations he could begin at once in Palestine, India, Kenya, to mention only a few countries where a better life and freedom would win millions more into an anti-fascist front, for the security of the British and other democracies. No population is safe so long as Chamberlain has any power to betray it in order to save Hitler, Mussolini, the Japanese fascists, or any other fascist gang.

The visit of the South African, pro-fascist, Defence Minister, Mr. Pirow, to Berlin, and Mr. Chamberlain's statements alarmed the French Prime Minister, who was more outspoken than his pro-Hitler friend. He asserted no concession had been or would be envisaged and no negotiations would be considered.

But the French government had

made promises to aid in the defence of Czechoslovakian independence, but under British pressure, M. Daladier shamefully abandoned these promises. Since then, Daladier is trying to demonstrate to French finance capital his ability to curb the French workers.

Will the Australian isolationists now realise not only that Australian security depends on who controls New Guinea but also that it is to our interest that the slogan of the French workers, Daladier must go, be achieved, so that in France the policy of appeasement may be brought to an end?

Mr. Lyons has said that the government has no intention of handing New Guinea to Germany or anybody else and that no suggestion to do so has been made to him by Mr. Chamberlain. "Our policy on the matter is quite clear," he declared.

One thing is clear, and that is the complete domination of Lyons and Australian foreign policy by the Chamberlain government. Von Berk, the German journalist, recently in Australia, knew what he was talking about when he said the colonial question would not be settled in New Guinea or Australia, but in London. And it will be settled there to the great danger of the Australian people unless we can remove Chamberlain's lackey Lyons and by doing so aid the British people to bring down Chamberlain.

No reliance can be placed upon Mr. Lyons or any members of his Cabinet who protest that New Guinea will not be surrendered to

Hitler. Perhaps they have in mind that Japan will require New Guinea in order to carry through the plan to conquer Australia and New Zealand.

Mr. Lyons and his Cabinet do everything possible to encourage Japanese aggression. A ban is placed on the export of iron ore but the B.H.P. continues to send ore to Japan. The iron ore supply is not sufficient for the Japanese militarists or for B.H.P. profits, so the latter starts to export pig iron and the Cabinet uses the Transport Workers' Act to force the workers to abandon their boycott. Mr. Lyons's policy increases the menace to Australia. In the name of peace he is sacrificing the interests of the Australian masses, the security of the country, to the interests of the B.H.P. and the pro-fascist reaction in Britain and Australia.

Mr. Menzies tells the watersiders that their action, if extended, would provoke war, but is it not the fact that Chamberlain and Lyons, along with Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini saved "peace" and brought war nearer? They say so in effect and increase their arms programmes. Profits for the B.H.P. from sales to Japan, profits for the B.H.P. from sales to the Australian government.

Unity in action, nationally and internationally, to economically strangle the Japanese militarists, would not bring an attack on Australia, it would release the Japanese as well as the Chinese people from the horrors of war and fascism and do more for Australian defence

than all the warships, planes and troops it is possible to acquire in Australia.

In the interests of peace, the security of Australia and New Zealand and the population of New Guinea, the labor movement and all anti-fascists must demand that the pledges to safeguard New Guinea from Hitler shall be honored. Everything must be done to unite the people of Australia in action for peace. Lyons must go! This demands unity of the Labor Party and unity in the labor movement. The working class must lead the

struggle for a government of economic, social and national security, seeking allies, partners in the common struggle, among the farmers and middle classes, in their organizations and among their leaders.

The trade unions, the Labor Party and the Communist Party must enter into close contact and organisational relations with the native and white workers of New Guinea, for the struggle against the common enemy, the fascist warmongers and their agents and allies in our midst.



FAMILIAR PICTURE

Mikhail Koltzov

In this article the Soviet writer tells of the P.O.U.M. Trial, which recently took place in Barcelona, and compares this trial with that of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union. The methods they use, the way they lie and attempt to wriggle out of the situation are identical. It is, says Koltzov, a familiar picture.

LOOKING back at the different and complicated struggle of mankind against the dark forces of doomed capitalism, against its latest and most monstrous production, fascism, our descendants—and not only our descendants, but we ourselves in a short time will recall 1938. This was a year of the foulest betrayals by the bourgeois rulers of the biggest western European states, a year of cowardly capitulations of petty-bourgeois politicians, and a year of brilliant, courageous resistance by the Spanish and Chinese peoples, who are encircled by a fascist ring of fire.

For the people of our country, the determination of the Spaniards and Chinese to repulse the enemy, the foreign enslavers, with arms in hands, is neither new nor surprising. Our people have endured an unparalleled attack by the forces of fourteen States. They endured blockade, hunger, cold, typhus—in fact, there are no ordeals equal to those endured by our people in the defence of their fatherland, their Soviet Socialist system.

And yet, one cannot but admire the bravery and determination with which the blood-stained Spanish and Chinese people now, in 1938, de-

fend themselves day after day against enemies who become more and more impudent as they remain unpunished.

While looking with admiration and pride at the bright spots on the dark and sad map of the capitalist world of 1938, while recalling the heroism of the people's armies, fighters, and the dignity and firmness of the civil population, it is with a feeling of dumbfoundedness and disgust that we see the small black heaps of insect-like creatures, the dirty web of their progression, and the bloody traces of their deeds.

The Trotskyists, who have long ago ceased to be even a semblance of a political current, now, even as a variety of fascist bandits, occupy the most evil and most dismal place. Even in the fascist underworld, on the international illegal exchange of spies, provocateurs, diversionists and assassins, they have the reputation of people who have nothing to lose. What a gang! Even thieves and bandits have their peculiar code of honor. "You were able to thieve—then you must be able to answer for it." But a Trotskyist does not observe this rule. He lies, tries to wriggle out,

and plays fool even when caught red-handed. He renounces his accomplices, his brigand chief, he repudiates his deeds, and his very self.

The trial of the Spanish Trotskyists, members of the P.O.U.M., is coming to a close. It is a familiar picture, indeed!

The same types. The same mode of behavior. The same habits.

When the trials of the Trotskyist-Bukharinites were proceeding in Moscow, the bourgeois press excelled itself in slander and attacks on the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs because it exposed the criminals, on the Public Prosecutor because he implacably accused them, on the Soviet Court because it judged them and even on the accused themselves because they confessed.

But there is a case being heard not in Moscow, but in Barcelona, not before a Soviet Court, but before a Tribunal of a bourgeois parliamentary democratic Republic. The criminals have been arrested by Republican police, who are by no means Communists. The members of the court, and the prosecuting counsel consist either of officials, jurists who do not belong to any party, or of people belonging to the Republican or Socialist parties. But the accused are the same. And their work is the same as that carried out by Trotsky's

criminal band in all countries which are fighting fascism: high treason, political provocations, military and economic espionage, acts of diversion and terror. As everywhere, the Trotskyist spies at the Barcelona trial attempt at first to wriggle out, elude and deny their crimes. And then, pinned to the wall by evidence, cross-questioning and documents, they are forced to give in, to confess. But when they confess, they do not tell all they know, they dodge about, haggle, and try to evade letting all the evidence out.

The prosecutor, Gomez, asks the accused Gironella whether he knows the Italian Fosco and the German Hindenburg.

Gironella replies that he is acquainted with both these gentlemen and that he knows them to be anti-fascists.

The prosecutor immediately reads the record of the arrest and search of a certain Kurt Landau, Trotsky's former secretary. During the search at Landau's house, the police discovered Hindenburg. Hitler literature, badges of fascist organizations and fascist forms and leaflets were found during the search. The prosecutor reads other documents, from which it is directly clear that Fosco and Hindenburg are staff agents of the Gestapo. Gironella confusedly mutters that he did not know of this.

(Concluded Next Issue.)

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

R. Dixon



ON Wednesday, November 16, Mr. Scullin, former Labor Prime Minister suggested that the Commonwealth government should hold a constitutional session of parliament to draw up proposals for submission to the electors for recasting the Federal Constitution. A stalwart of unification, he attacked the present Federal system of government and urged the abolition of the six State parliaments, leaving only the central government. Mr. Scullin's idea is that the Commonwealth parliament should have supreme powers of legislation and control. That for purposes of efficient government, local governing bodies be established to which the central

parliament would delegate certain powers.

To a country over-burdened with parliaments, over-run with politicians and with a surplus of British Governors, Mr. Scullin's view might seem sound. However, there are many dangers in unification. In the conditions of the political situation today it would, by strengthening the apparatus of the capitalist State hasten the growth of fascism.

Mr. Scullin made the statement on Wednesday, November 16. For several days it was overlooked. Then on Saturday, November 19, the press and government took it up and a campaign for constitutional reform was launched. Thus the Labor Party

is to be made a kind of stalking-horse to get over constitutional amendments in the interests of certain sections of the Australian ruling class.

Mr. Lyons expressed appreciation of Mr. Scullin's effort and urged that the question be approached "on a national basis and non-party lines." Mr. Menzies announced that the Cabinet had decided to hold a special session of parliament to discuss the constitutional question early next year. The capitalist press suggested that from this session would come proposals for constitutional reform which would be submitted to the people at a referendum.

The Constitution is the basic law of Australian capitalism. Its essential purpose is the preservation of the system of private property and the class relations that go with this system. In other words the constitution confirms the power of the capitalist class and upholds its right to keep the working class enslaved to capital. The labor movement therefore, cannot approach the question of constitutional reform in the manner suggested by Mr. Lyons, the spokesman for the capitalist slave-drivers, from "a national basis and on non-party lines." For us, it is a class question and must be approached from a class standpoint. To amend the Constitution along the lines hinted at by Menzies in his speech, or to unify the government as Mr. Scullin suggested, would be contrary to the interests of the working class.

Viewed from the angle of the exploiting classes, constitutional changes to further consolidate their rule are necessary.

Federation was achieved in 1900 by agreement between the states after several decades of haggling and conflict over state rights. Finally, when agreement was reached, the states delegated various of their powers to the Federal government but only those considered to be consistent with Federation. The States sought to retain their independence as far as this was possible. Hence, instead of one parliament with supreme

authority, we have six State parliaments, a Federal parliament and divided authority. Overlapping of functions and legislation and often conflict between State and Federal authorities have frequently resulted from this.

Division of power is a source of weakness and so the Australian ruling class have sought in the past, and are seeking today, to unify and strengthen their rule.

When the representatives of the States drafted the Federal Constitution they stated precisely the powers and, therefore, the limits of the powers, of the Federal Parliament. The Federal Constitution is a written Constitution, whereas the States have no written Constitution. This further complicates the situation for it means that, unless it is decided otherwise by referendum, power to deal with all issues over and above those detailed in the Federal Constitution reverts to the State, and this includes new developments unforeseen by the framers of the Constitution.

For instance, those who framed the Constitution did not foresee the development of aviation and so made no provision for it in the Constitution. Aviation is certainly a national problem and yet is controlled by State laws, the people rejecting, only last year, an amendment which would have brought aviation under Federal control.

In the year 1900 Australia was only on the threshold, one could say, of the development of capitalism as we know it today. At that time, capitalism was small, scattered, weaker and therefore more democratic. The Federal Constitution was a reflection of the conditions of capitalism then. Since 1900, however, monopolies have spread their tentacles across the Australian continent. The banks and big financial institutions have more and more brought the economic life of the country under their domination. With this process of concentration and centralisation of capital, the part of the rich financial interests to further concentrate and consolidate their political power.

The Federal Constitution, drawn up when capitalism was more scattered and democratic, is a hindrance to the rich of today, hence the demand for revision.

The working-class movement, which is a force for progress, recognises that with new developments and changed conditions, changes are necessary in the Constitution and methods of government, but the issue we are confronted

with is whether the changes should be in the direction of increasing the power of finance capital, or in the opposite direction, that of extending democracy and increasing the power of the people.

In the Constitution provision was made by means of the referendum for alteration or amendment to the Constitution. The referendum was to be the weapon to bring the Constitution into line with new developments and changes.

All efforts to amend the Constitution made so far have had the purpose of strengthening the power and control of the rich. Significantly enough the people have, on almost every occasion, refused to extend the power of the Federal Parliament in the interests of this clique.

It would be wrong to imagine that no changes in the relation of State and Federal power have taken place since 1900. There have been many changes. The power of the Commonwealth government has grown considerably over what it had, or was presumed to have had in 1900. The High Court of Australia which interprets the Federal Constitution and the division of powers between the State and Commonwealth, has been the means of extending Federal power.

In pre-war years, when the State outlook was much stronger than today, the decisions of the High Court tended to favor the States. With the war this was changed. The High Court held that with respect to "the naval and military defence of the nation," the Federal government could make laws bearing on military preparedness and the conduct of the war. A very wide interpretation which gave to the Federal government during the war almost supreme powers.

After the war, High Court decisions were increasingly in favor of the Commonwealth. As a result, the scope of Commonwealth power was extended. One example to illustrate this was the decision of the High Court that an award of the Federal Arbitration Court took precedence over State laws. This decision placed severe limits on the powers of the State in industrial matters, as well as widening the interpretation and, therefore, the scope of Commonwealth powers.

Other examples could be given, all of which would show that with the aid of well-paid lawyers, the Commonwealth Constitution has been stretched, twisted and distorted until in many respects it would hardly be recognised by those who framed it in 1900.

Premiers' Conferences have also contributed to increasing the power of the Commonwealth government. For instance, the Financial Agreement of 1927 and the establishment of the Loan Council strengthened Commonwealth government control over State finances.

Then, in 1929, when the one and only major amendment to the Constitution was voted upon favorably by the people—the amendment dealing with State debts—the Commonwealth assumed power of almost complete control over State finances. It was under this section of the Constitution that the Lyons government in 1932 seized New South Wales government income to meet overseas interest payments and brought about the downfall of the Lang government.

The above facts indicate that the powers of the Commonwealth government have been considerably extended since 1900. There are limits, however, to the stretching of the Constitution and Federal powers with the help of lawyers and Premiers' Conferences, and for this reason, the ruling class are becoming anxious to extend the powers of the Commonwealth government by constitutional amendment.

The Federal Government particularly desires to increase its powers over trade, commerce and industrial matters.

If, in addition to the financial powers it now has, the Commonwealth government could extend its control over trade and commerce and also over industrial matters, then its powers would be almost as great as they would be if unification were achieved.

The Constitution starts from the need to protect the class interests of the small minority of the powerful financial interests who seek to dominate completely the economic and political life of the country. The whole of the suggestions for Constitutional amendments are in the direction of further consolidating the power of this small minority of the rich and that means, in present day politics, to strengthen the tendency towards fascist methods of rule. Obviously we must oppose this. Anything that will assist fascism must be fought. Mr. Scullin has done a great disservice to the working class by raising the issue of unification.

There can be only one policy for the working class: strengthen the power of the people, improve the Federal system of government, extend democracy and not limit it, as will inevitably follow if the Federal government gets its way.

Democracy to be really effective, implies the government taking the people fully into its confidence. The Lyons government does not do this. It continually hides the basis of its policy and keeps the people in the dark. The government cries out for more armaments and for recruits for the military, but fails to explain why these are so urgent, from whence comes the danger to Australia, which Power is threatening us most, how near the danger of war really is, etc. The reason the government refuses to explain this is because if the people knew the truth they would insist upon a change in the government's foreign policy, which instead of preventing, brings the danger of fascist aggression right to Australian shores.

More than this, parliament meets less frequently. Last year it met for 29 days only. Government by Regulation is replacing parliament, and government by Regulation is one of the chief features of fascism.

To grant increased power to the ruling class in these circumstances, would only place them in a stronger position to flout parliament and the people.

There are those who attack our Federal system of government as inefficient. The so-called weakness of the Federal system is being seized upon by fascists to try and undermine confidence in the existing form of democratic government in Australia.

Mr. McEwen, Minister for the Interior in the Federal government, on November 21, said: "The concentrated authority in the authoritarian countries today presents the sharpest contrast with the inefficiency of our hopeless Federal system." His statement is typical of the views of many others, including Mr. Menzies.

Some significance must attach to the fact that the people most desirous of Constitutional reform expose their motives by expressing admiration for the "concentrated authority" in the totalitarian countries and denouncing our democratic Federal system as "hopeless." Mr. McEwen is deserving of thanks for being so frank.

The difficulties of the Federal system arise chiefly from the conflict of capitalist interests, rather than from the machinery of government or the Constitution.

Take the struggle going on between the States and the Commonwealth on the question of defence. A Premiers' Conference was held but agreement was

not reached. Why? Because various capitalist groupings are fighting to get their hands upon the maximum of profits obtainable from the government's defence expenditure. When Mr. Stevens criticised the Federal Treasurer, Casey, he was acting as spokesman for the Bank of New South Wales in its fight against the policy of the Commonwealth Bank.

It is wrong to say that the Federal system is inefficient and will not work when the difficulties arise from the conflict of capitalist interests whose chief concern is the making of big profits.

The Federal system can work efficiently and co-operation between Commonwealth and State governments can be achieved. There are many examples to prove this. For instance, during the economic crisis, agreement was reached between the Commonwealth and the States at the Premiers' Conference in 1931 to reduce wages and salaries. When the people refused to grant the Commonwealth additional powers to control aviation, the states co-operated in passing unified laws and achieved about the same results as if the Commonwealth had made the laws. Despite the rejection of additional marketing powers the government sought last year, the marketing organisation, which we were told would collapse if the referendum was not carried, has been sustained. At this moment the State and Commonwealth governments are co-operating in giving assistance to wheat farmers by taxing flour, increasing the price of bread, and thereby passing the burden of helping wheat growers on to the people least able to bear it.

The way to the effective working of the Federal system and to co-operation between the Commonwealth and States is through extending democracy and obtaining more direct participation of the people in the government of the country. Labor governments can achieve a greater degree of co-operation than the capitalist representatives, and yet they have not yet achieved the co-operation which could be expected of working-class organisations.

What is needed is an Australian People's Front, embracing workers, farmers and middle-class representatives, which is powerful enough to control the legislatures of this country. Given such a movement, co-operation should be achieved between Commonwealth and State and efficient government realised, in the "authoritative" sense, but in the broadest democratic sense.

Liebknrecht and Luxemburg

Extracts From Their Writings



A LREADY in 1907 Karl Liebknecht concluded his book, "Militarism and Anti-Militarism," with these words:—

"Anti-militarist propaganda must be cast over the whole nation like a wide net. The proletarian youth must be systematically imbued with class-consciousness and with hatred of militarism. This kind of agitation would warm the hearts and rouse the youthful enthusiasm of the young proletarians. The proletarian youth belongs to Social-Democracy, to Social-Democratic anti-militarism. It must, and will, be won over if everyone does his duty. He who has the youth has the army."

Following is the text of the proposed declaration which Liebknecht intended to pronounce on December 2, 1914, to explain his refusal to vote the war credits:—

"I state the following reason for my vote on today's measure: This war, which was desired by none of the participating nations, did not break out for the good of the German or any other people. It is an imperialist war, a war for capitalist domination of the world market, for the political control of important colonial regions by industrial and financial capital. From the point of view of competitive armaments, it is a preventive war, hatched in the dark of a semi-absolutism and a secret diplomacy by the German and Austrian

war parties acting conjointly. It may also be considered a Bonapartist enterprise for the demoralisation and the destruction of the rising labor movement. The past few months have shown this with increasing clearness, in spite of a ruthless campaign of misrepresentation.

The German slogan "Against Czarism!" like the present English and French slogan "Against Militarism!" pursued the purpose of mobilising the noblest instincts, the revolutionary traditions and aspirations of the people, in the service of national hatred. Germany, the accomplice of Czarism, and to this day a pattern of colonial backwardness, has no mission to act as a liberator of nations. The liberation of the Russian people—like that of the German people—must come from within.

This war is not a defensive war for Germany. Its historical character and its progress to this day forbid us to trust a capitalist government when it states the purpose for which it seeks credits to be the defence of the Fatherland. . . .

We must defend a peace without conquests; all our efforts must be bent to this end. Only a simultaneous, continuous strengthening of all tendencies aiming at such a peace, in all belligerent states, can put an end to the bloody massacre before all the participating nations have been exhausted. Only a peace arising from the soil of the international solidarity of the working class and the freedom of nations can be a sure peace. Therefore, the proletarian of all lands has again, today, in the war, to perform a joint Socialist

labor for peace.

I am voting in favor of the Poor Relief Credits, to the amount asked, which appears to me entirely insufficient. I shall likewise vote in favour of everything that can be done to alleviate the hard lot of our brothers in the field, of the wounded and sick, who have my limitless compassion; here again no amount asked can be too much. But as a protest against war, against those responsible for it, against the capitalist policy that brought it about, against the capitalist aims which it pursues, against the violations of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, against the military dictatorship, against the social and political irresponsibility of which the government and the ruling classes are today still guilty, I vote against the war credits asked."

In letters dated 3 and 8 May, 1916, Liebknecht addressed these words, among others, to the Royal Court Martial in Berlin:—

"The cry, 'Down with the war!' is meant to express that I thoroughly condemn and oppose the present war because of its historical essence, because of its general social causes and the particular form of its origin, because of its methods and its aims; and the cry is also meant to express that it is the duty of every representative of proletarian interests to take part in the international class struggle for its termination."

To the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" of 6 July, 1899, Rosa Luxemburg contributed an article entitled "A Tactical Question," the following passage from which bears upon the present matter of the People's Front:—

"In the development or, rather, the decline of capitalist society, there can be sure, be moments when the final seizure of power by the representatives of the proletariat would still be impossible, but their participation in the bourgeois government appear as necessary, especially where the freedom of the country or the democratic conquests, like the Republic, are at stake, whilst the bourgeois government itself is already too compromised and disorganised to get the people to follow it without the support of the

workers' representatives. In such a case it would naturally be impermissible for the representatives of the working people to run away from the defence of the common cause for the sake of dogmatically sticking to an abstract principle. Only, even then, the participation of the Social-Democrats in the government would have to take place in forms which could leave neither the bourgeoisie nor the people in the slightest doubt over the transitory character and exclusive purpose of their procedure. In other words, it would be impermissible, even then, for the entry of the Socialists into the government to amount to solidarity with its activity and existence in toto. . . ."

In her work, "The Crisis in the German Social-Democracy," published during the World War, Rosa Luxemburg wrote:—

"Fatherland in danger, national defence, people's war for existence, Kultur, liberty—these were the slogans proclaimed by the parliamentary representatives of the Social-Democracy. . . . If it is true that this war is really a fight for national existence, for freedom, if it is true that these priceless possessions can be defended only by the iron tools of murder, if this war is the holy cause of the people, then everything else follows as a matter of course. . . . He who desires the purpose must be satisfied with the means. War is a methodical, organised, gigantic murder. . . ."

If the stand taken by the German Reichstag group on the fourth of August was correct, then the death sentence of the proletarian International has been spoken, not only for this war, but forever. For the first time since the modern labor movement exists there yawns an abyss between the commandments of international solidarity of the proletariat of the world and the interests of freedom and national existence of the people; for the first time we discover that the independence and liberty of the nations command that workmen kill and destroy each other. Up to this time we have cherished the belief that the interests of the peoples of all nations, that the class interests of the proletariat are a harmonious unit, that they are identical, that they cannot possibly come into conflict with one another. That was the basis of our theory and practice, the soul of our agitation. Were we mistaken in the cardinal point of our whole world philosophy?"

In the above-cited work, Luxemburg wrote further:—

'Friedrich Engels once said: 'Capitalist society faces a dilemma, either an advance to Socialism or a reversion to barbarism.' What does a 'reversion to barbarism' mean at the present stage of European civilisation? We have read and repeated these words thoughtlessly, without a conception of their terrible import. At this moment one glance about us will show us what a reversion to barbarism in capitalist society means. This world-war means a reversion to barbarism. The triumph of imperialism leads to the destruction of culture, sporadically during a modern war, and forever, if the period of world-wars that has just begun is allowed to take its damnable course to the last ultimate consequence. Thus we stand today, as Friedrich Engels prophesied more than a generation ago, before the awful proposition: Either the triumph of imperialism and the destruction of all culture, and, as in ancient Rome, depopulation, desolation, degeneration, a vast cemetery; or the victory of Socialism, that is, the conscious struggle of the proletariat against imperialism, against its methods, against war. This is the dilemma of world history, its inevitable choice, whose scales are trembling in the balance, awaiting the decision of the proletariat. Upon it depends the future of culture and humanity. In this war imperialism has been victorious. Its brutal sword of murder has dashed the scales, with overbearing brutality, down into the abyss of shame and misery. If the proletariat learns from this war and in this war to exert itself, to cast off its serfdom to the ruling classes, to become the lord of its own destiny, the shame and misery will not have been in vain.

The modern working class must pay dearly for each realisation of its historic mission. The road to the Golgotha of its class liberation is strewn with awful sacrifices. The June-combatants, the victims of the Commune, the martyrs of the Russian Revolution—an endless line of bloody shadows. They have fallen on the field of honor, as Marx wrote of the heroes of the Commune, to be enshrined forever in the great heart of the working class. Now millions of proletarians are falling on the field of dishonor, of fratricide, of self-destruction, the slave-song on their lips. And that, too, has not been spared us. We are like the Jews whom Moses led through the desert. But we are not lost,

and we will be victorious if we have not forgotten how to learn. And if the modern leaders of the proletariat do not know how to learn, they will go down 'to make room for those who will be more able to cope with the problems of a new world.'

In the same work, Luxemburg has a passage touching on the Maoris with the Anzacs:—

'Our party press was filled with moral indignation over the fact that Germany's foes should drive black men and barbarians, Negroes, Sikhs and Maoris into the war. Yet these peoples play a role in this war that is approximately identical with that played by the socialist proletariat in the European states. If the Maoris of New Zealand were eager to risk their skulls for the English king, they showed only as much understanding of their own interests as the German Social-Democratic group that traded the existence, the freedom and the civilisation of the German people for the existence of the Habsburg monarchy, for Turkey and for the vaults of the 'Deutsche Bank.'

One difference there is between the two. A generation ago Maori negroes were still cannibals and not students of Marxian philosophy.'

In connection with that fear of revolution which is the main factor still holding back world war today, Luxemburg wrote in the same work:

'Thus capitalist politicians and militarists alike believe war, with its modern mass armies, to be a dangerous game. And therein lay for the Social Democracy the most effectual opportunity, to prevent the rulers of the present day from precipitating war and to force them to end it as rapidly as possible. But the position of the Social-Democracy in this war cleared away all doubts, has torn down the dams that held back the storm-flood of militarism. In fact it has created a power for which neither Bernhardt nor any other capitalist statesman dared hope in his wildest dreams. From the camp of the Social-Democrats came the cry: 'Durchhalten,' i.e., a continuation of this human slaughter. And so the thousands of victims that have fallen for months on the battlefields lie upon our conscience.'

Luxemburg's "Crisis in the German Social Democracy," concludes thus:—

'Another such war, and the hope of Socialism will be buried under the ruins of imperialistic barbarism. That is more than the ruthless destruction of Liege and Rheims Cathedral. That is a blow, not against capitalist civilisation of the past, but against Socialist civilisation of the future, a deadly blow against the force that carries the future of mankind in its womb, that alone can rescue the precious treasures of the past over into a better state of society. Here capitalism reveals its death's head, here it betrays that it has sacrificed its historic right of existence, that its rule is no longer compatible with the progress of humanity.

But here is proof also that the war is not only a grandiose murder, but the suicide of the European working class. The soldiers of socialism, the workers of England, of France, of Germany, of Italy, of Belgium are murdering each other at the bidding of capitalism, are thrusting cold, murderous irons into each other's breasts, are tottering over their graves, grappling in each other's death-bringing arms.

'Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles,' 'long live democracy,' 'long live the czar and slavery,' 'ten thousand tent cloths, guaranteed according to specifications, 'hundred thousand pounds of bacon,' 'coffee substitute, immediate delivery'... dividends are rising—proletarians falling; and with each one there sinks a fighter of the future, a soldier of the revolution, a savior of humanity from the yoke of capitalism, into the grave.

This madness will not stop, and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia and of England will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will drown the bestial cries of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor, 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!'

This excerpt from a letter written to her friend Luise Kautsky from prison on 26 January, 1917, gives a glimpse of Luxemburg's personal quality:—

'I suppose all inclination for music as for everything else has left you for quite

a while. Your mind is pre-occupied with worries about the wrong course history is taking, and your heart is full of sighs over the despicable conduct of Scheidemann and comrades. And everybody who writes me, means and sighs similarly. To me, nothing seems more ludicrous than that. Don't you understand that the general misery is altogether too great to bemoan it? I can grieve if Mimi [Liebknecht's wife—Ed.] is taken down with sickness or when something is the matter with you. But when the whole world is out of sorts, then I try merely to comprehend what has happened and why it happened; and once I have done my duty I rest content and recover my good spirits. *Ultra posse nemo obligatur* [None is obliged beyond ability—Ed.]. And besides, everything is still left that otherwise gave me joy: music and painting and cloud and botanical excursions in springtime and good books and Mimi and you and many other things besides—in short, I am immensely rich and intend to remain so until the end. This complete yielding to the miseries of the day is something that I can't understand and bear at all. Just note how, for instance, a Goethe stood above events with his cool composure! Just think what he had to go through; the great French revolution which, seen at close range, certainly must have seemed like a bloody and entirely purposeless farce; and then from 1793 to 1815 an unbroken chain of wars, during which the world again looked like a madhouse let loose. And how quietly, with what mental equilibrium he at the same time pursued his studies about the metamorphosis of plants, about the theory of color, about a thousand and one things! I don't ask you to write poetry like Goethe; but his conception of life—the universality of interests, the inner harmony—is something that everybody can acquire for himself, or at least strive for. And if perchance you should say, 'but Goethe was no fighter in the political realm,' I reply: a fighter, more than anybody else, must try to rise above events, otherwise he will sink up to his nose in every little trifle. Of course, I am thinking of fighters of big calibre, not of weathervanes of the size of the 'big men' who gather about your table and who, the other day, sent me a post-card greeting. Never mind—your greeting was the only one I really cared for among them all.' . . .

When their dearest friend fell in battle, Luxemburg wrote to Luise

Kautsky from prison (15 November, 1917) thus:—

"I am still unable to emerge from the deep surprise: is that possible? It seems to me like a word that has been silenced in the midst of a sentence, like a suddenly broken off chord which I still hear.

We had a thousand plans for the time after the war, we were going to 'enjoy life,' travel, read good books, marvel at spring, as never before. . . . I cannot comprehend it; is that possible? Like a flower that has been torn off and trampled upon. . . .

Dearest, don't lose your nerve. One must be proud and not show anything. Only, we must become somewhat more closely attached to each other, so that

it may become 'warmer'." . . .

Finally, in letters to Luise Kautsky dated 24 November and 19 December, 1917, Luxemburg commented on the Russian Revolution:—

"Are you happy about the Russians? . . . It is a historical deed, the traces of which will not disappear in eons of time. I am expecting many other great things during the coming years, only I should prefer to admire history not merely from behind iron bars." . . .

"Yes, the Bolsheviks! . . . On the whole events there are glorious and will have incalculable results." . . .

ROSA LUXEMBURG

ON the anniversary of Rosa's death in 1919, we reprint from Serle's "An Australian Anthology" the poem below. We do so, not because the poet knows "the woman and her work" very well—manifestly she does not—but because, to our knowledge, it remains the sole poem, sympathetic at that, by a prominent Australasian writer (Eileen Duggan is a New Zealander) on this "mountain eagle" of the world revolution.

*For some the shuttle leaping in the sun,
Laburnum leaves above the quiet door
And song that drips like water, cool and slow,
And when the hands are still and day is done,
The swaying crib upon the firelit floor,
Ah how could you these gentle things forego?*

*Wild heart that beat beneath its tattered shawl,
Wild voice that broke upon its ceaseless cry
For those whose lips are dumb beneath the sky,
Whose feet beneath the stars must stumbling fall,
Whose hands must turn in toil until they die!
Which is the nobler task? God knows, not I.*

*For you no threaded spool, no singing time,
No young bees flying through laburnum boughs,
No little rolling head upon the breast,
But now, beyond the bourn of flower or chime,
May He who set the storm between your brows
Pity your broken bones and give them rest.*

—Eileen Duggan.

MODERN PUBLISHERS PTY. LTD.

312 Rawson Chambers,

Rawson Place, Sydney

A Suggestion from Our Editor

Become a Subscriber to the "Communist Review," and thus insure regular and punctual delivery by post.

Fill in this form and return it to us with a remittance.

Please post me:

The Communist Review regularly for

12 months 6 months 3 months

(Strike out what is not required)

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: 12 months, 6/-; 6 months, 3/-
3 months, 1/6. Post Free.

I enclose

ADDRESS _____

NAME _____

WHO OWNS AUSTRALIA?

By J. N. RAWLING

Author of

"THE STORY OF THE
AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE"

The name of the writer of this clever pamphlet may be depended upon for the accuracy of the facts and figures quoted by him in this condensed but startling statement.

Showing tireless research, it is the most instructive and illuminating description we have yet seen, proving conclusively that we are owned and controlled by a coterie of millionaires, whose system of interlocked finance, embracing raw materials, banks, shipping, mines, chemicals, insurance, business, etc., gives them unlimited power over all.

Clearly printed, with an instructive and helpful chart, the price (sixpence) places it within the reach of all, and we recommend every man and woman in the community to read it.

Wholesale from:

MODERN PUBLISHERS PTY. LTD.

312 Rawson Chambers,

Rawson Place, Sydney

'PHONE: MA 7771