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THE NATIONAL REGISTER

By R. Dixon



YOUTH AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By Gordon Crane



DIALECTIC AND SOCIETY

By L. Jamieson

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COMMUNIST REVIEW

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THE NEWS REVIEWED

● N.S.W. PARLIAMENTARY CRISIS ●

THE Stevens-Brunner govern-
ment which had held office con-
tinually for seven years in New
South Wales was defeated in the
Legislative Assembly on Thursday,
August 3.

The shot which brought the gov-
ernment down was fired by the
former Minister for Works and
Local Government, Mr. Spooner.

His motion, which the Premier,
Stevens, elected to treat as one of
censure, urged a new financial policy
for 1939-40 and the establishment
by law of a separate trust account
for the Special Income Tax and
Wages Tax to be earmarked exclu-
sively for relief of unemployment.

This was carried by 43 votes to
41. Nine U.A.P. members and an
Independent followed Mr. Spooner
to vote with the Opposition for the
motion.

The government's downfall came
as a climax in a fast moving political
drama.

Earlier in the session Labor leader
Heffron launched a censure motion
indicting the government for its fail-
ure to take any steps to stop the rise
in unemployment.

Tsar Stevens, however, while un-
able to answer the charges, was able
to whip his followers into line and
muster sufficient strength to survive
the motion.

No sooner had he steered his ship
of government safely past this rock

than he was confronted with mutiny
amongst the crew.

First mate Spooner, who had play-
ed ducks and drakes with the income
from Wages Tax for seven years
and found no objection to the ac-
countancy methods, suddenly dis-
covered faults in the government
financial policy.

It would seem that in high U.A.P.
circles outside Parliament there was
growing alarm at the State's finan-
cial drift, and that Premier Stevens
was called upon to act.

This he attempted to do along the
time honored U.A.P. lines of "soak-
ing the poor." He planned to take
the authority for relief works ex-
penditure out of the hands of the
Minister for Works and Local Gov-
ernment and concentrate it in the
hands of a Cabinet coterie.

This was to have been the prelude
to a more drastic curtailment of such
works.

It was not against this aspect that
Mr. Spooner revolted, but rather
against the ending of his own role
as good fellow and fairy God-father
to local councils.

There followed a series of hectic
discussions inside and outside Cau-
cus. Charges and counter-charges
were bandied to and fro. The re-
bels were threatened with expulsion
from the U.A.P. In retaliation the
leader was charged with attempting
"Nazi-control."

When Spooner resigned from the Cabinet it looked as though Stevens had been able to stamp out the revolt.

However, appearance proved deceptive, the flame which was quelled in the Party room flared up again in Parliament when one of the rebels revealed that Spooner had told him that the Budget was faked.

This left Spooner little option other than to take the course he did. Even then he insisted that his motion was not one of censure on the government.

Stevens, by insisting that it was a censure, hoped to coerce the rebel camp with the threat of an early election.

His hope was not substantiated. The followers of Mr. Spooner, even if they were dismayed, were not discouraged by this threat. They crossed the floor in sufficient strength to defeat the government.

Needless to say the Stevens threat was not implemented. The last thing which the Bligh Street rulers of the U.A.P. want to see at the moment is an election. They know the chances of a sweeping victory for Labor.

These people have a very good friend in the Governor, Lord Wakehurst. Without consulting Mr. Spooner or the leader of the Opposition at all, Wakehurst listened to the words of wisdom poured into his aristocratic ear by Stevens and sent for one of the ex-Premier's staunch supporters, Mr. Mair, to form a Cabinet.

Apart from the absence of Stevens

and Fitzsimmons (who is abroad) the composition of the Mair government will be no different to that of the Stevens-Brunxner coalition.

This discredited and defeated junta has, with the connivance of the Governor, been jockeyed back into office.

How long it can remain there is another question. The answer depends upon the actions of the people of N.S.W.

The Stevens government came into power towards the end of the "depression" in 1932. Its election catch-cries of clean government and sound finance won it the support of the middle classes.

The revival of capitalist economy which set in about the same time helped Stevens to retain this mass support.

But he could never have clung to office for such a record period had it not been for the existence of the Lang inner group in the Labor movement of New South Wales.

The splitting policy of Langism has been the constant source of Labor's weakness and Steven's strength in N.S.W.

The middle classes would long since have deserted Stevens, the friend of the monopolists, had Labor been in a position to offer them an alternative.

It is Langism which has prevented this. The middle classes distrust Lang and will not support Labor while he is in control. But Hurstville and Waverley proved that Labor united and without Lang would be a different proposition.

What is most needed in N.S.W. today is a Labor Party free from "inner group" domination; a Labor Party organised on democratic lines; a Labor Party that will pursue a

progressive policy and play a leading role in uniting the workers and middle classes in the struggle against monopolies and their servant the U.A.P.-C.P. Cabinet.

NEW LINE OF ATTACK

THE new economic crisis which has been creeping over the capitalist world since 1937 is beginning to make its presence more keenly felt in this country.

The Commonwealth Bank bulletin for July shows that the export price index is down to 65.9 compared with 72.3 in July, 1938.

Income from exports in 1938-9 was over 17½ million below that of 1937-8 and imports were valued at nearly 15½ million lower than the preceding year.

A classification of imports revealed that the heaviest declines were in machinery, piecegoods and raw materials for secondary industries.

This indicates that the process of "expansion," which we have heard so much about, is slowing to a stop. A sure sign of impending crisis.

The Marxian term for "expansion" is accumulation.

Accumulation is the expansion of production by increasing the means of production.

Competition compels every capitalist enterprise to reduce its cost of production. One of the chief means to this end is increasing the productivity of labor, enlarging and improving the machinery operated by one worker. In other words, the real accumulation of fixed capital

(buildings, machinery, apparatus, tools, etc.).

The renewal of fixed capital is usually begun in the phase of depression, is expanded in the revival phase, reaches its climax in the prosperity phase and stops almost completely with the outbreak of the crisis.

Thus 1931/2 which marked the depth of the depression in Australia, also marked the starting point of that "great expansion of our secondary industries" which bourgeois economists and politicians love to prattle about.

As long as accumulation is in full swing things go along alright. Sales present no difficulties because the capitalists themselves are the principle buyers of one another's commodities (buildings, machinery, apparatus, tools, etc.).

The expansion of production in industries engaged in the manufacture of producers' goods is accompanied by an increase in the number of workers employed.

Increased employment raises the demand for consumers' goods. Thus more production and employment takes place here. Consumers' goods industries renew their fixed capital to an increased degree and place new orders for machinery, etc.

The capitalists can see no reason why this should end in a crisis and go on expanding production.

But accumulation is a two-sided process. Sooner or later it comes up against the limited consuming power of capitalist society.

Prosperity continues as long as the process of accumulation is in full swing, as long as new factories are built and new machinery installed. But as soon as this process reaches a certain point, when a number of new production plants have been constructed, the demand for producers' goods (building materials, machinery, etc.) falls off, entailing a drop in the demand for consumers' goods as well, since the workers in these industries are becoming unemployed.

At the same time the supply of commodities increases, since the new and reconstructed factories begin to pour goods on to the market. Over-production already exists but the open outbreak of the crisis is delayed since the capitalists (who never believe that the prosperity phase will come to an end) are producing for stock.

Since Australia does not possess a machine construction industry we must look to the imports of machinery as forming a guide to the movement of fixed capital.

As stated in the beginning it is commodities of this class which have suffered the sharpest decline in the past year, indicating that accumulation in Australia is already slowing down, a sure sign, as we said, of a new crisis.

This is not the only sign, however; mounting government deficits, and rising figures for unemployment add to the story.

The people of Australia must prepare to meet the situation.

"Equality of Sacrifice" served its turn in the last crisis. Under this slogan the poor were made to pay.

The slogan of the people on this occasion must be, "Make the Rich Pay."

As the crisis deepens so will the attacks upon our living standards gain in intensity.

Big inroads have already been made by the subtle methods of indirect taxation.

By customs duties, excise duties, flour-tax, sales tax, wages-tax and a host of other means, consumers have been slugged. Nominal wages have suffered little, but real wages have been slashed to pieces.

To put an end to this insidious creeping barrage, the people must unite and rout from office the governments responsible.



AGAINST JAP AGRESSORS

L. Sharkey

THE Soviet government has come to the aid of the Chinese Republic with a loan of £28,000,000. This is only a first instalment. This loan will play a very significant part in the situation in the Orient.

There is a grave danger of a "Far Eastern Munich."

The Japanese military-fascists, blockading Tientsin, outraging British subjects and bombing British shipping, are demanding far-reaching changes in British policy. The Chamberlain policy, in the Sino-Japanese struggle, has by no means been pro-Chinese; like that of Menzies, it has treated Japan as a "friend."

The London money-bags, the real power behind Chamberlain, aimed to share the spoils with the Japanese aggressors. Their idea was to divide China into "spheres of influence"; the North for the Japanese, the South for the British. The British imperialists believed that exhausted Japan would be unable to supply the financial strength necessary for the exploitation of China and that they would be able to step in.

The British imperialists desired, above all, to direct Japanese aggression towards the Soviet Union, in accordance with the policy of "pulling the chestnuts out of the fire."

The British, therefore, calmly allowed Japan to seize Manchuria and to begin wholesale a war on China.

But the Japanese have proved to be unable to conquer the Chinese resistance. They are becoming financially and economically exhausted; they have lost a million soldiers in killed and wounded in the Chinese war.

The Japanese now want quick results and they look to Mr. Chamberlain for aid. They want the British to cease support for the Chinese currency. That means that the British cease trading with the Chinese in the currency of the Chinese government, but, instead, carry on their business transactions in the worthless currency established by the Japanese with the aid of the puppet Chinese government of traitors, established by them. They demand the handing over of the £50,000,000 sterling, it is estimated, of Chinese silver dollars held by the British banking institutions throughout China. The British government is adopting, as far as the Japanese will let them, a line of "friendly negotiations," that is, the danger of capitulation on the currency issue, and the handing over of the four Chinese for execution, is a grave one.

It is in the middle of this critical situation that the Soviet loan to the Chinese government is announced. It means that the Chinese government would remain solvent even if Chamberlain appease the Tokio militarists by withdrawing support for the Chinese currency. It must re-

sult in a stiffening of the attitude of the British government against Japan, and is also strong backing for the action of President Roosevelt in his announced policy of ending the American trade agreement with Japan.

The Soviet loan has an immense moral and political value for the Chinese Republic at this critical moment when it is in danger of being the victim of a new "Munich" at the hands of Chamberlain.

The Loan is not the only assistance rendered by the Soviets to China. The roads through Chinese Turkestan and Outer Mongolia are open and supplies are reaching the Chinese. The Japanese are desperately trying to close these gateways, among other things, by their attack on Outer Mongolia. They are being severely mauled for their pains by the Mongolian Peoples' Army, reinforced by the Red Army. The assistance to Mongolia is in accordance with the treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union; it clearly shows the Soviet government, unlike others, is prepared to fulfill all obligations made to other countries. The Japanese aggressors, despite all manner of threats of using their Navy, find that, unlike Britain and France, the Soviet Union cannot be bluffed into betraying the cause of peace and international law.

Thus another Japanese "undeclared war" (whilst it is true the main forces are not engaged), is raging along the Outer Mongolian and Manchukuo frontiers against the Soviet Union and Outer Mon-

golia. The Japanese aggressors will be utterly defeated in this war.

Meantime the "southward drive" of the Japanese aggressors continues with full force. A recent despatch from Batavia, Dutch East Indies, emphasises this as follows:

Details of Japanese plans for a continuation of the "secret offensive" against the democracies in the Pacific are now available here. They include:

1. The seizure of further strategic islands;
2. The establishment of a new airline, which, though useless from a commercial point of view, has important military significance; and
3. The development of a wide-spread espionage and Fifth Column network in Dutch East Indies, British North Borneo and Australian New Guinea.

At the same time it is clear that all the Japanese moves up to the moment have been carried out according to a carefully worked out plan in collaboration with the two other aggressor powers.

At the time of the Czechoslovakian crisis last September, a Japanese naval unit, consisting of one large cruiser, several torpedo-boats and transport carriers, complete with troops, were reported in the vicinity of the north coast of Dutch and Australian New Guinea.

It is now established that in the event of war the Japanese intend to occupy these islands immediately. The troops which were not disembarked during the September crisis

have now been unloaded in South China.

The significance of the Japanese move is clarified when it is realised that important petroleum deposits exist in North New Guinea and also in North Borneo.

After the occupation of the islands of Hainan and Spratley, Japan does not intend waiting for the outbreak of war before occupying another important position, the island of Natuna.

It is directly north of Singapore, blocking the route from the British naval base to the China Sea. It would form a very useful connecting link between Spratley and Hainan for the Japanese. Its occupation would allow the Japanese line of communications to extend right down to Singapore and Indonesia.

At present the island is not fortified. In the hands of the Japanese it would constitute a bigger danger than the occupation either of Hainan or Spratley.

The airline being constructed is primarily to maintain the lines of military communication. It connects Yokohama with the Island of Palao. It forms a line passing Saipan, one of the Marianen Islands, closest point to the United States, Guam.

Palao, a former German possession, mandated after the war to Japan, is only a short distance from Dutch New Guinea. Also a journey of less than two hours would bring a plane within striking distance of the rich Borneo oil wells at Tarakan and Balikpapan.

Simultaneously with these moves, the Japanese are developing a far reaching network of propaganda agents and espionage in the Dutch East Indies and elsewhere.

In Batavia, it has been revealed, the Japanese have financed a number of important print works and newspapers. The chief of the Indonesian department of the semi-official Anota news agency, has been exposed as being one of the main Japanese agents. He has recently bought up one of the biggest printshops in Batavia for the Japanese. He is also behind the financing of a number of similar deals with newspapers.

In Singapore, a Japanese daily newspaper openly carrying out anti-British propaganda, has been started.

Agents of Japan and the "Axis" are just as active in Australia as in the Dutch Indies. Yet the Menzies government turns down the proposal of one of its own Ministers, Hughes, to investigate and stop the activities of fascist agents within the country.

The Japanese are preparing the totalitarian war, in conjunction with the Axis.

Yet the Menzies government, in spite of the advance towards Australia related above, which must be known to it, persists in calling Japan a friendly power, although it is patently preparing for a future attempt on this country.

The Menzies government insists on providing the Japanese militarists with iron ore, with wool and other war materials. This government, which talks about "defence," does

not hesitate to make a new trade agreement which allows the entry of large quantities of cheap Japanese rubbish into Australia. The profits from this will be used by Tokyo to purchase bombs to mutilate Australian citizens.

The Menzies government does this at the moment that the American government foreshadows a trade break with Japan, when the Soviet government increases its aid to China. Chamberlain, in the British House of Commons, states that before taking economic reprisals against the Japanese, he must "consult the Dominions." Menzies has already given his cowardly answer,

to appease the Japanese.

The Australian people, however, in full sympathy and support of the heroic Chinese struggle and in full sympathy with the Soviet and Mongolian troops resisting aggression; spurning the policy that has led to barbarous outrages on British people at Tientsin, will continue to demand the breaking-off of trade relations with the aggressor, in line with the United States' attitude and that of the Soviet Union.

The Australian people, boycotting Japanese goods, demands the extension of the Anglo-Soviet-French pact to the Pacific, bringing in the support of the United States.

HARVEST

*Gold weds Steel
In cracked Cathedral walls
While Bomber-Bridesmaids Drone.*

*The word-stopt Mouth
Broken;—Awet with Blood
Gapes in Silence.*

*Green Apples fall from the Trees
Never to Ripen
For Spring is Black.*

*And man-manured Fields,
Tear-Watered,
Are Sown with Shrapnel-Seed.*

*But Clenched-Fists, Million-Sprouted
Rise through the Rich Earth
To Burgeon and Multiply.*

—FRANK RYAN.

YOUTH AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Gordon Crane

"THE relative surplus population exists in every possible form. Every laborer belongs to it during the time when he is only partially employed or wholly unemployed. In the factories properly so-called, as in all the great workshops, where machinery enters as a factor, or where only the modern division of labor is carried out, large numbers of boys are employed up to the age of maturity. When this term is once reached, only a small number continue to find employment in the same branches of industry, whilst the majority are regularly discharged. . . . That the natural increase of the number of laborers does not satisfy the requirements of the accumulation of capital, and yet all the time is in excess of them, is a contradiction inherent to the movement of capital itself. It wants larger numbers of youthful laborers, a smaller number of adults."

Thus wrote Karl Marx over fifty years ago in volume 2 of "Capital." Today, with the indications of the development of a fresh capitalist depression, with increasing unemployment figures, increasing dole recipients and political crises arising out of the difficulties of dealing with the problem, public attention is again concentrated upon unemployment.

In particular during the past few months special attention has been paid to the problem of unemployed

youth. As the result of agitation by unemployed organisations, the unemployed youth and youth generally, public and governmental attention has been directed to the unemployed youth as a particularly urgent matter requiring immediate investigation.

During July a conference of statisticians, labor department officials and other experts representing the Commonwealth and State governments was held in Melbourne. Various proposals were adopted, including the suggestion of uniform legislation regarding the proportional employment of youths in industry and the setting up of particular organisations to investigate the problem of youth unemployment and the possibilities of the shorter working week.

Parallel with these developments there has been set up in New South Wales a Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate the problem of juvenile unemployment. Evidence is being taken from government officials, youth organisations, representatives of the church, etc., while the Labor movement, political and industrial, is making special preparations to present a thoroughgoing statement on the whole position as it can be viewed from every conceivable angle.

While it is realised that the fate of many reports of such select committees is to be pigeon-holed and forgotten, it is considered that at

the present moment public attention has been so focussed upon this aspect of the unemployed problem that the presentation of an effective case before the committee may be a prelude to a nation-wide campaign for the improved treatment, not only of unemployed youth, but of the unemployed problem generally.

Already authoritative statements by such people as the Federal Asst. Minister for Supply, Mr. Holt (who opened the Melbourne Youth Employment Conference) and Mr. Richardson, the N.S.W. Minister for Labor and Industry have recognised the effects of increased mechanisation in regard to this problem. Mr. Holt has said that, "with the increasing mechanisation of industry, thousands of youths were thrown on to the scrap-heap at 21 years, when they were entitled to adult wages." Mr. Richardson has admitted that "increased mechanisation had created a tendency to replace adult male labor with youths and girls who could work the machines just as easily."

However it is realised that more than amiable phrases are necessary if this problem is to be tackled in a concrete manner, and the main onus must fall upon the working-class movement as a whole if any effective action is to result.

The latest comprehensive figures available, those taken from the Commonwealth Census of 1933, show that in N.S.W. in that year, of the total 177,052 unemployed, 74,853 were between the ages of 15 and 24. Moreover as an indication of the incidence of juvenile unemployment

at different stages, it is important to observe that of the total age group 14-24, 25.7 of the employee group were unemployed. This corresponded almost exactly with the percentage of unemployed throughout industry as a whole, which at this time was 25.6.

On the other hand unemployment in the employee age group, 14-19, was 23.5 per cent. and in the age group, 19-24, 28.3 per cent., thus giving statistical support for the common observation that young workers were being put off as they reached the adult stage.

Further figures taken from the 1933 census indicate that of the total age group, 15-19, 55 per cent. belong to the employee group, of whom 13.9 per cent. were receiving schooling. The total number in this age group receiving education amounted to 33,958, of which a great majority would be of the ages 15 and 16.

From the figures given, of those reaching 14-15 in this particular year it is possible to deduce that there were approximately 70,000 children between the ages of 14 and 16 requiring to be absorbed into industry this year.

These figures coincide with the figures supplied by the Education Department in its latest annual report, which gives a figure of approximately 35,000 children leaving school each year.

Beyond this point and with regard to youth, as to general unemployment, the whole statistical position is extremely unsatisfactory.

The Minister for Education claims in his report that the annual

departmental survey of children leaving school each year provides an accurate estimate of the percentage of those who obtain employment. On this basis the departmental figures show a reduction in the number of children failing to obtain employment on leaving school from 23.5 per cent in 1933 to 13.1 per cent. in 1937.

The Education Department's figures are based upon statements of children about to leave school and they cannot be taken as conclusive. It is hoped that it may be possible to obtain returns from a sufficient age "sample" of the population to check these estimates.

Again from the point of view of industry, there is need for a great deal more collated information than is at present available. While in the skilled trades and in certain other industries, awards provide for a fairly rigid regulation of the proportion of apprentices or juniors to tradesmen, and seniors, in many branches of industry, particularly in the manufacturing groups, no such regulations exist, and the position is well nigh chaotic.

In fact it is regarded by many of the union officials concerned as being almost hopeless of solution.

In industries where the proportion of juniors to seniors is as high as eight in every ten, advantage is taken of the laxity of award provisions to see that the greatest possible number of youths employed are those which will draw the minimum rate, i.e., the rate provided for a youth without experience during

the first year of employment (in many cases, irrespective of age, up to 21).

The result of such practices is to produce the worst type of dead-end occupation, where inexperienced boys and girls are taken on, trained in about a week in the simple operations which they will perform, employed for a single year, and then dismissed, to be replaced by others without previous experience. Under these circumstances the organisation of these low-paid youths (in some cases youths of 19 and 20 drawing 16/6 a week) has come to be regarded by many of the unions as too expensive a proposition to justify the effort involved. This is a question, quite apart from the Parliamentary Select Committee, which requires the considered attention of the trade union movement.

In making a preliminary approach to this problem of juvenile unemployment, it is necessary to recognise two basic principles:

(1) That the problem of the unemployed youth is only a part of the larger problem of unemployment under capitalist industry — a problem which is fundamentally insoluble under existing conditions, but for which some alleviation may be obtained by a determined campaign.

(2) No satisfactory improvement of the youth unemployment position as such can be obtained at the expense of adult employment; this rules out for the most part any solution along the lines of a further dilution of labor.

Proceeding from this basis, it appears that there are five main avenues along which the problem may be approached:

- (1) The question of the shorter working week.
- (2) Raising the school leaving age, with an allowance to a parent until the youth reaches the age of 16.
- (3) The problem of retirement, which is involved in the wider problem of a genuine scheme of social insurance.
- (4) The regulation of the proportions of youths to adults in industry, which must in most cases provide for certain proportions at the different ages from school leaving until 21, if any genuine improvement is to be effected.
- (5) The problem of child labor, which links up with the raising of the school age and involves a tightening of existing legislation and a rigid determination to prevent any large-scale breaches of what is prescribed.

With regard to the shorter working week, it is clear that increased mechanisation, with the economy in labor power involved, is steadily reducing the avenues of employment open to the rising generation. In the Railways of N.S.W., for example, where exact figures are available, it can be shown that only six workers were required in 1938 for every seven employed in 1928 for the handling of the same volume of traffic. Similar developments have

been taking place in most other industries. The only correction to this tendency would be a shorter working week.

With regard to the extension of the school leaving age, it is clear that the initial result of raising the school leaving age to 16 would reduce the numbers of those seeking employment for that year by approximately 70,000. This step, if linked with a wider adoption of a proportion of juniors to adults in industry, would have a healthy reaction upon employment both of youths and adults for the time being. It is calculated that the cost to the government of the raising of the school age to 16 would be £500,000, including the provision of endowment for the youths attending school, and there is a growing body of public opinion which favors the adoption of this proposal.

For the rest, apart from such relief as would be provided by making general the provision of paid annual holidays, by providing that the technical training of employed youths be undertaken in the employer's time, the only other solution offering to increasing youth employment is by the introduction of a wider programme of public works.

The problem is not a simple one, but to the extent that the Select Committee can be used to direct attention to the problem involved it will be possible to lay a basis for further advances.

It is obvious with regard to youth, perhaps even more than with regard to the unemployed generally, that this is a social problem which must be borne by the community as a whole.

DIALECTIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

L. Jamieson

IT seems strange to me that a "Review" writer should deal with the question of "Science, Society and Social Change" as Carroll Clark did in April, without so much as mentioning the dialectic.

This is important for the reason that we live in the period of proletarian revolution, the epoch of the *dialectical* method, the most truly significant "scientific method" (the theme on which Comrade Clark concentrated).

Comrade Clark says "Science has always been *influenced* by and an influence on its social *environment*." Quite true, but a statement acceptable by many not dialecticians.

The "scientific method," he asserts, is "based on experiment and logic." In case we assume that this means Marxist logic, let us note that he continues: "Next we *deduce* conclusions from this hypothesis," thus coupling experiment with deductive (formal) logic.

This "scientific method" is not, however, Marxist; the Greek scientists of antiquity coupled deduction with experiment, and yet were not provided with a weapon with which to destroy class society.

It is only when the productive levels of society are transformed by capitalism that the problem of revising the above "scientific method" presents itself. Previously, science

deals in mechanics, and the difficulty raised for the formal logicians by the problem of movement is overcome by denying movement.

The demands of a commercial-capitalist production easily annihilated feudal alchemy, and at the very outset of chemistry the interpenetration of quality and quantity became apparent. Growing capitalism breeds such "contradictions" by the legion, and in the epoch of imperialism, science becomes characterised by them, and then appears the "crisis in science," which is the "scissors" of the reactionary metaphysics so necessary for imperialism and the dialectical facts of the expansion of knowledge, which bourgeois "science" vainly endeavors to ram into the old philosophical frames.

At this point, the examination of light, electricity and the interior of the atom exhibits the "discrepancies" of the wave-corpucle conflict, of quantum theory (the "contradiction" of interruptedness and continuity) and so on *ad infinitum*.

This philosophical chaos is not mentioned by Comrade Clark in his list of the immediate causes of the reawakening of the scientists to the world about them. This conceptual Babel has helped materially, however, to blast the happy, simple world of mechanist pre-imperialist science along the opposite roads of idealism

and materialist dialectic.

This catastrophe is perhaps best known to the common man in the shape of the idealist offensive of the Jeansians, and the consequent emergence of a whole school of Communist scientists in opposition, as exemplified by some of the illustrious names mentioned by Comrade Clark.

Comrade Clark makes a mechanist error when he remarks: "It (science—L.J.) cannot itself make social change—the community has to do that—but it can demonstrate the need for that change, and influence the form of it."

To begin with, we must consider "the community" in the Communist sense: not as a set of contemplative beings, but as social-historical man in action, in production, as a dialectically unified practical-ideological creature. Science is that part of our theoretical-practical activity which corresponds to reality: to qualify, insofar as we successfully grapple with the real world are we scientific.

Science, as meant by Carroll Clark, appears to be of the Feuerbachian, contemplative variety, as being a system of idea-reflections of the "external" world. He appears to deny science an active role in making social change: it has an external, as he says, merely "influential" existence.

It is this external, atomistic mutual relationship of science, community and social change as expressed in these two points (a formal logical "scientific method" and a contemplative science) that con-

stitutes the essential mechanism of Comrade Clark's approach.

It has been truly said that the conflict of mechanism and idealism discloses their internal kinship, and peculiarly enough, Carroll Clark gives the whole (the community) a qualitative uniqueness (the producing of social change) which does not permeate its part (science), which merely "influences" from without this copyrighted activity of the community-whole.

Again he states: "Although fundamentally the misuse (by others than scientists—L.J.) of these creations of science is the fault of the social and economic system, scientists should nevertheless have known better than to assume, as many of them apparently have, the existence of an ideal system: they should at least have made some effort to influence the form of that system."

Here again is displayed the other side of the mechanist medal in an eclectic conception of freedom, in which its dialectical integration with necessity is neglected. The scientist is given the ability to do things which he did not do; the fact that they were not done, however, shows that it was not possible for the scientists to do them; the freedom of their actions in the sociological sphere was curtailed by the necessity of their individual and general social backgrounds and environments, which led them to a failure of the fullest possible appreciation of necessity at the given time. Since our freedom is a direct ratio of our recognition of necessity (actuality),

such an inevitable lack of recognition involves a similarly inevitable restriction of freedom.

One last point: Comrade Clark describes the Middle Ages as a period in which "reaction held almost undisputed sway." This is incorrect. Pre-capitalist feudalism was, excepting its period of conflict with capitalism, a progressive system. Its supreme achievement was the creation of history's first really revolutionary class, the bourgeoisie. In the process, feudalism replaced the shattered economy of Roman slave-imperialism and spread far beyond Rome's confines, creating a vaster unitary economy and bringing much closer the historical dissolution of class society.

The apparent "reaction" in culture and the low productive levels of mediaeval life are primarily the necessary external indices of a system which demanded stable but not very efficient production as its first premise. Obviously the labile, materialistic philosophies of merchant-Greece were not compatible with feudal economy, which was, however, the unavoidable bridge from slavery to capitalism and therefore intrinsically progressive.

Again, a system which under the aegis of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, won the philosophical heights of making Aristotle's materialism respectable in a theocratic world, of sketching the interpenetration of form and content and of dialectical evolutionary theory in rudimentary outline, should not be stigmatised as

reactionary.

Nor must we forget that Greek philosophy was kept alive in the Middle Ages firstly in inverted (criticised) form in Europe and in positive form under the free agrarian economies (a) of Persia, and (b) of the Moslem Empire. The emergent capitalist system took up all these elements and transfigured them in the fire of its own furnace.

The point is that no economic system can be called reactionary, although the closing phases of every exploiting economy must of necessity be marked by reaction; to assert otherwise is to be undialectical.

As Engels put it: "This same unhistorical conception prevailed also in the domain of history. The Middle Ages were regarded as a mere interruption of history by a thousand years of universal barbarism. *The great progress made in the Middle Ages*—the extension of the area of European culture, the bringing into existence of great nations, capable of survival, and finally the enormous technical progress of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—all this was not seen. Consequently a rational insight into the great historical interconnections was made impossible." (Ludwig Feuerbach, Part II.)

To conclude. Marxism, considered as an objective fact, is a social movement. It is also often defined as a science. Both statements are correct, and reflect the Marxian canon of the interpenetration of subject and object, which in turn gives rise to the Communist conception of

the active role in social change of all ideological categories, including scientific thought.

Marxism as a science has done more than "influence" social change: it has built a new world in the Soviet Union and opened up the first chapter in the history of real humanity. Marxist science has as its "scientific method" the dialectic, which must replace and incorporate formal, deductive logic as the accomplice of experiment and hypothesis, as the guide to action. Haldane himself has stressed the help given him in the field of physiology by the dialectic: its experimental value in elucidating truth is recognised by leaders in every branch of scientific thought in both capitalist and socialist worlds today.

As a guide to action, dialectic has the advantage over deductive logic that it is based on the internal plus external, and not merely on the external, relationships of processes. It is consequently infinitely nearer the truth, and in experiments relating to hyper-mechanical theories, reduces considerably the number of trial-and-error attempts in the testing of a

given hypothesis, together with the possibility of error in a given trial.

We must not imagine that the action of science in society is confined to the "social sciences"—far from it; the active role of the crisis in mathematics and psychology is as profound in many ways, for the mathematicians and psychologists, as economic crisis is for the worker, and both crises have the same ultimate social roots and results. At the same time as the upheaval in science influences society (in producing in part the leftward swing of many scientists), society, by reason of the Marxist and fascist theory and practice created by capitalism, influences the views and actions of scientific men.

This criticism is to be understood in no wise as an attack on Comrade Clark, but simply an attempt to elaborate on, and in some measure correct, an excellent and timely article, and it may well be that my attempted corrections are incorrect, and/or that in the process of essay I myself have committed mistakes.

(All italics are mine.—L.J.)



NEW INDUSTRIAL GROWTH IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

THE importance of the new industries now being established in South Australia is not widely realised in the working-class movement.

These developments promise to have an important effect, not only on class relations within South Australia, but also on national policy and Empire trade relations.

The Adelaide "Advertiser" of June 21 reports: "Australia's challenge to British steel manufacturers continues to be discussed at Sheffield, where some experts are less anxious than others, because they consider that the disparity in the British and Australian prices is only a few shillings in Australia's favor."

On the same day, the Australian Trade Commissioner in U.S.A., Mr. L. R. McGregor, in a speech at Toronto, spoke of "the tremendous impetus given to manufacturing by recognition of the need of actively equipping the dominions for defence. Saturation point for the investment of overseas capital in Australian manufacturing was by no means reached. Industrial development was attaining a point where goods valued at £10,000,000 now being imported could be made in Australia."

Until very recently, the growth of secondary industry in South Australia has been very slow, much slower than in the Eastern states.

In 1927, there were 1807 factories

in S.A., employing 41,075 hands. During the crisis, the number employed in factories fell to about 23,000 and in 1933 it had risen only to 33,497 employed in 1803 factories.

A more rapid growth took place in the next two years, and in 1937, 40,710 workers were employed in 1916 factories.

These figures disclose that although there were 109 more factories in 1937, 365 less workers were employed than in 1927.

However, by 1937, 44.39 per cent. of the factory workers were employed in concerns employing over 100 workers, and the increased mechanisation had raised the powers of the S.A. factories from 187,648 H.P. in 1927, to 256,123 H.P. in 1937.

One sharp contrast is apparent. Production of ironstone in 1927 was 586,652 tons, valued at £674,649. By 1937, this had been raised to 1,866,414 tons, valued at £2,146,376. (Now about 200,000 tons a month.)

The iron ore is of a very high quality. Moreover, no costly mining processes are involved. The ore is simply blasted from the sides of Iron Knob and Iron Baron, two mountains of ironstone. It is because of the huge, high-quality ironstone deposits that new, large-scale industrial development is to take place in South Australia.

The increased production of ironstone has strengthened the influence

of the B.H.P. in South Australia and in recent years a strong consistent campaign "to develop South Australian industry" has gathered strength.

To attract industry, the government of South Australia has given valuable concessions to the big monopoly concerns. The B.H.P. in 1937 obtained a monopoly of the iron ore deposits of the State for the next fifty years, and the government is building a pipe-line to Whyalla to convey the waters of the Murray from Morgan to this new centre of B.H.P. activities.

Cheap factory sites have been made available to the I.C.I. at Osborne, and to British Tube Investments Ltd. (with which the Chamberlain family is connected) at Kilburn. £25,000 from the State surplus of £130,000 for 1937-8 has been made available to underwrite a new cellulose company, in which E. W. Holden, M.L.C., is the driving force.

In addition, taxation policy has been altered to the advantage of the big companies, and to the disadvantage of small companies and the people generally. Wage and salary earners in 1937 paid more in direct taxation (£653,000) than companies and property holders combined (£635,000).

Thus South Australia has become a veritable paradise for the big monopoly concerns. Workers, farmers, small business people, the smaller manufacturers, are being very thoroughly exploited by the Liberal government to finance "the

attraction of industry to South Australia."

The most important developments centre round the B.H.P. at Whyalla. There the erection of a blast furnace has begun, and the construction of wharves is well under way. In addition to the blast furnace, rolling mills will be erected and a £4,000,000 tinplate works is foreshadowed. It is likely that ship yards will also be built in the vicinity of Whyalla.

Actually, the new industries at Whyalla presage a bolder and more far-reaching export policy by the B.H.P. Already, because of the high quality of the S.A. iron ore, and the easily worked coal deposits of New South Wales, the B.H.P. is able to sell steel cheaper than British or American manufacturers, not only in the East, but even in London. The B.H.P. doubtless aims to export steel on a bigger scale, to export larger quantities of pig iron, and at the same time to exclude the Welsh tinplate industry from the Australian market.

It is clear, then, that the developments at Whyalla will seriously influence politics, not only in South Australia, but right throughout the Commonwealth of Australia.

Other sections of the capitalist class realise this quite well. Not only will overseas markets for Australia's primary products be affected. The B.H.P. aims to control the tinplate market in Australia and this will seriously affect wide interests, both farming and manufacturing.

Mr. A. E. Jameson, President of

the Commonwealth Jam Preserving and Condiment Manufacturers' Association, in opposing the granting of a tariff for tinplate, said that "his organisation feared the creation of a virtual monopoly in the local manufacture of tinplate without adequate safeguards for dependent industries. With the granting of a tariff a grave danger would arise of lack of continuity of supply. There was overwhelming evidence that the proposal of the B.H.P. was not advanced from the national Australian viewpoint but simply as a matter of a new source of profit for the B.H.P."

In the same tariff discussions, Mr. M. G. Edgell, director of a Bathurst (N.S.W.) cannery said that the local canning industry was inseparably bound up with the interests of the man on the land. It was a vital instrument in securing effective marketing of Australia's fruits and vegetables and other edible products, particularly in times of glut. Australian canners under the proposed tariff would have to buy tinplate made by a method which would possibly soon become obsolete. Under such conditions it would be difficult to meet competition in the world markets.

Thus, the canning interests recognise that a monopoly in the tinplate industry will be to their disadvantage.

Great promises are being made of employment to additional thousands of workers, through the new industries. True, many workers will get jobs. But many others are

likely to lose jobs through increased mechanisation of industry and through the further weakening of the position of agriculture. Moreover, at least a percentage of the men for the new works will have to be brought from other States and probably a good number of unemployed will come from Newcastle, Port Kembla and other centres, seeking work.

Despite the considerable number already employed in the new industries, the number of unemployed members in the Metal Trade Unions is higher than it has been for several years.

The suggestions from the press and members of the government that the new industries will solve the unemployment problem in South Australia are nothing more than propaganda to cover the sacrifice of the natural resources of the State to the wealthy monopolists.

Moreover, monopoly capital (and the B.H.P. in particular) is not likely to tamely submit to the unionisation of the new works. We can expect a campaign of provocation for the purpose of smashing unionism, and the utmost vigilance and unity on the part of the metal trades workers will be necessary to guard against this.

The existence of a strong Communist Party organisation in Whyalla would do much to ensure the vigilance of the working class and would assist in the work of unionisation and education of the new workers, as well as developing the fight for local government at Whyalla,

for better housing facilities, cheap land for workers' homes, better transport facilities, etc.

A stronger Communist Party in South Australia is a vital factor in

developing the struggle to improve the living standard of the people and to drive from office the reactionary L.C.L. government, the tool of the wealthy companies.

MILESTONES IN HISTORY

We Remember Sacco and Vanzetti

THIS month we remember Sacco and Vanzetti, names which remind us that even in the conditions of parliamentary democracy the capitalist class still rules and that when that class is challenged it exhibits those vicious characteristics which are inherent in it.

On August 22, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered by the ruling class of the United States of America for the crime of being social reformers. The Statue of Liberty became meaningless, the traditions of justice embodied in the American constitution were cynically swept aside in the manifestation of naked class rule.

Italo-American anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti were declared to have murdered a paymaster. What evidence was tendered, even if truthful and reliable, was completely inadequate, but the jury was inflamed with "foreign agitator" propaganda and did the bidding of the capitalist class.

Subsequently, a world-wide agitation developed. It was clearly revealed that the case was a frame-up. Both men were able to establish by complete alibi that they were nowhere near the scene of the hold-

up. The witnesses of the prosecution were torn to shreds by legal men.

Sacco and Vanzetti became symbols of working-class protest the world over against a corrupt judiciary doing the bidding of the ruling capitalist class. This strengthened that class in its determination to admit no guilt for its crime.

Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists. They were shown to be of the "dreamer" type, spurning any idea of violence, but the capitalist class and its propagandist organs presented them as bloodthirsty criminals carrying bombs in their pockets.

The case was ruthlessly exposed by many speakers and writers, of widely divergent political views. Upton Sinclair has immortalised the case in his slashing indictment, "Boston." The powerful agitation which developed all over the world managed to save the convicted men from the "chair" for seven years, but the capitalist class of America at length closed on its victims. Their names go down into history together with those of the many other martyrs in the struggle for "the better day."

"CHINA BIRDS"

L. Harry Gould

(A holiday trip along a by-path of the class struggle.)

K—in New Zealand where Mrs. G. and I spent a short holiday is an odd place. The decisive section of the community are mainly retired middle-class elements, ex-service men, former civil servants, business people of varying degrees of ability, wealth and worldly experience. A dozen or so hailed from China, individuals who had worked there as agents, government officials or in business on their own account. One had been a pilot on the Yangtze, another, a commercial traveller for 25 years. These "China Birds" gave the K— settlement its distinctive flavor. All of them had saved up some cash and came to K—to retire; more accurately, to put their money in the land and secure a livelihood for themselves and their children. I learnt that they bought shares in the settlement while still in China. A company promoted the scheme, opened up the land for them, planted the trees, and so on—all for a price, of course.

The outlook of these people was conservative, naturally. They were "respectable and British." The existence of a Labor government seemed to perplex and distress most of them. If it wasn't a disgrace, it was at least certainly nothing to boast about. All in all, they were good folk; the type that fall for fascist propaganda, but also—and this is the main point of this article—a stratum of the population which in spite of its conservatism can easily be won for Labor.

Intercourse with them quickly revealed a general lack of any kind of basic knowledge, a meagreness of past and present cultural associations, and an almost total ignorance of social currents and forces in China and everywhere else. Conversation centred around trivialities, the kind of homes they possessed in China, tit-bits about themselves and acquaintances,

trips they made here and there. The great social upheavals, revolutions and wars in the Far East seem to have passed them by. They worked, saved money, had a good time, and came to New Zealand to "take up orcharding."

One was not surprised to learn in that political backwater that the organiser for the Labor Party was an ex-Indian army officer and a vigorous advocate of conscription.

K—is a quiet, peaceful sort of place, ideal for a rest or convalescence. Life moves along on its even tenor. Yet, one has but to poke a finger beneath its placid exterior to feel the fierce fires of the class struggle.

"We work every day in the week, and yet our net earnings for last year were only £28."

The speaker was the wife of one of the "China Birds." You could hear similar lamentations all over the place. Many talked of walking off the land, and a few did. There was something pathetic about K— folk; they didn't know what had struck them. Babes in the wood. I predict that in about five years' time, out of every ten families, one would be successful; this will be because of having more capital, or better land, or more farming knowledge, or just good luck. The second out of the ten should be able to show a fair living. The circumstances of the remaining eight would be depressed to the low level typical of the small farmer everywhere in Australasia: poor returns, mortgages, harassed days and nights, endless back-breaking work.

Just what has happened?

The present economic position in New Zealand is described in other articles. Here, the briefest enumeration only is possible. On the positive side, there are a number of outstanding achievements of the Labor ministry, the 40-hour

week, restoration of wage-cuts, re-establishment of all democratic liberties stolen away by reactionary governments up to 1935, new housing, social security legislation, guaranteed prices to farmers. It's rather paltry when compared with the magnificent triumphs of the Soviet workers, but very creditable for Labor under capitalism. The Savage government is embarking upon an ambitious programme of industrial expansion, to reduce the country's economic and political dependence on Britain, which at the moment absorbs 80 per cent. of its exports.

On the reverse side are definite symptoms of wavering, of an increasing tendency on the part of Mr. Savage and his colleagues to yield to the threats of reaction, at home and in Britain. Instead of relying on the workers and farmers for support and going ahead resolutely with its programme, the Savage government have begun to give utterance to Nationalist policy on certain vital issues. "Workers must not expect any more wage increases," said Mr. Nash, minister of finance, now in London to negotiate a loan—on London's terms, it is feared. "Workers must produce more if they wish to obtain more," declares the Prime Minister—flying in the face of a century of industrial experience.

What I would like to deal with is the power of big capital as one observed it in K— in the economic and the ideological spheres. Economies. These settlers came to the place with money, worked hard, produced much wealth, and now they are poor. Where did the money go? Answer: Into the hands of land sharks, agents, jobbers, banking lords, rail bondholders, food monopolists. They pay through the nose for everything. The Colonial Sugar Refining Co., which has cleared a million net profit a year since 1936, has just raised the price on all sugar products £1 per ton. Petrol costs 2/4 a gallon; there's no reason I know of why it can't be sold for about 9d. And so on. Further, one reads that millions have been sunk by New Zealand people in "Tung Oil, Perpetual Forests and like worthless schemes promoted

to give the small investor his "chance" to set by a store for himself. What Marx said in the Communist Manifesto applies here also: "... he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc." Finance-capital rivets its shackles on the worker and small producer in a thousand ways, illustrating once more the **manysidedness of the struggle for freedom.**

Ideology. But these K— people are "educated." Why can't they see through it all? Don't they know that they are being fleeced right and left, and that the wealth they sow is harvested by others? No, they don't see, and that is why fascist demagoguery frequently succeeds with them. The exploitation they are subjected to is indirect. We visited their homes, observed what they ate, wore and drank, noticed their enjoyments and what they read. It was easy to see why they had scarcely heard of China's Red Army. How politically benighted they are! What did they read? Take as an example the magazine section of the "New Zealand Herald." It's like the "S.M.H."—only worse, with stories and reviews of poetry, detective fiction, the "cathedrals of England" and the like. It is mental pabulum expressly designed to maintain them in conservatism and poverty.

We of the Labor movement must meet with them, enlighten, train and re-educate them! We must implant Labor ideas in their consciousness, the ideas of the class struggle. **We must give them practical help!** The working class can win over even such conservative elements. And how much more so with the average run of working farmers!

Here is Labor's test—and opportunity. In New Zealand, I say without any hesitation that the Labor government can swing the farmers solidly behind it if only a correct and firm lead is given. Mr. Savage must listen either to the rich reactionaries or to the toilers of town and country. There is no middle way.

Similarly in our own country. In the last State election, the Labor Rightwing stupidly and provo-

catively raised further barriers between the two major laboring sections of the population. There need be and there must be no such division. Unity! Mr. Savage and Mr. Curtin should say to the farmers: "We have a policy that will increase wages and provide other improvements for the workers, and at the same time give you people on the land higher returns, less costs, reduced interest burdens, and in short, a secure present and future. But you must stand with us. We can carry out such a programme only by making the millionaires pay for it."

Even the K— patriots and conservatives will say, "Yes, go ahead!" Of that I am sure. For after all, conservatism is but the conscious

or unconscious reflex of income. And if the Savages and Curtins won't speak in this vigorous way, then others must do the speaking for them!

The second principal lesson is that in advancing our work for the United Front and People's Front we must not diminish our criticism of the Rightwing. The reverse, rather. The achieving of unity presupposes that bigger and bigger sections of the masses are turning Leftward, and that the Rightwing are now at a disadvantage. Such criticism (free of sectarian mistakes) will all the more rapidly weld the unity of the farmer and the worker into one mighty army for the battle against capital.



GOLDEN MILE STRIKE

B. Dawson

AT this period strikes were in progress throughout the world. At this time there were strikes on the Trans-line, Collie, Perth, Port Pirie and Broken Hill. Kalgoorlie, then, was no exception. It was the aftermath of the war—a period of mass discontent.

The trouble in Kalgoorlie had no direct economic demands—it was not a fight for wages, or shorter hours, but one against the employment of non-unionists. No other demand was put forward.

Early in 1919 all branches of the Federated Miners' Union throughout the mining centres agreed that they would join with the A.W.U. and become a branch of that union.

The militant upsurge throughout the world was reflected in Kalgoorlie by the mass demand that all workers should be in the union belonged to by the majority of mineworkers, *viz.*, the A.W.U.

Realising this attitude, certain persons sought to have a new union registered in the State Arbitration Court. Thus the Eastern Goldfields Mining Employees and General Workers' Union sought registration, but the A.W.U. was successful in having the application refused.

Beaten in their efforts to have the new union registered, Boyland and Co. established a branch of the Coolgardie Federated Miners' Union in Boulder. The Coolgardie Union

had not been de-registered as the other branches had when they were absorbed in the A.W.U. But the A.W.U. did not recognise the C.U. as a registered body. The A.W.U. members termed the C.U. members as non-unionists.

In view of the intense dissatisfaction among the workers, the following was voted upon: "Are you in favor of refusing to work alongside non-unionists?"

The ballot concluded on October 31, 1919, and resulted as follows: No, 121; Yes, 1388. Only men in the Golden Mile voted.

Two meetings were held on Sunday, November 2, 1919. One a meeting of the newly resurrected Coolgardie Union (Boulder Branch) and the other of the A.W.U. The C.U. condemned the ballot taken by the A.W.U. "It was nothing but a piece of trickery, framed for the purpose of intimidation and was carried out by a lot of Bolsheviks. The meeting decided to stick to its guns and fight if necessary to defend the mines, the country, etc., etc., from these foreign agitators."

The A.W.U. meeting devoted its time to the setting up of committees for the carrying out of the decision of the ballot. The A.W.U. made it quite clear that all Coolgardie unionists were to be treated as non-unionists. T. L. Bradley was then sec-

retary, with George Callanan union president.

The returned men, as could be imagined, were in strong force at that time. They were approached by the A.W.U. to determine what attitude the returned soldiers would take if a strike eventuated. At that time they were non-committal. Later they made up for it.

On Tuesday, November 4, the decision of the ballot was put into operation. All day shift workers—and plenty of their cobbers—went to the mines in the usual way ready with the cribs to start work. Each man had to produce an A.W.U. ticket and C.U. members were treated as non-unionists.

Stewards of the A.W.U. approached mine managers stating that unless the non-unionists took out A.W.U. tickets not one man would start work. The managers stated that they would not discriminate between unions or unionists and non-unionists.

All A.W.U. men went home and every mine on the Mile was idle. Similar action was taken in the north country, but after a few days the stoppage was confined to the Golden Mile, as all other centres reported 100 per cent. A.W.U. members.

"The Kalgoorlie Miner" featured the following wires: One sent by Howell, acting secretary of the C.U. to Bennet, registrar of Arbitration Court, Perth, asking whether his union was registered. The reply: C.U. registered September 30, 1908. Still on register.

Despite this, the A.W.U. mem-

bers stood by their previous decision and a mass demonstration was held and march made to the Chamber of Mines demanding an interview. The huge crowd waited outside whilst union officials conferred with the Chamber. The Chamber would not budge from its previous decision not to discriminate in any way.

The verdict was given to the men and a resolution was carried unanimously that work would be resumed on Thursday and positively refuse to work with non-unionists.

The returned soldiers then came out in their true colours. The Kalgoorlie R.S.L. carried the following resolutions: (1) That all returned men stick together and that in all matters the R.S.L. comes first. (2) This branch of the R.S.L. in favor of all returned men belonging to a union, but refuses to have anything to do with A.W.U. unless it recognises preference to returned soldiers. (3) That R.S.L. view with contempt the action of the A.W.U. and asks members to stand by the R.S.L., maintaining that returned men should be absolved from any responsibility in respect to any action taken by leaders of the A.W.U.

According to statements to the press by the reactionary leadership of the R.S.L., it was no wonder such resolutions were carried. Prominent in the leadership of the Kalgoorlie R.S.L. were Messrs. Broadribb, Ross F. Stahl, Fairley, and Axford. The policies of the Boulder and Kalgoorlie R.S.L.'s were poles apart. The Kalgoorlie was the seat of reaction, and not for nothing did it earn it-

self the soubriquet "the war office." On the other hand, the Boulder Branch of the R.S.L. was strongly in favor of the A.W.U.

Nothing occurred on the mines on Wednesday, November 5, as this was Labor Day. Mass demonstrations were held by the workers all over the towns and tremendous enthusiasm aroused.

Thursday morning saw thousands of men at the famous "Block" at 7 o'clock in the morning. The meeting was quick and lively. It broke up and dispersed to every mine to remove the scabs from the mines. The picket was so effective that the managers decided to close all mines down. Several fights occurred and guns appeared. The secretary of the A.W.U. was just in time to avert a scab being thrown down a shaft.

The "Miner" pointed out that the A.W.U. was in no way violent, but used every effort to persuade the men to join the A.W.U. The A.W.U. men were in numerous cases met with guns and told to keep away.

On behalf of the Chamber of Mines, President Hamilton gave a speech about hundreds of men attempting to stop scabs on the great Boulder. Hamilton: "You voted against conscription, yet you would conscript these men into your union. Your similar action to Broken Hill will frighten away capital. Did we not go to war to defend democracy?" But the scabs did not start work.

A.W.U. and R.S.L. met in conference. A.W.U. was definite that it would abide by decision of ballot. R.S.L. was equally definite that they

would not discriminate between unionists and non-unionists. The Kalgoorlie R.S.L. there and then decided to offer their services to the police. Some 280 immediately signed on as special constables and were sworn in by W. A. G. Walters, resident magistrate—a reactionary of the worst kind, and later removed by the Collier Labor government when it took office.

The returned men, organised as specials, marched to the Palace Hotel and the following was said at the meeting in Hannan Street. Broadribb: "I have witnessed terrible things on the mines today. I had gone abroad to fight for liberty of Australia and will not be robbed of the fruits of victory. Law and order must be maintained and all soldiers are united against Bolshevism. The soldiers must defeat the A.W.U., otherwise Australia will be like Russia."

Kilpatrick: "Seeds of discord had been sown by emissaries from foreign places."

Axford: "Returned soldiers must not fail now. They were fighting for all loyal citizens and for the maintenance of the purity of the mothers, wives and sisters."

F. Stahl: "I deem it an honor to be able to step forward as a special constable, 'wingie' as I am, to uphold the rights of a citizen."

Such was the propaganda put forward at that time. Even in those far-off days the Bolsheviks were not immune from being blamed. The provocative speech of Axford nearly cost him his life. He was saved by

the police in the nick of time.

By proclamation all hotels on the fields were closed—Kalgoorlie prepared for war. The Perseverance Mine became an armed camp. The special police were entrained there with rifles and bayonets. A special big fitting shop was converted into a dressing station.

The Chamber of Mines refused to conduct any further negotiations with the A.W.U.

And now the miners meet. Mass meeting with 2,000 present heard their leaders—men like Bradley, Banham, "Bull" and George Callanan, C. B. Williams. Banham, on behalf of the executive, spoke: "This fight is between our union and the Chamber of Mines. The Kalgoorlie returned soldiers are being duped into taking part in the dispute. Our union wants the workers to be linked with the A.W.U. in order to present a united front, whilst the capitalists wish to see the workers fighting amongst themselves." The meeting re-affirmed its previous decisions to refuse to work with non-unionists.

The signing-on of special constables proceeded apace. And this despite a promise from the union to the police that no procession or demonstration would be held in future. Returned men were prominent among the specials.

Here we have the views of the Boulder returned soldiers. Five hundred carried the following: (1) That this meeting condemns the action of the Kalgoorlie executive of the R.S.L. as in our opinion they are fighting the battle of the Chamber of Mines

and acting in a manner detrimental to the best interests of ourselves as workers, and we form ourselves into a vigilance committee to protect and fight for our workmates. (2) That this largest meeting of returned soldiers ever held on the eastern gold-fields, advise all our returned soldiers working mates to link up with the A.W.U. (3) That we have every sympathy for the A.W.U. and pledge our solid support for the union. (4) That this meeting censures the Kalgoorlie executive of the R.S.L. for interfering in industrial matters.

And so we see the split. Kalgoorlie returned men, very few being miners, on the side of reaction; Boulder, 95 per cent. miners, with the toilers.

Provocative marches by the specials with fixed bayonets were the order of the day. The Chamber of Mines agreed to pay two-thirds of expenses of special constables.

The union set about the creation of defence committees and measures to ensure relief. Appeals were sent all over Australia and good response received. The local unions responded and all outback A.W.U. branches responded with regular levies.

Clashes appeared imminent but were averted by the sound leadership of the miners, who strongly urged calmness and above all not to fall for the provocation of the scabs. The specials were all armed and carried a distinctive armband.

Matters took a serious turn when all of the workers' leaders were arrested. (The government of the day was the reactionary Mitchell—now

Sir James Mitchell, Lieut. Governor of W.A.—Nationalist administration.) They were charged: "That you, on November 6, 1919, with other persons assembled together to the number of three or more . . . and that you then, and there, tumultuously disturbed the peace." Such historic goldfields names as George and Alf Callanan, Godfrey, Lillis, Purcell, Stewart, Banham and other leaders were all charged with the above under section 64 of the Criminal code.

This was a serious blow to the miners, especially when more of those taking a prominent part in the various committees were arrested. "Wag" Walters, magistrate, refused bail, and at the request of the police remanded all accused to Perth. Thousands watched their departure from Kalgoorlie and the station resembled a departing troop train for the front with the armed specials present.

The discrimination shown was made evident in Parliament by a question asked the Attorney-General, viz.: Was he aware that special constables had been intimidating storekeepers on the fields even to the extent of threatening to smash shops if they supported unionists? And that these people had been allowed to carry on whilst unionists had been arrested and sent to Perth?

The Perth police adopted a cunning manoeuvre to avoid the mass demonstration that was to be held at the Central station. The police had the miners leave the train at Maylands. A total of 16 men were

sent from Kalgoorlie to Perth, and with the exception of George Callanan, secretary of the A.L.P. and president of the union, all were refused bail. They were also refused bail in Perth when they first appeared before the magistrate.

Mass demonstrations were held in Perth against the men being sent to Perth and the refusal of bail. They were convicted as criminals without a trial and those accusing them were the loudest-mouthed about the British justice and freedom. At the end of the remand term they appeared before the magistrate and all 16 were committed for trial at the next session of the Criminal Court. Bail was allowed in each case.

On November 14, the following official notice appeared in the "Kalgoorlie Miner": All mines from Westonia to Wiluna, with the exception of the Golden Mile, were working, as all non-unionists had joined the A.W.U. An application to the Arbitration Court was to be made to have the Coolgardie Union deregistered. Appeals for financial assistance were receiving gratifying response. Many local tradesmen, especially in Boulder, were assisting the miners.

Despite the fact that the C.U. had been moribund for years—it had held no meetings, had no award, had no headquarters, and only revived at the commencement of the strike—Justice Booth, President of the Arbitration Court, refused to deregister the Coolgardie Union.

This decision made a vast difference in the outlook of the strike. It

was reflected in the intervention of the State Disputes Committee of the A.L.P. from Perth, which suggested: "That a ballot be taken whether work be resumed and recognition given to the C.U., but that a further effort be made to have the C.U. deregistered." The State Disputes Committee was well named some time ago when it was called the graveyard of industrial disputes.

A mass meeting of the A.W.U. rejected the suggestions of the State Disputes Committee, but agreed to a secret ballot on the following: "That consequent upon the Arbitration Court's decision relative to this organisation's (A.W.U.) application for the deregistration of the C.U. and its branches, the C.U. and its branches are for the time being deemed to be a registered body, but this union demands a conference with the Chamber of Mines for the purpose of establishing preference to unionists." Voting in favor, 922; against, 398. If the Chamber of Mines agreed to this the meeting decided to resume work immediately.

Thus it can be seen that the position changed. The dispute resolved itself into one not against the C.U., but one for a struggle for preference to unionists. Bradley, secretary of the A.W.U., announced that there were only 20 non-unionists on the Golden Mile.

Things by now were more settled. The miners were issued with coupons for relief and nobody went without, thanks to the response from other unions, especially the A.W.U. in other parts of Australia.

On January 1, 1920, the Premier, James Mitchell, arrived on the field to do what he could towards a settlement. It was arranged that Mitchell preside over a meeting consisting of one delegate from each union having members employed in the mining industry.

The outcome of the above meeting was the setting up of a central committee to be known as the Industrial Reference Committee with a common policy of preference to unionists. The chief concern of the meeting was the idea of forgetting the past and adoption of a policy of working together for preference to unionists. Mitchell announced that he was quite satisfied with results of conference and left for Perth that night.

On this same day, January 1, 1920, the A.W.U. organised a huge demonstration and sports gathering on the Boulder recreation reserve. The sports were in aid of the children, and over 4,000 were catered for. Huge quantities of lollies, cake, ginger beer were made available and the donation of Harry Boan of Perth did much to make the gathering the success it ultimately was.

The "Kalgoorlie Miner" of January 2, 1920, announced the decisions of meetings on reports of delegates to conference presided over by Premier Mitchell. All unions adopted reports of their delegates with the exception of the A.W.U.

A mass meeting of the A.W.U. heard reports from their delegates to above conference, and carried the following: "That we refuse any longer to recognise the Coolgardie

Union; that all reference to the industrial committee that attended conference with other unions, be deleted from the committee's report; that negotiations be opened up with the Chamber of Mines with a view to returning to work under conditions prevailing prior to November 4." This resolution was debated by a mass meeting in the Boulder Town Hall, held January 3, 1920, and was eventually carried.

The above meeting of the A.W.U. also empowered the executive to interview the Chamber to put the decision of the men to them. The deputation met the Chamber that day and received a guarantee from the members of the Chamber of Mines that if work was resumed there would be no victimisation of any worker concerned in the dispute.

On Tuesday, January 6, a mass meeting of the A.W.U. heard the answer of the Chamber and by a majority vote agreed to adopt the report of the deputation to the Chamber which meant a virtual end of the strike.

And so ended the nine weeks' strike of the Kalgoorlie miners against the employment of non-unionists in the industry. The Union was no doubt beaten in its original demand. But it reflected the upsurge in thousands of a militant spirit to build the union—to make what any mining locality should be—a 100 per cent. union town. All mines resumed work on January 10, 1920.

With the resumption of work there was no diminution of hostility

towards what came to be known as the special b— on the mines. Every obstacle was put in the way of these scabs. Their clothes and boots and cribs were tampered with and their lives made a misery, so that in many cases the scabs were compelled to leave the industry. It compelled the home of the scabs—the Kalgoorlie R.S.L.—to call a special meeting, in which F. Stahl (now secretary of the Cleaners and Caretakers' Union, Perth, and a rightwinger) was prominent, to discuss ways and means to combat the menace. But the hatred continued and continues to the present day.

The Coolgardie Union is still hated on the Golden Mile. It is still referred to as a scab union and the hatred is handed down from father to son and so on. Today the C.U. is only a shadow of its notorious past. It is dominated by a lazy clique of officials that have no standing and no authority on the Mile. It still exists in name only. It has few members, mostly being shopkeepers and persons ineligible to join the A.W.U. It is utterly discredited and is looked upon more as a joke than anything else.

But the story of the trial of the 16 union leaders charged under section 64 of the criminal code has yet to be told. On Monday, February 28, a mass meeting of all unionists was called at the tramway carbarn, Kalgoorlie, to demonstrate hostility to the impending trial. The protest was moved without dissent against the railroading of the 16 men 400 miles from their homes to shameful

trial for their stand for unionism. The trial commenced before Justice Northmore on March 3. Keall and Ross MacDonald (now leader of the W.A. Nationalist [U.A.P.] Party in the Legislative Assembly) were for the Crown, and Haynes and Lane for the union. The trial commenced after several members of the jury were challenged by a demand from the consented-to jurors that the 10/- allowance be increased, as 10/- was insufficient. The Crown Prosecutor promised to go into the matter and the trial proceeded. The 10/- per day allowance was afterwards increased to 12/6 per day.

And so the trial proceeded. The press of Perth and Kalgoorlie featured protests from every mining centre in W.A. and also the Eastern States. The protests were aimed against the trial and, in every instance, a dismissal was urged.

The trial lasted some days. "Dicky" Haynes, father of the present lawyer Haynes, put up a wonderful case on behalf of the union. The following is the gist of his remarks: There appears to be one law for the Chamber of Mines and another for the people. When the Italian and other foreign shops were destroyed the police took no action whatsoever, but when the A.W.U. took a stand and the property of the Chamber of Mines appeared in danger not only police were sent there to the fields, but hundreds of specials were recruited. The C.U. was pampered and fed by the Chamber for the purpose of breeding dissension

among the men. The whole evidence of the prosecution was exaggerated and Haynes passed vehement condemnation on the Chamber of Mines. Haynes appealed to the jury to remember that the accused were their fellow men. The accused, said Haynes, compare more than favourably with members of the Chamber of Mines. The foreigners, who were innocent in this case, were brought in for a purpose—to give the dispute a bad name. Haynes concluded by a castigation of the police, calling them detectives of the Chamber and challenging the Commissioner of Police to bring the police to order without the consent of the Chamber of Mines.

Tremendous enthusiasm for the Kalgoorlie men was aroused in Perth by the daily transference of the accused from Roe Street lock-up to the Criminal Court. Thousands watched their departure each day and the "Black Maria" witnessed unheard of happenings. Each day the men left the lock-up amidst the strains of "The Red Flag," "Solidarity," and other working-class songs. Nothing could diminish the enthusiasm of these stalwarts from the goldfields. Even in Barrack Street, when the "Black Maria" broke down and the men were forced to march back to Roe Street, the streets of Perth rang with their songs to the pleasure of Perth people.

The lengthy trial came to an end. Justice Northmore summed up in favor of the Crown. The jury was absent for about five hours, but even at the end of this term was unable to agree.

To the disgust of Northmore and others, the jury were discharged and the case remanded to next Criminal Court sessions. On March 12, the 16 accused were released under bond till the next sessions.

After some time the men again appeared and all were discharged. And so ended one of the bitterest fights on the W.A. goldfields.



"A great man is great not because his individual peculiarities give individual form to great historical events, but because of the fact that he possesses peculiarities which make him best able to serve the great social needs of his time, needs which have developed under the influence of general and special causes. Carlyle, in his 'Heroes and Hero Worship,' calls great men 'beginners.' This is a very apt appellation. A great man is in fact a beginner, for he sees further than others and desires more intensely than others. He solves the scientific problems placed on the order of the day by the preceding intellectual development of society; he uncovers new social needs created by the preceding development of those needs. He is a hero. Not in the sense that he can arrest or modify the natural course of events, but in the sense that his activity is the conscious and free expression of that necessary and unconscious course. In that is his importance; in that his power. But that is a colossal importance, — a tremendous power."—George Plekhanov.

TAX THE RICH

A Sketch By John Baker

The scene of the sketch is bare except for a chair and, if possible, a small table placed about centre.

Characters:

Worker.

Judge. A Basic Wage Court Judge.

Girl. A waitress.

Worker: (Enters and places a notice reading "Basic Wage Court" before the table.) (Coming forward to the front right.)

Comrades! Tonight we give you a picture of a Court . . . a Basic Wage Court.

Judge: (Has entered to sit at the table. He behaves very pompously throughout.)

Worker: (Continuing):

See! There's the Judge.

Did someone out there say he looked hard enough for an Arbitration Court? Well, you're dead right about that ole guy. His heart's as hard as his face. Now comrades! though this is a Court, don't start thinking it's here you get justice. That word, along with Austria they've rubbed right out of the dictionaries. This Court doesn't decide how much you've earned and say, now boy! don't let 'em rob you . . . take what's yours. Oh, no! That old dog there, sitting back on about three thousand quid a year decides what's the lowest you can live on and then cuts it in four. A quarter for you and threequarters for him and his boy friends at the golf club. Come closer for a while and watch him at his dirty work. But mind! if at any time you want me to take a hand in this just say the word and I'm into it!

Righto, Judge, canter into it. (Louder) Judge! canter into it. Well, what's the matter? Why don't you make a start?

Judge: (Beckons him over—whispers.)

Worker: Oh, you want a witness!

A worker? As usual, comrades, these guys can't move hand or foot without a worker. If they didn't have us . . . I'll bet they couldn't even wipe their noses . . . or anything else.

Worker: Heh, Miss! Aren't you the first witness?

Girl: (Coming in) Sure I am! And ready to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth if Goddle Mighty there'll let me.

Worker: (To crowd) She's a wake-up.

- Judge: That amounts to . . . ah . . . contempt of court. How old are you?
- Girl: Twenty-two.
- Judge: Your occupation . . . ah . . . ah . . . waitress. Very congenial and well-paid employment. Yes?
- Girl: Yeah?
- Judge: Young lady, you are being examined with a view to . . . ah . . . adjusting waitresses' salaries according to the . . . ah . . . lowered cost of living . . . and . . . ah . . . the much lowered return of the gentlemen who . . . ah . . . after all give you the opportunity to work . . . and . . . ah . . . live.
- Girl: Sez you!
- Judge: You earn forty-seven shillings each week. More than I earned at your age.
- Girl: Maybe I'm not so dumb.
- Judge: Your board and lodging takes sixteen shillings each week . . . yes? Your meals at your employment cost you . . . ah . . . fourteen shillings. Very good meals I should say, too!
- Girl: They're lousy! I wouldn't give 'em to a dog.
- Judge: This is a very free country . . . ah . . . you needn't take them . . . you know.
- Girl: No? The boss takes that fourteen bob and says there's the tucker—take it or leave it. Fares cost me five bob. A pair of stockings a week cost me three and eleven.
- Judge: Not a pair each week? Extravagance, surely?
- Girl: Extravagance nothing! I've gotter have 'em to keep my job.
- Judge: Well . . . ah . . . my daughters . . . I believe . . . ah . . . take sun baths and then have no need for stockings. That's . . . ah . . . real economy for you.
- Girl: I get hardly enough time off to wash my feet let alone to go sunbathing my legs. And after I've paid for board, stockings, fares and a few extras I've got nothing left for anything.
- Judge: Is there much else . . . ah . . . that you need?
- Girl: Yes.
- Worker: Someone ought to slap him down.
- Girl: I wear shoes and they wear out and I haven't got enough to havem mended. I need medicine. I want a new overcoat, a hat, underclothes, toothpaste, powder . . . I've been borrowing my friend's lip-stick for a week.
- Judge: Ah . . . are those necessities?
- Worker: Don't answer that! Listen, comrades! He has the hide to ask that kid whether shoes, an overcoat, medicine and food are necessities. Do you know what he spends on things that you never eat, see, or drink? Probably five thousand quid a year!

- Some of you don't believe it . . . do you? Well, I'll prove it to you.
- (To Judge):
Get up out of that. I'm gonna ask you a few questions.
- Girl: (Taking worker's place near crowd) Attaboy! It's time someone did.
- Worker: (In chair) How much do you earn here? Three thousand a year, isn't it? How much do you get out of investments?
- Judge: I'm . . . ah . . . not supposed to . . . ah . . . have investments.
- Worker: So you won't talk. I'll bet it's not less than two thousand. How much do you pay in rent?
- Judge: Eight pounds each week for a flat . . . and I own a house in the country and one at the seaside.
- Girl: (To crowd) And I've gotter share a room with two others and the cockroaches.
- Worker: How many servants . . . that is fellow-workers of ours . . . do you have waiting on you?
- Judge: We have two housekeepers, four maids, two . . . ah . . . cooks, three gardeners . . . and . . . ah . . . chauffeur.
- Girl: (To crowd) You pay for that. Why don't you do something to stop it?
- Worker: What's your food and liquor bill each week?
- Judge: Each week? Nine hundred pounds a year . . . is . . .
- Worker: Nine hundred quid!! Phew!! Let me do the arithmetic . . . that's eighteen quid a week! Holy Moses! what eating! How often does your wife and family . . . have you got a family? How often do they go abroad . . . for a six months holiday? And what does that cost?
- Judge: Ah . . . they go every other year. The . . . ah . . . trip does not cost much . . . but new clothes . . . and so on . . . ah . . . for the family . . . ah . . . are rather expensive. I suppose . . . ah . . . three thousand . . . would ah . . . see them through. But of course . . . my wife has . . . ah . . . an income of her own.
- Worker: That enough! That's enough! The further you go the rottener it sounds. And it's parasites like you who have the hide to beat down the wages of people like us. You gimme a headache.
- Girl: And talking about headaches . . . do you know what it means not to be able to buy an Aspro when you've got a headache? Well, I do.
- Worker: Do you know what it's like to have a sick kid and no medicine? Or hungry kids and no food?
- Girl: I go short of things I need even when I'm in work. Have you

- any idea what it's like to be on the dole? Some of these people have a rough idea. Ask them!
- Worker: And you're not *satisfied* with that. Oh, no! You set about taxing away the last bit of food they *have* got.
- Judge: (*Alarmed*) Don't be foolish now! You . . . ah . . . would *kill* industry . . . *kill* industry . . . if you raised the tax on the *higher* incomes.
- Worker: Sez you!
- Girl: (*To crowd*) That's what we should do. Our cry should be . . . (*to front rows*) Do you know what it should be? Have you ever thought of . . . taxing the rich and giving us a fair go? That's who your cry should be . . . (*with Worker*) Tax the rich!
- Worker: (*Coming right forward.*)
Sure it should be.
Tax the rich, tax the rich,
They can stand it . . . sure they can.
They hold so much dough,
They get the itch,
To buy up things,
You'll never know,
Until you *tax* the rich!
- Girl:
Tax the rich!
They can stand it . . . just ask him (*pointing to Judge*).
They've pinched so much dough,
From you 'n me, 'n him,
It's time, in Parliament,
We put some workers in,
To . . .
Come on, say it! Tax the rich! Tax the rich !!
- Worker
and Girl: They can stand it.
Tax the rich!
- Judge: (*Coming forward between Worker and Girl*)
Tax . . . ah . . . us rich, ah . . . tax us rich.
We can stand it,
I'm on oath here.
To lie's a sin.
We can stand it.
(*I'll bite . . . ah . . . my tongue out.*)
But tax the rich, tax the rich.
- Worker:
Now, all into it.
Just say . . . Tax the rich.
See how it sounds . . . set it to music.

- Sing it . . . come on all . . . shout it.
- Worker,
Judge,
and Girl: Tax the rich, tax the rich.
They can stand it . . . sure they can.
They hold so much dough,
They get the itch,
To buy up things,
You'll never know,
Until you . . . TAX . . . THE . . . RICH !!
TAX . . . THE . . . RICH !!!
TAX . . . THE . . . RICH !!!!
ENDS



CONCISE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM

E. YAROSLAVSKY

(Concluded From Last Issue.)

THE Bolshevik Party struggled within the Workers' Movement against petty bourgeois revolutionism, a tendency

... which smacks of, or borrows something from, anarchism, and which differs in all essentials from the conditions and requirements of the sustained proletarian class struggle. For Marxists it is well established theoretically—and the experience of all European revolutions and revolutionary movements has fully confirmed it—that the small proprietor (a social type that is very widely represented in many European countries), who under capitalism suffers constant oppression and very often an incredibly sharp and rapid worsening of conditions of life and even ruin, easily becomes extremely revolutionary, but is incapable of displaying perseverance, ability to organise, discipline and firmness. The petty bourgeois, "furious" over the horrors of capitalism, is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, its ability to become swiftly transformed into submission, apathy, phantasy, and even into a "mad" infatuation with one or another bourgeois "fad"—all this is a matter of common knowledge." (p. 17.)

Ever since its foundation the Party fought against those tendencies within the workers' movement which were inimical to the proletarian revolution, against Opportunism and petty-bourgeois Revolutionism whose feeding grounds were on the one hand the million-strong masses of the petty bourgeoisie, both agricultural and urban, and on the other hand the higher ranks of the workers' aristocracy, corrupted by the imperialist

bourgeoisie. Under Capitalism the various shades of opportunism which fought against the Party of revolutionary Marxism, against the Bolsheviks, were of use to the ruling classes.

A great part in the growth of opportunist deviations of individual members of the Party and of single groups certainly was and is played by the low level of theoretical development, the lack of understanding of the laws of social development, of the laws of the class struggle, ignorance of the means, ways and methods of the revolutionary struggle.

The Bolshevik Party grew and became strong, because it cleansed itself of such unreliable elements, of casual supporters, of the agents of the classes opposed to the Proletarian Revolution who had penetrated into the Party. It freed itself from them by frequent Party purges, by the liquidation of the opportunists, by the driving away of all individual members or whole groups who had begun to go the way of the opportunists. The struggle against the economists, against the Mensheviks who after the Second Party Conference took the place of the economists, against liquidators from the Right and from the "Left," against the Trotskyites, against the "Left

Communists," against the "Democratic Centre" Group, against the anarcho-syndicalist workers' opposition, against the bourgeois nationalists, etc., was a necessary pre-condition to the victory of the revolution and of Socialism.

The experience of the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) has shown that the struggle against Bolshevism does not relax with the furtherance of the struggle for Communism, and with the strengthening of the Socialist State but on the contrary assumes ever sharper forms. The opportunists who lost the social basis for their activity in the Soviet Union because the vast masses took irrevocably the road of Socialism, proceed now to the methods of enemies of the Soviets and take the road of counter-revolution, espionage and wrecking, ally themselves with foreign intelligence services, conclude agreements with Imperialist States whose instructions they carry out and begin to betray and sell the country of Socialism. For this reason:

"The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the liquidators in its own midst, it cannot preserve unity and discipline within its ranks, it cannot perform the role of organiser and leader of the proletarian revolution nor its role as the builder of the new, socialist society.

"It may seem to some that the opportunist element within the Party is overrated. But that is absolutely wrong. Opportunism in our midst is like an ulcer within a healthy organism, and must not be tolerated. The Party is the leading detachment of the working class, its advanced fortress, its general staff. Sceptics, opportunists, liquidators and traitors cannot be tolerated on the general staff of the working class.

If while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeois there are capitulators and traitors on its own general staff, within its own fortress, it will be caught between two fires, from the front and from the rear. Clearly, such a struggle can only end in defeat. The easiest way to capture such a fortress is from within. To attain victory, the Party of the working class, its advanced fortress must first be purged of capitulators, deserters, strike breakers and traitors." ("Short History.")

The Bolshevik Party has fulfilled this mighty task. It has defeated all those Parties of compromise and all anti-proletarian and anti-Bolshevik groups which during the struggle have gone the way of counter-revolution, the way of conspiracy with the fascist war-mongers, the way of terror, of wrecking and of espionage. In so doing it has done a service, not only to the peoples of the Soviet Union but also to the international proletariat, to all anti-fascists and to all sincere friends of peace. Only reactionary leaders of the Second International, including "politicians" who stand convicted of their connection with the German intelligence service, such as the Menshevik Dan, protect spies and agents of foreign secret services, who would bring about the restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union.

In the introduction to the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.) it is rightly pointed out that:

"... the history of the struggle of our Party against all enemies of Marxism-Leninism, against all enemies of the working people, helps us to master Bolshevism and sharpen our political vigilance."

At the same time, the "Short History" points out that the source of opportunist deviations is not seldom the low theoretical level of Party

members, and hence we draw the conclusion that, if a Communist wishes to avoid the danger of falling into opportunist errors he must first of all master Bolshevik theory and provide for his knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and secondly strengthen his revolutionary vigilance so as not to get caught by the enemy.

The Bolshevik Party was always strong because of its connection with the masses. This connection arose in that period of development when the "Fighting Union for the Liberation of the Working Class," led by Lenin, proceeded from propaganda within small circles to *mass agitation* and to the leadership of the mass movement and strikes. Lenin taught that the Bolshevik Party must learn to command all forms of the revolutionary struggle, must understand, when necessary, how to go into all classes of society, in the first instance naturally to the revolutionary and democratic elements of society. Therefore the Bolshevik Party not only knew how to build up its work in the town among the workers, but also in the village among the peasants. It knew how to win over the democratic elements in the army and fleet and the students and intellectuals.

The Party consolidated this connection with the masses at the time of the revolution of 1905. It also preserved the connection under the most difficult circumstances of reaction in the time between the first two revolutions. And, beginning with 1917, the Party developed this connection on a gigantic scale. With-

out this connection with the masses the Party would never have been able to win the Civil War.

Recounting the reasons for the victory of the Red Army, the "Short History," in the section:

"How and why the Soviet country overcame the united forces of English, French, Japanese and Polish intervention and of the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie, landlords and White Guardists in Russia," explains that:—

"The Red Army was victorious because the policy of the Soviet Government for which the Red Army was fighting was a right policy, one that corresponded to the interests of the people, and because the people understood and realised that it was the right policy, their own policy, and supported it unreservedly . . ."

"The Red Army was victorious because it was absolutely loyal and faithful to its people, for which reason the people loved and supported it and looked upon it as their own army. . ."

"The Red Army was victorious because the Soviet Government was able to muster the whole rear, the whole country, to serve the needs of the front . . ."

"The Red Army was victorious because its leading core, both in the front and in the rear was the Bolshevik Party, united in its solidarity and discipline, strong in its revolutionary spirit and readiness for any sacrifice in the common cause, and unsurpassed in its ability to organise millions and to lead them properly in complex situations."

The Red Army was victorious because it knew how, in its ranks, to forge military leaders of a new type, because the most prominent men of the Party occupied themselves with the political education of the Red Army, because it counted among its numbers such excellent organisers and leaders as the war commissars.

The Red Army was victorious because excellent Bolsheviks operated underground in the rear of the White Army.

The Red Army was victorious because Soviet Russia in its fight against White Guard counter-revolution and foreign intervention did not stand alone, because the struggle of the Soviet Power and its successes evoked the sympathy and help of the proletariat of the whole world.

This victory was possible because the overwhelming masses of the workers and peasants, in spite of all hardships of the Civil War, understood the correctness of the policy of the Bolshevik Party and loved this Party and supported it.

This was possible because the Bolshevik Party led the struggle for the victory of true democracy, the proletarian, the Soviet Democracy.

While, in a whole series of countries, the foundations of democracy are destroyed by the onslaughts of Fascism, the true, Soviet Democracy in the Soviet country, guaranteed by the Stalin constitution, pervades the whole life of the Soviet Union.

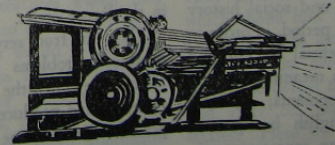
The History of the C.P.S.U. (B.) points the way to true democracy. In this democracy, the power of the exploiting classes, the power of the parasites is eliminated. In this democracy, classes are abolished. In this democracy the contradiction be-

tween intellectual and physical labor is being resolved. This democracy grows nearer every day to the victory of Communism, in which the whole activity of society will be conducted on the principle "From each according to his ability: to each according to his needs."

The titanic struggle of a nation of 170,000,000 people for Communism is a noble, exalting spectacle. At the head of this struggle stands the vanguard of the international proletariat—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. On its work lies the splendour of the fame of heroic deeds, its way is full of optimism and confidence in the final victory of Communism.

The banner of the Proletarian Revolution, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is in strong and trustworthy hands. A famous standard bearer carries it, one of the founders of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the friend and teacher of the Soviet workers and of all oppressed peoples in the world, Comrade Stalin.

The "Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)" tells of all these things.



AN INVALUABLE BOOK

Jack Lindsay

We make no apology for following up our review of Brian Fitzpatrick's "British Imperialism and Australasia, 1783-1833" in our June issue, with an excellent review of the same work by a brilliant Australian writer, originally contributed to the "New English Weekly" of March 23 of the present year.

IF one considers that the writing of history should show some understanding of basic causes, Australia has not been fortunate in her historians. For that reason Mr. Brian Fitzpatrick's book on British Imperialism and Australia, 1783-1883, is doubly welcome. It is brilliant in itself, and, by the clarity of light which it concentrates on its subject, it exposes much of the academic dimness which has so far shrouded Australian history apart from the romantic aspects of exploration. Professorial writers such as Shann and Roberts come in for many hard and salutary knocks, and for the first time the story of Australia's first fifty years is told with coherent insight.

It would be a pity if this valuable study failed to attract readers through any superficial appearance of dealing with matters merely local and trivial. For not only does Mr. Fitzpatrick deal extensively with the general economic and social history of England in his period, in order to establish the essential background which alone gives meaning to early Australian developments; he also links up the English background with the Australian consequences in a way that reacts back with illumina-

tion. In particular the analysis of the varying attitudes of the English ruling class to Australia, the changes in imperial policy, and the part which the growing power of the industrial employers took in creating those changes, will be found to clarify one's understanding of English history during these critical years of expanding capitalism.

More, these fifty years, sifted with Mr. Fitzpatrick's perceptive care, yield a story which is fascinating in itself and which helps one considerably towards a fuller realisation of the basic nature of capitalism and imperialism, and of the dilemmas which they produce. The peculiar mixture of social and economic forces in a convict colony started on virgin territory and entangled at once with the new financial interests of English capitalism, resulted in a number of conflicts and developments which are of interest both in themselves and as revelations of the forces at work in the larger arena.

This starts from zero in virgin land produced problems quite different from those which the colonisation of America had produced in an earlier period. On the one hand, governmental control was far more developed, and on the other hand so were

the financial and industrial mechanisms of capitalism. Hence there started off at once a battle between the most divergent of tendencies, foreshadowing both the whole of Australian history during the last century and (more interestingly) the kind of cleavage which was to come all over the world in our own unhappy days of capitalism's saturation point.

In 1783 the English ruling classes were faced with the fact of growing lawlessness as a result of their expropriation of the peasantry. They multiplied laws which provided the hanging penalty for crimes against property; but—a dilemma typical of capitalism, which has advanced progressive forces in its own despite—the juries and even the judges grew every day less ready to hang. The compromise appeared in the sentences of transportation. The ruling class, deprived of America by the late rebellion, considered first Gambia and then Australia, and decided on the latter. The plan which they devised was perfect in its simplicity. Having no objection to giving away what did not belong to them, and had not yet achieved any marketable value, they decided that they would ship off to the Antipodes the hordes of wretched creatures whom they were forcing into crime; in Australia the convicts would work under military rule to lay the necessary foundations for communication—clearance, roads, bridges—and then would be granted small allotments of ground. The dispossessed peasantry of England would no longer

be a menace to the landlords; they would become the basis of an Australia divided up among small proprietors.

This all-too-simple scheme soon came up against some of the contradictions in the capitalist system which would make its achievement impossible. Within a few years the accident of the Napoleonic wars turned the home government's attention from colonies, and the settlement was left entirely in the control of the resident officers, who at once made huge breeches in the imperial plan by grabbing the land, setting up rings and monopoly-control of importations, and oppressing and demoralising the small-proprietors with all their might. The rum-currency was the most striking inspiration in the way of demoralisation.

The result was that when the English government sought to start off its plan afresh, it came up against a complete distortion of the infant colonial economy into monopoly forms. Against this distortion all the early governors, men who earnestly and faithfully sought to carry out the paternalist policy, found themselves broken. Let those who wish to follow out the twists and turns of conflict read Fitzpatrick's clear and authoritative exposition, which shows how the local monopolist distortions gradually coalesced with capitalist needs of the home-country to defeat the small-producer and start off the great pastoral estates. Here we can take only a few salient points. On the one hand

was the paternalist, utterly pre-cap-

alist outlook of the imperial plan, for the most part ably put into action by the governors; on the other hand was the extreme tendency to monopoly. Thus from the start there clashed a purely pre-capitalist "Roman procurator" basis, and an entrenched form of monopoly far ahead of monopoly-methods in the parent capitalism and thus anticipating the future conclusions of the whole capitalist system. There were many queer results, one of which was the fact that the "procurator" Macquarie, without any such intention, laid the bedrock of Australian democracy. Macarthur, the great protagonist of the monopoly-development, complained in 1821, "This democratic feeling has already taken deep root in the colony, in consequence of the absurd and mischievous policy pursued by Governor Macquarie." And it was as a result of these early-laid and simplified tensions that all the later conflicts developed on the same lines and in many instances put Australia in the forefront of progressive achievement. Thus the inrush of free miners in the 'fifties led to the Eureka Stockade rebellion, which again posed the

ENGELS' statement in "Anti-Duehring" on militarism and conscription is fairly well known. Less known is his letter to Marx (July 30, 1862) on the American Civil War, which shows that, for a Marxist, conscription is a matter, not of principle, but of expediency—from the standpoint of the class struggle, naturally. Engels writes

small producer against the big land-owners, smashed through imperial plans, and led the way to universal suffrage and the secret ballot—achievements which Europe and America tamely followed in due course.

But these are matters—like the later fight of the free-selectors against the squatters, or that of the unions against colored slave-labor—which do not come into Mr. Fitzpatrick's view. His book, however, makes clear the foundations from which alone they can be understood, and we may hope that he will carry on his work to cover the whole of Australia's history.

Before ending, I should like to draw attention to the Introduction by Mr. Justice Evatt, of the High Court of Australia, author of "Injustice Within the Law," etc. But I fear that readers, bred to acceptance of the English legal system as the perfectly discreet and efficient accomplice of the ruling class, will refuse to believe me when I say that here is a judge who has long been actively involved in the struggle for social justice and freedom of expression.

concerning the war measures of the North: "Furthermore, what cowardice in government and Congress. They are afraid of conscription, of resolute financial steps, of attacks on slavery, of everything that is urgently necessary." In the circumstances, Engels thought conscription urgently necessary.

PAGES FROM THE PAST

By J. N. Rawling

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. R.

Period III.—Democracy and Unionism, 1856—1890 (Continued)

THE "INTERNATIONAL" AT WORK IN MELBOURNE IN 1872 (Continued).

Further items of news on the position of Labor in Melbourne in 1872, as reported by the "International Monthly" under the headings given below.

VICTORIAN CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

The temporary executive of this society are still quietly progressing, although they are sensibly enough economising their resources until they have called the shareholders together for the purpose of placing the society on a permanent footing, after which we hope to see some steps taken towards the elucidation of the advantages of Co-operation over the existing Competitive system, which is founded on the principle of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market to the exclusion of every other consideration. The glimmering of the dawn of a better state of things is appearing with the advent of the association's first attempt at being practical.

THE TRADES

List of Trade Societies, with Time and Place of Meeting
Artisans' School of Design,

Trades Hall, Lygon St., 8 p.m., Fri.
Basketmakers, do., 7:30 alternate Tues.
Boilermakers, do., 7:30 alternate Tues.
Bootmakers, Belvidere Hotel, 8 alternate Mon.
Carpenters, Trades Hall, 7:30 Tues.
Bricklayers, Trades Hall, 7:30 Mon.
Curriers, do., 7:30 alternate Sat.
Journymen Bakers, do., 8 do.
Labourers, do., 7:30 do.
Masons, do., 7:30 alternate Wed.
Mill Sawyers, do., 7:30 alternate Fri.
Paviors, do., 7:30 alternate Tues.
Painters and Paperhangers, do., 8 Thurs.
Plasterers, do., 7:30 Tues.
Tinsmiths (?).
Typographical Society, Printers' Library, 46 Collins St., first Sat. in each month.
Working Engineers, Mechanics

Institute, Collins St., Sat.

THE BUILDING TRADE

As usual in the dead of winter a large number of hands are out of employment, and little day work is being done. Almost every job is now taken on the competitive contracting principle, which results in those who are successful in obtaining employment being very little better off than those who are standing at the corners of our streets.

BOOTMAKERS

Rumours of an endeavour to lower the rate of payment in the "putting-up" branch were rife at the beginning of last month, but we trust the intentions of the employers have been altered, as we heard nothing confirmatory.

LABOURERS

In spite of the energetic manner in which railway work is being carried on, there are a great number of able-bodied and experienced hands unemployed, without mentioning the innumerable candidates for any sort

THE "INTERNATIONAL" SPEAKS

The following is the first editorial of the first number of the "Australian International Monthly," June 8, 1872. It had no title. The word "ideal" seems to be used therein at times in the sense of theory.

Every worker at the real has, or would have, an ideal. The relation of the ideal to the real is much the same as that of the architect's plan to the building, or of the human reason to the human material organism through which it operates, and by the services of which it makes known and accomplishes its purposes. The ideal, without the

of work who are not able to obtain employment in their own branches.

PRINTERS

From what we can gather with regard to this important branch of industry, compositors are not in quite so deplorable a state as they have been, during the last few winters. The spirited attempt at publishing a daily morning journal ("The Times and Mines") has proved a blessing to many an otherwise unemployed Caxtonian. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Duffy was not allowed an opportunity of carrying out his intentions in the direction of reducing the postal tax on newspapers, if it were only for the sake of journeymen printers.

[Secretaries of Trades' Societies are earnestly invited to co-operate with us in an honest endeavour to publish the real truth with regard to the state of the labour market, as we intend to issue at a suitable time for despatch by each outgoing English mail.—Ed.]

real, is as the plan of the building without bricks or builders, or as spirit without any fleshy embodiment through which it can act for the attainment of its ends; however intrinsically valuable, it is for all practical results worthless; while an ideal realism is one of the lowest and grossest forms of materialism. All great and good works, whatever

their class or order, demand for their successful completion both the ideal and the real; the ideal to inform, direct, vitalise, and energise the real; the real to represent and establish, to give identity and substantiality to the ideal. Without the ideal the real partakes more or less of the character of purposeless effort, and is at best vague, oscillating, and of doubtful utility as promotive of any noble end. Without the real the ideal is unfixed transitory shadow, a mere fleeting dream; it is creation only by intention, and continues void, lacking the essential element of execution. There is a reciprocal relationship between the ideal and the real; they influence and act on each other; the more noble the ideal, the more exalted and dignified the real; and the more adapted the real to the fulfilment of the ideal, and the greater the devotedness, directness, and diligence by which it is actuated, the more speedy, enlarged, and certain will be the success of the ideal. Let not the ideal therefore vaunt itself as independent of the real; nor the real boast itself as being sufficient and efficient apart from the ideal. In every great and good work these must move and act together, and in harmony, and be the head and the hand directing all labour.

Commencing anew our labours under a somewhat altered form* and different regime, it may not be inopportune to make some reference to the ideal and the real of our own undertaking and enterprise. The ideal we have set before us, and by which we are possessed and actuated,

is that of an intelligent, united, prosperous and happy democracy; the people, all the people, irrespective of class, creed, clime, color, or country—one; one in association, in interest, in aim; a brotherhood, whose first and cardinal principle, both theoretically and practically shall be the mutual ministry of good, and not as in the past, and even now, an admixture of contentious, irreconcilable, and merely self-serving aliens. Men are by nature brethren; our ideal is that they should form one united happy family, and earth their ununsurpassed and free and happy home. Our ideal embraces the emancipation of earth's toilers, and of toil, the elevation of the worker above the curse of his labour, though not above labour itself; labour enlightened; the hours of labour reduced; all workers, but no slaves; co-operation established in place of competition and monopoly; the land, the inalienable heritage of the people, placed in the hands of the State, tenured to be by lease, not purchase or freehold, and for the benefit of the people; the State itself, and all government, the outgrowth and assimilated product of the enlightenment, virtue, and will of the whole people, in which the majority shall be above the minority, and right above both; federation among the nations, in place of isolation and antagonism; and arbitration in place of war. Such is our ideal, and were it part of our present purpose to do so we could show that it is of close relationship with everything noble, philanthropic, pure, and having for its object the

welfare and happiness of mankind, that has passed before in classic or in Christian times, and that can come after, till it is itself a fact, and the ideal shall be made perfect in the real.

The Real in our undertaking is the dissemination of a knowledge of the Ideal, to hold it up, illustrate, and enforce it. This is our enterprise. With this object in view we commenced originally the *Internationalist*,[†] which has been merged in the publication of which this is the first issue, and which we pledge ourselves shall no less faithfully and consistently advocate the views of an intelligent and progressive Democracy. Our purpose is one, by means of a free and outspoken literature, to seek to bring together all who entertain similar liberal opinions on the great questions and problems of the day, and by temperate argument and discussion to seek to gain the attention, and by conviction the ultimate sympathy and adherence of those who now regard our ideal as unnecessary, impracticable, or immature. Among other measures and modes of action our most direct means of seeking the attainment of our end will be by giving our countenance and support to all associative movements on the part of the various trades;[‡] of the metropolis and the provinces, so as to bring them together as one for such defensive and aggressive action as their emergencies and common justice may dictate and require; and by endeavoring to influence the election of members to the Legislature by inducing

the electors to recognise in themselves the source of all political power, and so to exercise that power with deliberation and discrimination as that men shall be returned to parliament who will support the believers in the ideal of an enlightened peaceful Internationalism, and aid them in their labours to realise their aspirations.

With such a programme, such an Ideal, and such provisions and purpose to give it substance and constitute it Real, we look, with largeness of hope to the public for support. Many, we feel assured, have the same ideal as we ourselves, but they have not declared it; well, we ask you to do so; some of you get your ideal perhaps from the classic bards, some from the prophets and poets of the Bible; in whatever way acquired, declare yourselves believers in a better future, and justify your faith by your works; let the life of hope, that is inward and hidden, become a life of action, outward and seen. Ye cultivated, intelligent, independent ones, in the service of right, of humanity, of heaven and of earth, do this. We tremble under a sense of our own responsibility if we neglect our share of International duty, how much more weighty the responsibility of some of you in consequence of your extended means for promoting the glorious cause. Do honor to your ability, vindicate your integrity, square your effort to your responsibility. Ye who toil, whose brains and hands, and eyes and muscles, are as tools of handicraft, whatever your individual calling, to

you also we look. Traders, at least some of them, interested in competition and monopoly, may oppose us as against you whom their competition and monopoly oppress and wrong; help us as against them; help us to help you, not to do wrong to others, but to secure your rights to yourselves, by securing to all their rights, and insisting that all stop at

their rights; then, thus co-operating for the public good, we in our sphere, and you in yours, and all in their mode and measure according to their mutual relationship, the bright ideal of today will become the glorious reality of tomorrow.

—Australian International Monthly,
No. 1, June 8, 1872.

[†] "Different form," i.e. the "Australian International Monthly" instead of the former "Internationalist."

[‡] "Internationalist"; we do not know the date when this began publication. No. 11, we know, appeared some time in 1872 and the "Australian International Monthly" took its place in June of that year. So that the "Internationalist" evidently began sometime in 1871.

[§] "Trades," i.e. Trade Unions, which were then generally designated "Trades." Note that the unions were to be brought together for "aggressive" as well as for "defensive" action.

VICTORIAN CAPITALISM IN 1872

What follows is the second editorial from the "International Monthly." It throws important light on the working conditions in Melbourne seventy years ago, when the shackles of capitalist production and the horrors of the factory system were beginning to be seen in Australia.

If we speak of the physical improvement of the human race in any other than the most general terms, we may seem to a majority of minds to have left the sphere of practical realities, and to be indulging in fanciful speculations. Yet, we try our skill on animals, flowers, and vegetation, and we speak with confidence of our power over them. It seems no great exploit to give a pear the desired flavor, to stripe and color a tulip to our liking, or to give a rose a hue we fancy; but no such law is sufficiently recognised in our Social Science—there is too much faith put in fast-days, thanksgiving days, humiliation days, and other barbaric superstitious remedies; and in the worst form of barbarism of all: the substitution of the brutal

tyranny of wealth for that of conquest, and hence the strifes and struggles of life are productive of nothing but unhappiness. We feel that we are fast producing the cadaverous, tallow-complexioned, liver-disordered toiler; we are doing the factory system over again in its worst form. Women, children, and boys are at a premium—skilled men are at a discount—the former are fast approaching the position of mere machines, their utmost energies for the short time they last, are goaded on in the groove directed by a single skilled artisan, whose wages are reduced to the lowest ebb by the competition of the displaced skilled labor—and so, smugly, the "fair-round-bellied-with-good-capon-lined" city dignitary, glowingly expatiates as he

nods over his Saturday's leviathan "Age," or columinous "Australasian," and other Victorian journals strewn on his velvet pile table cover—and he exclaims, "How is it done for the money? Ah! The advantage of competition! the destruction of monopoly!" He draws close the heavy damask curtains of his drawing-room windows on this dreary June Sunday afternoon, retires to his velvet cushioned chair, refulgent with the ruddy glow of his well-piled grate, and droops with a drowsy snore into self-complacent beatitude.

But look again, his head is erect, his eyes are straining—what sees he there? A wan, pale-faced lad has come to answer—"How is it done?"

"I have laboured, and those like me labour, every day from eight till six, at an admitted unhealthy employment, and on Wednesday from eight in the morning till two or three the following morning under the glare of gas, in an ill-ventilated noisome atmosphere, till consumption came to the rescue; but here comes one who passed away before me, hear him."

(Continued Next Issue.)

N.Z. NEWS LETTER

New Zealand at the Crossroads

EVEN the conservative financial press describes as "onerous" the terms imposed on N.Z. by the Bank of England and the Chamberlain government in connection with the £17,000,000 loan repayment which has been the subject of Mr. Nash's negotiations in London. In the words of Professor Belshaw, leading N.Z. economist:

"Although market conditions at the present time were unfavourable for a conversion operation, he did not regard it as necessary or desir-

able in the interests of the British investors, that the terms should be made so severe. As the guarantor, the British government could have modified the terms, and the fact that it had not done so suggested a desire to influence policy in New Zealand. There will be justifiable resentment in New Zealand over the hardness of the terms."

When it is a question of "appeasing" Hitler Germany and financing its aggression, the Chamberlain government thinks in terms of tens of

millions. For democratic New Zealand under a Labor government the whole of its £17,000,000 loan conversion must be repaid over a period of five years. In addition the British government has granted N.Z. an export credit of £9,000,000, of which £5,000,000 is earmarked for defence expenditure. The remaining £4,000,000 will solve few problems and hardly do more than save New Zealand from commercial default, as an outcome of the depletion of its overseas funds through the wrecking activities of Money Power.

Why has the City, with the direct assistance of the Chamberlain government, deliberately imposed such unprecedentedly harsh terms on a British Dominion? The willingness of the N.Z. government to pay was never in question. Professor Belshaw suggests the answer when he speaks of the desire of the British government to influence policy in New Zealand. That is true and is expressed perfectly openly in the British Press.

In a leading article of July 26 the pro-fascist "Times" states quite frankly: "The Dominion must prove its worthiness if future assistance is to be more easily forthcoming. There is no desire to interfere with the principles of New Zealand, but the Dominion must recognise that it cannot again saddle Britain with the burdens of its own extravagances and **MUST ORDER ITS AFFAIRS ACCORDINGLY.**"

In even blunter terms, the "Investors' Chronicle" describes the terms of the loan as "an ingenious

compromise making it necessary for the Dominion to economise . . . Britain is entitled to suggest the curtailment of expenditure, especially where Britain's own business interests are affected."

The City and the Chamberlain government intend to pursue the same tactic as they did towards the Blum government in France. They will provide insufficient financial accommodation to allow New Zealand to overcome any of its difficulties, at the same time holding out the bait of "future assistance" (cf. the "Times"), but sufficient to prevent the New Zealand government seeking a more far-reaching solution of its difficulties at the expense of the wealthy. Behind cover of the assistance already granted, they hope to intervene to an increasing extent in the Dominion's internal affairs, with the assistance of the compromisers in the Labor Cabinet, and by these means bring about the destruction of social legislation and the downfall of the Labor government. That New Zealand reaction understands very well the role it is required to play is shown by the latest programme of the Chambers of Commerce, containing the most outrageous demands for the abrogation of Labor legislation, including a reduction in Public Works wages to a level below that of farm workers, the lowest paid workers in New Zealand.

The financial difficulties of the Labor government are reflected in its latest Budget placed before Parliament on August 1. Increased expenditure on Social Security (this

is the first Budget in which it appears), on Defence, on debt charges, etc., together with an estimated shrinkage of revenue, are balanced by increased taxation to the extent of £2,500,000. Of this, £1,200,000 is to be found through increased income tax and death duties; the remaining £1,300,000 will come from increased taxes on petrol and beer. Further analysis will be required before it is possible to estimate the Budget fully. It appears to be a Budget of compromise, in common with other government policy at the present time. While it represents a welcome step towards the taxation of higher incomes advocated by the Communists, nevertheless the MAIN burden of the new taxes (increasing taxation on lower incomes and lowering of the exemption to £200, the increased taxes on beer and petrol, added to the existing Social Security levy of 1/- in the pound) will fall on the masses, particularly on the lower middle classes and on the farmers. This must widen the gap between town and country which is the Achilles heel of the Labor government. Whatever else was necessary this should not have been done.

For reaction is redoubling its efforts to precipitate the farmers against the workers, as the Massey government did in 1913. Mr. Mulholland, reactionary president of the Farmers' Union, at the conference of the Union last month, delivered a demagogic speech, full of incitement against "the towns," and threatened the formation of a Farmers' Party. Probably this was poli-

tical blackmail, since the leadership of the Farmers' Union is closely connected with the National Party, but it reflects an all too common sentiment in the N.Z. countryside where the farmers feel—with some justice—that they have been outstripped by the advances made by the working class. At the same time agitators from the Dominion Executive of the Farmers' Union are touring the countryside collecting secret funds for some fantastic form of "farmers' strike," the details of which they will not divulge even to their own membership.

The blindness and obstinacy of certain Labor leaders towards the problems of the farmers is all the more regrettable when it is realised that the farmers CAN be won to the side of Labor, given correct leadership and a proper attention to their needs. This was shown in the 1935 and 1938 elections and again, most remarkably, last month, as an outcome of Mr. Savage's "bomb-shell" over the guaranteed price. On the 14th July the Prime Minister, in reply to a question from a Labor Member, stated "that it would be quite impossible for any government to disregard the statements made against the guaranteed price inside and outside the House," and suggested the possibility of a plebiscite amongst farmers on the question. The Dominion leadership of the Farmers' Union blundered into a statement giving the impression that it favored abolition of the guaranteed price system. Immediately from one end of the country

to the other, dairy factory suppliers and their organisations expressed their support for the system of the guaranteed price and strong condemnation of the tactics of the Farmers' Union leadership. Nor is this remarkable when one considers that this year's guaranteed price has resulted in the dairy farmers receiving nearly £2,000,000 more than they would have under the old system of free marketing.

The other dramatic incident of a rather uneventful Parliamentary session (both parties were marking time pending the outcome of the London negotiations) was the Minister of Labor's precipitate introduction of an amendment to the Arbitration Act, giving him power to deregister unions, abrogate awards covering deregistered unions and abolish compulsory unionism in such cases. The Bill was rushed through both Houses in a few hours without any division or more than the most formal verbal opposition from the Nationalists. This measure has aroused grave concern in the trade union movement, particularly in view of the speeches made by two Cabinet Ministers, who made it quite clear that their hostility was directed against the militant unions and not against the employers who have been doing their best to bring about a break-down in all constitutional methods of settling disputes (refusal to form disputes committees provided for in all awards, endless appeals to the Arbitration Court which is too overloaded to consider

them, etc.).

It is true that the Federation of Labor's policy is for direct, collective bargaining with the employers, involving the eventual deregistration of all unions from the Arbitration Court, but this process must be undertaken in a planned way at the will of the unions themselves, and not according to the whim of a Minister of Labor whose primary concern is to stop strikes, and who assures the employers that they will be able to employ "free" labor as an outcome of this amendment. Therefore this Bill appears as another of those concessions to reaction which have done the government so much harm in its second term of office.

Undoubtedly strong pressure from within the Parliamentary caucus is playing an important part in tying the hands of those members of the Cabinet who would like to take the path of capitulation. The Leftwing majority of the Labor M.P.s is increasing its pressure in favour of increased government control over the banking system, and—a welcome sign—a number of its spokesmen have come out decisively in recent statements and speeches against the Chamberlain policy as expressed in the Tokyo agreement. Another factor hampering the compromisers, and the most important one, is the clearly expressed determination of the N.Z. people that no sacrifices in their standards of living shall be made in the interests of the London bankers and bondholders.

N.Z. Labor is at the cross-roads. One road leads to retreat and in the outcome to the defeat of the Labor government; the other to a mobilisation of the forces of the people for a united effort to overcome New Zealand's difficulties, bringing with it further advance and the strengthening of the Labor government.

It was therefore at an exceedingly appropriate moment that the National Committee of the Communist Party met at the end of July. In a manifesto entitled "Unite the People," the National Committee drew attention to the fact that New Zealand is facing a crisis in its national life, brought about by the wrecking activities of reaction which has "passed beyond the stage of ordinary conservative opposition to the government of the day," and "constitutes a menace to the people of New Zealand as a whole." Giving the lie to the defeatists and the defamers of New Zealand, the Communist Party outlines the resources at the disposal of the people in order to overcome present difficulties and points out that these are fully sufficient, together with the assistance of the New Zealand people's allies in the international field, to provide a solution of these difficulties. With concrete instances it demonstrates that the leadership of the Labor government, instead of mobilising these resources, "is vacillating before the attacks of reaction in an endeavour to appease it." In conclusion the National Committee issued a strong call for unity of the people and a

rapid strengthening of all the organisations of the people, in order to preserve the achievements of the Labor government, to break the sit-down strike of capital, to overcome the financial difficulties of the country, to operate a correct defence policy, to bring assistance to the farmers and to preserve N.Z. democratic institutions.

Other questions on the agenda before the National Committee of the Party were (1) Work of the National Executive, where particular attention was given to overcoming serious weaknesses of the Party, particularly in agitation and propaganda, and in Branch life. (2) "History of the C.P.S.U." It was recognised that the publication of this masterpiece of Marxism-Leninism provided splendid opportunities to overcome the theoretical weaknesses of the Labor movement and of the Party itself, and a concrete plan for study and mass sales was adopted. (3) By-laws of the Party based on the new Party Constitution were adopted. (4) "People's Voice." The Committee noted with approval the publication of the new paper and adopted a sales campaign for 10,000 by the end of the year.

All decisions of the Committee were taken unanimously, showing that the leadership of the Party is thoroughly united, as befits a Party which champions the unity of the New Zealand people.

August 2, 1939.

—GORDON WATSON.

OUR ARMY IS INVINCIBLE

S. Purdy

"COMRADES! Our army is invincible!"

With these words Marshall Voroshilov finished his report to the 18th Congress of Bolsheviks.

In "The Military Strength of the Powers," Max Werner proves that "the Soviet Union is preparing a time-table counter-offensive." Also, that it is the strongest military power in the world.

But despite the possibility and desirability of having this strongest military power as an ally, we find people in British and Australian ruling circles who look for another way of solving the problems of the international arena.

They think they can enter an armaments race and win. They think they can build armaments on such a scale that the aggressors will find it more convenient to turn East instead of West; they hope to "appease" the aggressor at the expense of the Soviet Union, instead of uniting with the latter for mutual protection.

Such people should thoroughly digest the speech of Molotov, also delivered last March, to the 18th Congress of Bolsheviks.

Molotov showed that the First Five Year Plan had doubled the industrial output of the Soviet Union; the Second Five Year Plan had more than doubled it again, and now the Third Plan aims at doubling it once more.

No wonder that he was greeted with laughter and applause when he said:

"It must be confessed that nobody is challenging us to competition."

This military and economic might of the Soviet Union was built under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, and in any future war his direct leadership will again be every bit as successful.

He has already proved his genius

for leadership in war during the imperialist intervention in the early years of the Soviet Republics, and is now at the head of the General Military Council, consisting of eleven persons.

So far, we have only considered the military and economic strength of the Red Army, and the ability of Comrade Stalin to give it personal leadership.

Another important consideration is the role of the State, because the Army is such an important part of it.

In capitalist countries, as Stalin has pointed out, two basic functions characterise the activity of the State.

"At home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other States, or to defend the territory of its own State from attack by other States. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism."

Stalin then went on to trace the history of the new proletarian Soviet State. He showed that in its earlier years it preserved certain functions of the old State, but with this difference, "that our State suppressed the exploiting minority in the interests of the laboring majority, while previous States had suppressed the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority."

In later years, with the elimination of capitalist elements in town and country, the complete victory of socialism and the adoption of the new Constitution, the functions of the Soviet State changed.

"Now the main task of our State inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organisation and

cultural education," said Stalin. "As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence services, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against external enemies."

And when certain people start to howl about the trials of the trotskyist spies, murderers and wreckers, the agents of foreign powers, let them remember the above words of Stalin; let them ask themselves if Britain and Australia are stronger because of the existence of pro-Nazi and pro-Japanese elements in the ruling, political and military circles.

If certain people think that the trials of Tukhachevsky and other treacherous generals weakened the Red Army, let them also remember Stalin's question, framed for just such as these:—

"What, for instance, do the events at Lake Hassan show, if not that the weeding out of spies and wreckers is the surest means of strengthening our Soviet organisations?"

Now let us come to the human factor, which, in the final analysis, is decisive in determining the strength of any Power and any Army.

The growth of Socialist industry in the U.S.S.R. has led to the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, the consolidation of the socialist system and the absence of unemployment; it has led to an increase in the productivity of the workers and collective farmers, to the collective farmers securing the land in perpetuity, together with the full use of the most up-to-date fertilisers and machinery; it has led to the creation of a new intelligentsia, a soviet, socialist intelligentsia, among whom is the Australian born son of the Metanien family, formerly of Pendle Hill, N.S.W., who has become a marine engineer.

All of this has made possible a further rise in the standard of living of the whole people.

The Third Five Year Plan also

provides for another increase in national consumption of from fifty to one hundred per cent.

The average wage of workers and employees is to increase during this period by thirty-five per cent., and the total annual payroll of workers and employees is to increase by over sixty per cent.

The income of collective farmers will increase by over seventy per cent. in the same period.

It will be easily understood why the Soviet people are so interested in defeating any and every aggressor, why their enthusiasm cannot be equalled in any other country, to say nothing of the toilers in fascist countries, who would like nothing better than the opportunity to take their oppressors by the throat.

In Australia, can the workers look forward to wage increases by at least one third? On the contrary, in N.S.W. a basic wage reduction has recently taken place. Can the farmers look forward to increased incomes? On the contrary, they face ruin and bankruptcy.

Is unemployment being abolished in this fair country of ours? On the contrary, it is growing.

I am reminded of an experience of my own while in the Soviet Union.

I met a young fellow working as a chauffeur for one of the organisations there. He had just finished serving two years in the Red Army, and before leaving, he knew where he was going to work.

In Australia, I know of men trying to join a military unit which was recently sent to Darwin, not because they liked the military, but because they were unemployed and it offered them some semblance of economic security.

And who does not know of young unemployed lads who have joined the militia for the few shillings pay they receive?

I am also reminded of a middle-aged Russian who lived at Girra-ween, N.S.W.

He was unemployed and went back to Russia, which he had left as a boy. He came to see me when he arrived in Moscow in 1937, and a fortnight later was working in the glass manufacturing industry. Then there is the Soviet expenditure on social insurance, and government expenditure on education, health, aid to mothers, and other cultural and public services. This will increase to 53,000,000,000 roubles each year during the period of the next Five Year Plan.

Such material conditions could only lead to a tremendous rise in the culture of the Soviet peoples, and to such an extent that the government is now proposing to set about eliminating the distinction between mental and manual labor by raising the cultural level of the working class to the level of engineers and technicians.

I personally met more than one worker who was already travelling along this road.

In Australia governments are too occupied with Youth Employment Conferences to find time to worry about cultural progress, or to even supply warmth to the public schools.

In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, therefore, the moral and political unity of the peoples is unequalled anywhere else in the world. Not least is the unity between nations.

In the British Empire, on the other hand, not only is there irreconcilable antagonism between classes, but there is antagonism between nations. In the British Empire, the majority of its people, the 300,000,000 Indians, are kept in colonial bondage, and their economic, political and national aspirations suppressed.

Under such conditions, moral and political unity is impossible.

The Soviet military personnel is part of the well-cared for people, and the reasons for its superior morale, for the superiority of the human element in the Red Army are apparent.

And when it is realised that in any war, the Soviet Front would be defending the conditions mentioned in the rear, the unity of interests and comradeship existing between the Soviet military personnel and the civilian population becomes crystal clear.

In the Red Army, every soldier, from the man in the ranks to the highest commander, receives a training in politics and is taught to broaden his knowledge and master socialist theory.

In capitalist armies, the rank-and-file soldiers and lower rank officers are forbidden to engage in politics—as for example the recent decrees in this country covering the permanent forces and the militia.

Partly due to the political training, more than half of the Red Army is made up of Communist Party and Young Communist League members, but also because it is Communist policy to send Party and League members where leadership is most needed and where the fight is thickest.

Such a composition can only strengthen the Red Army.

In the Red Army, just as with the civilian population, there is the same unity of will between leaders and the rank-and-file.

I once attended a theatre in Moscow. Part of the programme was a film of the Cossack Cavalry field day. In addition to feats of horsemanship and other events, the film showed a number of Red soldiers engaged in their national dances to the strains of a concertina. Into the film walked Martina, the majority of its people, the 300,000,000 Indians, are kept in colonial bondage, and their economic, political and national aspirations suppressed.

All of a sudden the atmosphere in the theatre became electrical, and then the Cossack Marshall was seen in the audience. Forgetting the programme, the audience rose

as one man, clapped, cheered, called for a speech, and sang Red Army songs for a full half hour before allowing the programme to proceed.

Now we have also examined the human factor in the Red Army.

Is it any wonder that the Nazis have recently dropped their talk about marching on the Soviet Uk-

raine; is it any wonder that they now turn West instead of East; is it any wonder that Hitler is so anxious to secure Soviet neutrality?

"Comrades! Our army is invincible!" said ex-metal worker, Klim Voroshilov.

* Stalin's speech to the 18th Congress of Bolsheviks, March, 1939.

Register Campaign Lessons

R. Dixon

IN deciding to boycott the National Register the trade union movement of Australia arrived at one of the most momentous decision in its history.

The National Register and the Supply and Development Act constitute part of a general plan to impose military and industrial conscription on the workers, to undermine trade union conditions and awards and ultimately trade unionism itself.

The A.C.T.U. decided to pit the organised strength of the trade union movement against these laws. It called for the boycott of the National Register of manpower as the most effective form of opposition. The decision was a direct challenge to the right of capitalist governments to legislate without due consideration of the needs of the working class.

What a stir was created in the circles of the ruling class! And how they fumed!

The "Sydney Morning Herald" screeched:

"The measure (National Register) has become the law of the land, and active resistance to it would involve a violation of the law. Such violation on an organised scale would be nothing less than an assault upon our democratic form of government and a negation of constitutional rule."

Mr. Menzies thundered: "If there was to be a battle before the Australian electors upon the principle of whether the law should be obeyed, then the battle was on."

Fortunately for Mr. Menzies and

unfortunately for the people, it was not so.

One further quotation from the "Sydney Morning Herald" of June 29. It wrote:—

"It is sincerely to be hoped that . . . the labor movement will shed its suspicions and abandon its obstruction, and freely co-operate with the Federal government in expediting the completion of the national defence programme. Never was unity among Australian people of all classes more imperative than it is today."

What a beautiful picture of unity old "granny" conjures up—the lambs lying down with the wolves; the workers at peace with their exploiters, contented wage-slaves of capital.

But "Granny's" dream was rudely shattered. The working class openly challenged the right of the capitalists to make whatever laws they wished when it determined to defy the Constitution and Parliament on the National Register issue. The lines of the class struggle were suddenly more sharply drawn.

Implicit in this decision of the trade union movement was a warning that this force—the working class—which today challenges a particular law passed by Parliament, will one day contest the right of the capitalist to continue to rule, to exploit the masses and despoil our country in the interest of the rich minority.

The dismay of the employing classes was equalled only by that of the Rightwing of the Labor Party. Although the trade union

movement was united in its opposition to the National Register the Federal Executive of the Labor Party deliberately went out of its way to confuse the issues and split the workers' ranks. The Labor Party leaders denounced the boycott and conspired with certain Rightwing trade union officials to disrupt the campaign. Curtin, Forgan-Smith, Fallon, Lang and others worked day and night to reverse the decision of the trade unions.

It is interesting to note that the arguments of the Labor Party leaders differed but little from those of Menzies and the "Sydney Morning Herald."

Mr. Forgan Smith, Queensland Labor Premier, was one of the most outspoken of the reformists. In opposing the boycott at the meeting of the Federal executive of the Labor Party, he said: "The Labor Party could not support the principle that the people should be allowed to choose which laws they would observe and which they would refuse to observe. Such a principle was fascist." ("S.M.H.," June 28.)

Mr. Smith seems to have an inverted conception of fascism. I must confess I was not aware that Hitler and Mussolini had established the "principle" that the people should be "allowed to choose which laws they would observe and which they would refuse." My conception was that under fascism laws were brutally conceived and still more brutally enforced.

Those who would brand the attitude taken by the trade union movement as fascist will need to advance better arguments than Smith. In any case, what is more like fascism than the National Register Act itself?

Menzies had no mandate to pass such legislation, which is a threat to democracy. It was imposed on the people from above and then Menzies, Forgan-Smith and the capitalist press all shouted in unison—it is the law and the law must be obeyed.

The Federal executive of the Labor Party condemned the National Register as "provocative and dangerous" and the Supply and

Development Act as "imperilling wages and working conditions." If this estimate is true, and we have no doubt it is, then why lack the courage to urge the workers to fight against such laws. The election of a labor government and repeal of the legislation was the only hope held out by the Labor Party leaders. And this, they declared in their resolution, "provides the Constitutional and only lawfully effective method of saving the workers of the Commonwealth from the undemocratic and dangerous legislation of the Menzies government."

Their concern for the law and for Constitutional methods must indeed be gratifying to the pro-fascist financial interests who rule Australia.

Mr. Forgan Smith indignantly declared that "Labor Ministers in Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia had sworn an oath to observe the law." Defiance of the law "might lead to the immediate dismissal of Labor governments."

Such was the terrible prospect Smith put before the labor movement. After all he was elected to office and made the proud Premier of Queensland to administer capitalism, to see that the working class remain the wage slaves of the rich exploiters. To do other than this would be contrary to the Constitution—that Constitution the ruling class had framed to preserve their property, their privileges and their right to exploit and oppress the people. To do other than this would be a violation of his "oath" of office which is more holy than the principles of the Labor movement and democracy.

Of course, Mr. Forgan Smith did support a resolution of protest against the National Register for, after all, that was quite constitutional. He had no objection to people protesting nor had Mr. Menzies. At Brisbane, on June 29, Mr. Menzies said: "Parliament made these laws and if the people did not like the laws they could change the Parliament to change the laws . . ." ("S.M.H." June 30.) In other words, if you must protest do so at the ballot, elect a Labor government. No government is seriously disturb-

ed at protests—they are always receiving them—but to talk of defying the law, of boycotting the Register, that is altogether too much.

So far as laws are concerned we would say that if they are oppressive, if they are conceived to limit or undermine the rights of the people and the labor movement, as is the case with the National Register and the Supply and Development Acts, then it is the duty of the people not only to protest but to defy such laws, and render them ineffective. As one of the leaders of the Spanish Republicans said: "It is better to die fighting for liberty than to live on one's knees."

If the labor movement were to confine its activities to constitutional methods only it would be reduced to impotence. The labor movement was built in defiance of tyrannical laws. Little more than a hundred years ago the formation of trade unions was unlawful and the workers were without the rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly. Had the pioneers of the labor movement been constitutional lick-spittles, the trade union movement would not be as powerful and would not have the same rights as it has today.

But this pandering to constitutionalism has an even more sinister meaning—it paves the way for fascism. In Germany when Hitler was making his bid for power, the Social Democrats urged the workers not to resort to other than constitutional methods to express their opposition. They confused the labor movement and brought division in its ranks and destroyed the workers. Hitler came to power by constitutional means.

The slavish worship of the constitution by the Rightwing leaders of the Labor Party, their calculated splitting of the workers' forces in the face of the capitalist attack, threaten us with a fate similar to that of the German labor movement.

The capitalist press and also the reformists like to tell us that fascism cannot happen here, that we Australians are such "natural democrats" no other system would be tolerated. They might be likened to a murderer who, by flattery, lulls

the suspicions of his intended victim before striking the deadly blow. All this talk that "it can't happen here" has one object: to dull the vigilance of the people so that it can happen here.

It is happening here as can be seen from the restrictions on freedom of speech, particularly over the wireless, and the legislation Menzies introduced (National Register and Supply and Development Act) using the defence requirements of the country as the pretext. The Australian Constitution is being used to attack democracy and introduce fascism and yet when the working class determined to put a stop to this and call a halt to the advance of fascism, for this was the real meaning of the boycott campaign, the Labor Party leaders, Curtin, Smith, Lang and Co., demand nothing but "constitutional methods." If Forgan Smith is looking for "fascist principles" he would do well to look at his own policy and that of his colleagues.

Under great pressure from the Labor Party leaders and the capitalist press a majority of the members of the A.C.T.U. executive, at a meeting on July 25, decided in favor of lifting the boycott and a recommendation was made to the Trades and Labor Councils to this effect. Melbourne Trades Council rejected the recommendation by 117 votes to 45 but Sydney (52 to 48), Brisbane (52 to 44) and Adelaide (44 to 22) endorsed the recommendation and the boycott was lifted.

The Communist Party emerged from the struggle with flying colors. Our decisions first to boycott the Register and then, after the trade union decision to withdraw, to lift the boycott, were correct. To have persisted with the boycott, to have advised the workers to defy their trade unions would have created a greater division in the workers' ranks and isolated us from large numbers of workers. There was no other course to pursue.

The lifting of the boycott was unquestionably a setback for the leftwing, but this fact must not prevent us from acknowledging the successes of the campaign. Mr. Menzies was forced to give written assurances that the National Register

would not be used to impose industrial or military conscription and agree to facilitate a private members' bill to amend the Supply and Development Bill in such a manner as to preserve award wages and conditions in government enterprises.

These are no small concessions and certainly they would not have been won had the trade unions, from the beginning, followed the milk and water policy of the Labor Party. And it is necessary for the labor movement to campaign unrelentingly to see that Menzies gives effect to his assurances.

A far greater victory, however, was in sight—the defeat of the Menzies government.

When the labor movement decided to boycott the Register the capitalist press, viciously denouncing the decision, worked overtime trying to whip up an election atmosphere favorable to the Menzies government. Mr. Menzies and his advisers were watching the position closely, as well as giving the campaign a kick along. But all to no avail. The boycott was proving a tremendous success. The date for the completion of the Register was extended from July 29 to Aug. 10, after the A.C.T.U. had decided to lift the boycott. On August 1, that is three days after the original closing date only 500,000 out of an anticipated 1,500,000 forms had been submitted. Let those trade union officials who were fearfully claiming that the workers were not applying the boycott ponder over those figures. It is true, a large number of those who had not filled in forms would have done so had the boycott been persisted in, but the fact that they delayed to the very last moment suggests that they were not enthusiastic about the Register and would welcome the chance to have done with it.

That only one-third of those eligible had submitted forms by August 1, is truly an amazing result. It

means that the boycott was being applied by farmers and middle class people as well as workers, and if the issue had come to a vote a majority of the people would have been against the Menzies government.

Had the boycott been persisted in the Menzies government would of necessity have had to go to the country for a government whose laws are flouted by the people—even a large minority of the people—cannot rule.

The Labor Party leaders, Curtin, Smith, Lang and others saved the Menzies government from an ignominious defeat.

It would seem, however, that there were none who feared the thought of an election like the Labor Party Rightwing. They were afraid not because of possible defeat but because of almost certain victory. Curtin and his colleagues fear power. Such is the leadership the Labor Party is blessed with—they are horrified at the thought of the workers defying the law and on the other hand they tremble with fear at the thought of having to take over the reins of government. Lenin once defined a Philistine as a "bladder filled with fear and trembling." What Philistines are the leaders of the Labor Party!

Nothing more was wanted than the stand of the trade unions on the National Register to reveal the Rightwing in their true light. In times of crisis, when they must decide for the working class or the capitalist class the Labor reformists inevitably tend to the side of capital. And crisis will follow crisis more rapidly than ever in the future.

The lifting of the boycott was a set-back for the Leftwing but this, together with the knowledge gained from the struggle of the role of the Labor Party opportunists, must make us work harder than ever to spike their guns and render them incapable of further damage.

A GRAMMAR OF POLITICS

L. Harry Gould

A further contribution to our language controversy.

ONE night last month in Corfu Street, Woolloomooloo, over a thousand people were gathered around a Communist speaker. Three families in the street were about to be evicted, and the speaker was exhorting the crowd to prevent the bailiffs and police from committing the crime of forcing poor people out of their homes.

The crowd was angry. Men and women cursed the landlords and the government of the landlords. Eyes glowed with hatred. The speaker told of the sufferings of the people and called for action in defence of their simple rights. The crowd responded. Barbed wire was struck round the houses, windows were barred, and hammers and hatchets were gripped in the hands of tenants and neighbours.

Here was an exciting act in the drama of the class struggle. Hundreds of people, for the first time in their lives, were stirred to united action. Political experience became theirs, and a social consciousness and perhaps even a revolutionary understanding lighted up, however dimly, much that was previously dark and perplexing in their lives.

I recalled the Corfu Street eviction fight when I read J. N. Rawling's "Conserving Our Language." I could picture him near the speaker's stump, watching with enthusiasm the fighting spirit of the crowd but sorrowfully shaking his head every time the speaker split an infinitive or mixed up cases. From Rawling's article one might infer that the decisive factor in the movement for freedom is not the daily and hourly struggles of the masses, but rather the niceties of an expressive literary style.

Out of struggle, and reflecting the resultant new understanding, the workers add new words and terms to their vocabulary: solidarity, class war, Socialism, strike, Soviet, the Party, struggle, unity—good words

which the workers come to treasure and to employ with increasing frequency. Then there are words which denote things of evil portent to them: boss, bosses' state, splitter, scab, trotskyst, fascist. Both the good and the bad ones reflect the dialectics of social evolution. But the problem of language can be approached only from the standpoint of the social actions and conditions which it describes. "In the beginning was the deed"—not the word, St. John notwithstanding. There is little that is graceful or euphonious in "bosses' state," but to the Corfu Street residents the term is now, thanks to the resolute leadership given them, filled with a clear meaning. In the great questions of bread, democracy and peace, the grammar of politics takes precedence by a long way over an English grammar.

The supporters of Kevin Connolly have forgotten this elementary truth in the controversy in these pages since May. Indeed, they have run far beyond the customary limits of controversy. Exaggeration is the usual pitfall for protagonists in every debate, but how is one to account for such a distortion as the following: "Purdy claims that because our Party has grown, our language must have been good." Now, now, Jim! Purdy never said that!

Worse is to come. J.N.R. warns that unless Communists change their language style they "will continue disgusting and driving away, or failing to convince, thousands as we have done in the past."

It is not quite the same, but this statement and the vehemence with which it is made, reminds me of the temperance orator: "You won't live long if you drink beer," he harangued his audience.

Interjector: "But my grandpa has

been drinking all his life, and he's 90."

Orator: "Yes, but if he hadn't been a drinker he might have been 100 years old by now."

There are three mistakes of a fundamental character in that one statement of Rawling's.

One. It ignores unity in struggle and, generally, a correct political line as the principal factor in attracting workers to our Party. If there were some "disgusted and driven away," it was because of an inadequately developed political line; the language factor was then, as now, quite secondary.

Two. Rawling forgets that many of our present advanced leaders were politically and "linguistically" not so advanced then, and that both leaders and workers have attained higher standards in both spheres only in the course of countless struggles.

Three. Our Miles's, Sharkey's, Dixon's and all our leaders, writers, speakers, propagandists and agitators appreciate the urgent need to improve their language, and are persistently studying and fitting themselves to this end. It should not have been necessary to mention so obvious a fact. Our Purdy's, McWilliams's, Gould's, etc., are consciously, purposively, persistently studying grammar and style, and are employing every means to acquire a better mastery of the people's English.

Actually, there is nothing new in the controversy. The problem of learning to use simpler and more expressive language, and to avoid hackneyed terms, has been discussed a thousand times (No! I'm not overstating a fact) in our various Party organisations. If Comrades Connolly and Rawling had presented their contributions in the form of suggestions and criticisms along these lines, the controversy would not have been marred by such lopsidedness and extravagant claims. If it continues in that strain, then readers of our press will hunt for grammatical mistakes instead of reading this or that story of a strike for better conditions, or an estimation of some international event, or a definition of policy.

One correspondent spoke of

"Communists vomiting out the word 'bourgeois.'" Communists don't vomit out words! Surely this is not criticism.

It is sheer political backwardness—specifically, the influence of bourgeois intellectualism—which accounts for the tenor of the "criticism" against present-day Communist propaganda and agitation. Who are most of our speakers and writers? Workers who have been deliberately kept uneducated by capitalism, but whose class consciousness impelled them to step forward and give the call to struggle. Most of them came straight into the position of leading writers and speakers "from the long end of a pick handle." There were no others to come forward. (Some persons with better qualifications from the standpoint of command of language did offer themselves. One was a University professor who today is protecting Nazi agents in Australia. Who would accept such spurious coin?) If the material our writers produce is lacking in fine turns of phrase and vivid imagery, the fault lies with the ruling class. Why the sneers and smirks? Why does Connolly, with evident amazement and disgust, exclaim: "What a difference between writing such as theirs (of Lenin and Stalin) and the general run of Communist writing both in Russia and outside?"

Connolly here exhibits a striking lack of political vision and historical perspective. For a parallel, one can point to the "critics" of the level of industrial technique in the Soviet Union during the First and Second Five Year Plans. They complained about the poor workmanship in manufactured goods, forgetting that immense numbers of the workers in the factories had been but recently peasants who had lived and worked in a primitive social economy where even such commonplace tools as screw-drivers and saws were unknown. Those "critics" couldn't see humanity being re-created on the basis of working-class power; they only noted, and broadcast to the world, that a bell in some hotel didn't ring and that some articles they purchased were of a rough finish.

I repeat, Connolly's remarks and advice on improving our language as such, and the criticisms he made were quite good. But he won't help solve the least problem of the class struggle if he stands nonplussed at the difference in standard between a Lenin and the average run of Party speaker and writer.

One more illustration on dialectics and the evolution of language.

Some years ago, when I was in the organised unemployed movement, the then State Council drafted a document on organisation for circularisation among all unemployed branches and local councils. I was asked for an opinion. One objection I raised was that the language was too technical, too political. I was informed that years of organisation and struggle by the unemployed rendered them capable of easily understanding the document. A year or two earlier, the terminology would indeed have been too difficult, but not now. The struggle had given them the capacity to think, plan, create; they were mastering science and culture in the process of combat with the class enemy. And so on. How would a Connolly have estimated the document? He would have said, "But couldn't the language still have been improved?" To which the reply, already suggested above, would have been:

"Yes, of course. And it's up to those who can improve it for us to help us. We shall be grateful. But for the love o' Mike, don't carp at what we've done up to now. Remember our background. If this document isn't as polished as it might be—well, we've done a lot without any polish! Now, you've come along to help, good-o. But keep in mind that what we say and write has come out of our hearts, out of our years of hunger, the years of dole queues, our class solidarity, the clashes we've had with the bosses' police, all that we and our wives and kiddies have been through. We'd like to talk and write like Stalin, or even this Clifford you mention: we've never heard of Clifford, but never mind that. We'll get on, and we'll move faster if you stand with us."

If the foregoing on language and life and work in the front lines of the class struggle is clear, the remaining points will present no difficulty.

About the "terms of endearment" towards our leaders which irk the Kearsley correspondent, and also the "abject genuflections" from the pen of J.N.R. I am sure that these comrades do not feel as we do, or they would write differently! There is no other possible reason.

Lenin once wrote an article, "Does the Proletariat Need Authorities?" and answered the interrogatory in the affirmative. He instanced Marx and Engels as authorities for the working class. We in our day present Lenin and Stalin as authorities. Why? Because it is precisely what they are. Because they are among the very greatest men in history. Because they stand between mankind and universal misery. Because Stalin is the leader of progressive humanity in its life-and-death struggle with barbarism.

Terms of endearment or denunciation in the mouths of Communists express concrete realities of life.

Connolly says that the term "fascist hangmen" is now hackneyed. We learn that Franco has hung, shot or by other methods done to death 100,000 democrats. The hangings continue, but the term is obsolete!! Dimitrov's article in the August "Communist Review" must stand condemned because it, too, comes within the strictures of our language "experts." A characterisation, however, is not abuse.

In 1912 Stalin wrote the leaflet for May Day. In it occur such expressions as "Death to bloody Tsardom!" There are quite a few of them, too. I suppose some Russian Connolly's or Rawling's shuddered at what they considered to be "clinches"; possibly Stalin in the passion of struggle against Tsarist-capitalist terror violated some rule of syntax. But it was the rulers of Russia who had real occasion to shudder when they realised that that leaflet roused fresh thousands of workers, and marked one more step forward in the historic march of the Russian masses to freedom.

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