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# COMMUNIST ★ REVIEW ★

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## SOVIET-GERMAN PACT

By Harry Pollitt



## WAR AND REVOLUTION

By L. Sharkey



## INDIA'S PROBLEMS, 1939

By G. K. Peel

OCTOBER

1939

# COMMUNIST REVIEW

*A Monthly Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism.*

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# THE NEWS REVIEWED

## ● WE MUST DEFEAT FASCISM ●

THE second imperialist war has entered a new stage in its development.

With the Nazi invasion of Poland, involving Britain and France in war with Germany, the second imperialist war is losing its "rather strange and one-sided character" and is becoming wider in scope.

How true the contents of Chapter 12 of the new Short History of the C.P.S.U. have proved to be.

There it is stated "a distinguishing feature of the second imperialist war is that so far it is being waged and extended by the aggressor powers, while the other powers, the "democratic" powers, against whom in fact that war is directed, pretend that it does not concern them, wash their hands of it, draw back, boast of their love of peace, scold the fascist aggressors, and . . . surrender their positions to the aggressor bit by bit, at the same time asserting that they are preparing to resist."

"This war, it will be seen, is of a rather strange and one-sided character. But that does not prevent it from being a brutal war of unmitigated conquest waged at the expense of the poorly defended peoples of Abyssinia, Spain and China."

"It would be wrong to attribute this one-sided character of the war to the military and economic weakness of the 'democratic' states. The

'democratic' states are, of course, stronger than the fascist states. The one-sided character of the developing world war is due to the absence

of a united front of the 'democratic' states against the fascist powers. The so-called democratic states, of course, do not approve of the 'excesses' of the fascist states and fear any accession of strength to the latter. But they fear even more the working-class movement in Europe and the movement of national emancipation in Asia, and regard fascism as an 'excellent antidote' to these 'dangerous' movements. For this reason the ruling circles of the 'democratic' states, especially the ruling conservative circles of Great Britain, confine themselves to a policy of pleading with the overweening fascist rulers 'not to go to extremes,' at the same time giving them to understand that they 'fully comprehend' and on the whole sympathise with their reactionary police policy towards the working-class movement and the national emancipation movement. In this respect, the ruling circles of Britain are roughly pursuing the same policy as was pursued under tsardom by the Russian liberal-monarchist bourgeois, who, while fearing the 'excesses' of tsarist policy, feared the people even more, and therefore resorted to a policy of pleading with the tsar, and consequently, of con-

spiring with the tsar against the people. As we know, the liberal monarchist bourgeoisie of Russia paid dearly for this dual policy. *It may be presumed that history will exact retribution also from the ruling circles of Britain, and of their friends in France and U.S.A.*" (Our emphasis.)

The ruling circles in Britain and France have already begun to reap the harvest from the crop of non-intervention and appeasement which they have sown.

When the seeds of retreat and capitulation were planted in Austria, Spain and Czechoslovakia, it was hoped that the fascist bayonets would sprout to the East in the direction of the Soviet Union.

But these hopes, as it turned out, were ill-founded. Rather than risk dashing their brains out against the impregnable Soviet wall, the fascists have struck in another direction, one which threatens the vital interests of the appeasers.

We have heard it said in tram and train that Britain had no self interests to defend in going to the aid of Poland; that whereas in the last war the westward march of the German army constituted a direct threat to Britain, there is no such menace on this occasion when this army is advancing towards the East.

But look again at the map of Europe, it is not directly east that the fascists are advancing, since there they will come up against the mighty Soviet Union, but south-east to the Balkans and Turkey. The old German line of expansion,

Berlin to Baghdad, is opening up again, and this line of conquest conflicts with the vital interests of British Imperialism in the near and middle East.

The British ruling class do not share the sentiments of the poet who wrote "Who steals my purse steals trash"; rather is their ideology summed up in the phrase, who steals my colonies robs me of life itself. Hence the intervention of Britain in the German-Polish conflict.

When Chamberlain, with tears in his eyes and a sob in his voice, told the House of Commons that the Nazi invasion of Poland meant the collapse of all that he'd prayed for, all that he'd hoped for and all that he'd worked years for, he spoke sincerely for probably the first time in his political career.

There can be no doubting that both tears and sob were on this occasion genuine and not of the synthetic after Munich variety.

Reading between the whines in the Prime Minister's speech one could detect real disappointment, heartfelt sorrow, and some anger, not because war has eventuated, but because it has taken a wrong and unexpected turn for British imperialism.

What Chamberlain had prayed for, hoped for and worked to establish was a reactionary bloc of Western European powers with the spear-point of aggression turned against the Soviet Union.

In pursuance of this aim position after position was surrendered,

and country after country sacrificed to fascism.

Munich and the betrayal of Czechoslovakia represented the culminating point in this policy of "appeasement."

But after Munich the policy of Hitler could no longer be calculated in terms of British wishes. Thanks to British aid, German fascism had now acquired the strength to function as an independent force, had attained the freedom to strike next where it, and not Chamberlain and Co., deemed best.

It is not surprising that in exercising this freedom fascism has chosen to strike in the direction where past experience teaches it to expect least resistance.

However, just as Chamberlain's hopes for an anti-Soviet war have been dashed to the ground by Hitler, so must Hitler's aspirations to dominate the world be dashed to the ground by the working class.

The aims of German fascism are not restricted to extending the frontiers of the Reich, nor confined to the conquest of colonies, they also embrace the destruction of trade unionism, democracy and socialism. That is why the working class fights fascism.

If the rulers of Nazi Germany are basing themselves on the past capitulatory policy of the British and French bourgeoisie, the policy which gave them bloodless victories in Austria and Czechoslovakia, and are counting on meeting little resistance to their further advance,

they are reckoning without the working classes of France and Britain. The working masses will fight to the death to defeat fascism.

This war could have been prevented. It could have been made impossible had there been formed in time a peace bloc consisting of all the non-aggressive powers, including the S.U. The revolutionary workers did all in their power, the Soviet government did all in its power to build such a front against aggression. But thanks to the policy of the ruling circles in Britain and France, these efforts have failed and the war has extended. Since this is so the working class will do all that is possible to bring about the speedy victory over fascism.

But the fight against fascism abroad will only be successful to the degree that democracy at home is maintained and extended.

Those who in the past have shown themselves to be the friends of Hitler must be cleared from office. An anti-fascist war can only be waged consistently by an anti-fascist government, and the governments of Chamberlain and Menzies are anything but that. The advent of the war should not be allowed to weaken the struggle for their removal. The election in Britain and Australia of new governments which could be relied upon to extend democracy at home and wage an energetic struggle against fascism abroad is the urgent need of the hour.

## NO-IMFORMATION MINISTRY

The progress of the war to date is shrouded in mystery. About all that can be ascertained as fact is that Poland has fallen and British troops are singing "Tipperary" somewhere in France.

The Information Ministries which have been set up in Britain, France and this country appear to function in the manner of the Non-Intervention Committee in the Spanish conflict, that is, their prime purpose seems to be to achieve an end which is opposite to that for which they were established, and prevent any reliable information reaching the public.

This is a sample of the French official communiques: "Our forces have begun operations on land, sea and in the air." Next day: "Operations are proceeding according to plan." Later: "Operations still proceeding."

Laconic as these statements are they at least have the virtue of consistency, which is more than can be said for the British.

The British Ministry for Information has denied and then confirmed reports of flights over Germany, it has announced, denied, and ultimately confirmed the landing of British troops in France. Perhaps it takes its lead from the British Prime Minister who, in the critical days before the war, thought it "not in the best interests of the public" to know the content of the exchanges between the Cabinet and Hitler, who, when war was already

on us, thought it best "in the public interests" not to disclose full details.

But the public are demanding full details, in the first place they are demanding a clear statement of Britain's war aims, which has not yet been given, they are demanding reliable information about the progress of operations on the Western front.

Reports one day about the penetration of the Siegfried Line, followed by reports on the next that not a shot has been fired, to say the least make tiresome reading.

Nobody wants, or expects to see published, information which could be of use to the enemy, but what is expected and what must be demanded is undoctored news of what is actually taking place.

Some of the matters on which we would like the Information Ministry to shed a little light are:

(1) Why did Britain refrain from signing a pact with Russia and thus deprive us of this powerful ally?

(2) Was the guarantee to Poland supplemented by a detailed plan for rendering aid against aggression?

(3) What form was this aid to take?

(4) In view of Poland's quick collapse, what aid can it be said was actually rendered?

We should like an answer to these questions because we cannot rid ourselves of a lurking suspicion that

what the British Tories failed to coax Hitler to do they may now be gambling on driving him into, namely an anti-Soviet war.

Such an end could be served for instance by allowing Poland to go down without much of a struggle, while Britain and France, mobilised on the Western frontier, applied strong pressure, just enough to con-

vince Hitler of their earnestness if he should continue south-east, but not enough to inflict decisive damage on the Nazi war machine.

If our suspicions have any foundations it can be expected that the Soviet Union will take a further hand in the game and smash any such plans before they have a chance to mature.

## A NEW FUEHRER

The Country Party has acquired a new Fuehrer. Archibald Galbraith Cameron has stepped into the limelight to replace Sir Earle Page who for close on twenty years has led this small but not unimportant party.

Sir Earle, it will be remembered, got himself disliked when he told a few home truths about Mr. Menzies. The tenor of his remarks, if memory serves us rightly, was that Menzies was not a fit and proper person to lead the government, that he was lacking in all essential qualities, including that of courage.

To bolster up his accusations, Page referred to Menzies' war-time record as a stay-at-home "paytriot."

Menzies, of course, could not deny this. Hitler might be able to magnify his lowly corporal's role, and represent the dislocated shoulder incurred in running away as an honorable mark of battle, but we haven't reached that stage in Australia, and all that Menzies could say in self-defence was that he certainly would have gone to the last war only his mother wouldn't

let him.

Anyhow, the upshot of the rum-pus was a split between the U.A.P. and the Country Party. Menzies would have no more dealings with the C.P. while that nasty person Earle Page remained in command.

But having for so long enjoyed a share in the Ministerial plums, the C.P. was not going to be deprived for ever, so Sir Earle was ditched and the way paved for reconciliation.

To avoid any misconception which might arise from our use of the term fuehrer as applied to the new leader of this party, let it be stated that we in no way regard the C.P. as being fascist, but of its leading personnel the least that can be said is that they display a marked repugnance for anything which smacks of democracy.

Take for instance, the new leader, Cameron, he has enjoyed Ministerial rank in the past, but he'd only been Postmaster General for one month when he cut Labor station 2KY off the air because he couldn't tolerate the criticism of its

commentator.

Then there is Thomas Patterson, he made a name for himself when he banned Mrs. Freer.

Then again there is Harold Victor Thorby who expressed a wish for the power to put the leader of the Labor Party up against a wall to be shot, and who thinks so much of the freedom of the press that he threatened to bash out the brains of a newspaper reporter who was indiscreet enough to ask him some awkward questions concerning his administration.

These are the types of individuals

## RUSSIA'S POLICY

Right on the eve of our going to press news has been received that Russian troops have marched into Poland to protect the Ukrainian and White Russian minorities which were brought under Polish rule following the Peace of Riga in October 1920.

In anticipation of a fresh crop of slanders, in which the trotskyist one concerning "Red Imperialism" is sure to figure prominently, we revive some of the history of this territory as well as that of the Soviet Union as a whole, after which this latest happening will stand out in its real colors.

Poland as an independent state covering the territory which it did prior to the Nazi invasion was created after the war of 1914-18. Before the world war the greater part of Poland proper was a province of Tsarist Russia. Under Tsarism the Poles shared with the Ukrainians,

who are seeking a way back into the Cabinet. Under the catch-cry of war emergency they are pressing the demand for a composite ministry, a ministry which will re-admit them to a share in the administration of the country.

But their transparent endeavors to represent their own selfish interests as the interests of the country will avail them nought. Australia requires, not a patched up reactionary alliance of U.A.P. and C.P. in office, but a new and virile Labor government.

White Russians and other peoples, the fate of oppressed national minorities.

With the downfall of Tsardom in the February, 1917, Revolution, the land owners and capitalists in these borderland territories sought to sever their connections with Greater Russia and to establish national bourgeois states.

But the February bourgeois revolution was quickly followed by the October socialist revolution in Great Russia, and since the landowners and capitalists of the outlying non-Russian regions wanted not complete freedom, but only freedom to exploit their own workers and peasants they declared war to the death against the young Soviet government. The Entente powers and German imperialism alike gave support to their counter-revolutionary ventures.

In February, 1918, the Soviet

government was compelled to sign a peace treaty with Germany which left the troops of that country in occupation of Poland, the Ukraine, Latvia and Esthonia.

Round about the same time foreign intervention took place in other parts of the Soviet. The British and French landed troops at Archangel and Murmansk and supported a Whiteguard revolt against the Soviets and set up a counter-revolutionary "government of North Russia."

The Japanese landed at Vladivostok and seized the Maritime Province. On the Don the Germans supported the revolt of the Cossacks under Generals Krasnov and Mamontov.

In November, 1918 came the revolution in Germany and the overthrow of the Kaiser's government. Germany was compelled to acknowledge defeat in the war and to sue for peace. The Treaty which the Soviet government was forced to sign at Brest Litovok no longer existed and a new battle was launched to free Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine from the grip of German imperialism. This struggle was only partially successful, White Russia and the Ukraine were won back but the remaining territory, including Poland remained under the bourgeois yoke.

These territories were later constituted independant national bourgeois states by the Allies in the "settlement" which followed the world war.

The conclusion of peace with

Germany left the Entente powers free to devote more energy to the interventionist campaign, but on one after another front their puppet generals were defeated by the youthful Red Army.

By 1920 Britain and France decided to declare off the blockade of Soviet Russia.

This, however, did not bring an end to intervention. One more attempt was made in April 1926. The British and French Imperialists used Pilsudski the Polish dictator and General Wrangel as their tools.

The plan of the Poles, vide the History of the C.P.S.U., "was to seize the Soviet Ukraine west of the Dneiper, to occupy Byclorussia. (White Russia), to restore the power of the Polish magnates in these regions, to extend the frontiers of the Polish State so that they stretched from sea to sea, from Danzig to Odessa, and, in return for his aid, to help Wrangel smash the Red Army and restore the power of the landlords and capitalists in Soviet Russia."

In April, 1920, the Poles invaded the Soviet Ukraine and seized Kiev. At the same time Wrangel took the offensive and threatened the Donetz Basin.

The Red Army launched a counter offensive and recaptured Kiev, the Poles were driven out of the Ukraine and White Russia, decisive victory was in the grasp of the Red Army, only to be snatched away through the fault of Trotsky and Tukhachevsky whose blunderings were too stupid to have been uncon-

scious. The orders of Trotsky led to an unjustified retreat of the Soviet forces on the Southern front. Thus when peace was signed at Riga in October, 1920, Poland retained part of Western Ukraine, Galicia and part of White Russia.

This is how the recent borders of Poland came to be formed, and explains how millions of Ukrainians and White Russians have constituted national minorities within the Polish state.

However, the Soviet government has never sought to make the existence of these minorities an excuse for aggression against Poland, as for instance the Nazis have done in regard to the Sudetan Germans in Czechoslovakia and the German minorities in the Polish Corridor. So long as a stable government existed in Poland the Soviet Union loyally observed the terms of the Treaty of Riga.

But the German invasion of Poland has created a new situation. Don't let it be forgotten that the Soviet Union was prepared to share equally with Britain and France obligations towards Poland which would have prevented this aggression, and no strings, such as the return of these territories, were attached to her offer, else we would long since have heard of it through the British and French press. But

the Polish landlords and capitalists repudiated the Soviet's proffered assistance and the German invasion took place.

The Polish government no longer exists, having fled the country, the Treaty of Riga is no longer binding on the Soviet Union, the same applies to the Non-Aggression Pact concluded with Poland in 1932.

The flight of the Polish government is tantamount to acknowledging the victory of German fascism, the intervention of the Soviet Union at this stage to reclaim what was formerly her own can in no sense be regarded as aggression.

By re-occupying Western Ukraine and White Russia the Soviet Union is not seizing this territory from Poland, since it has already passed from her possession, but is preventing it from coming into the hands of German fascism.

As a result millions of workers and peasants will be rescued from the reign of the bludgeon and the headsmen's block, thousands will be spared the horrors of the prison and concentration camp which go with Nazi conquest, and finally the Red Army will be so much nearer Berlin and the fascist hordes so much further removed from Moscow.

—E. W. CAMPBELL.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### A NEW ROUND OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS

L. Sharkey

THE great Lenin pointed out that if the Socialist Revolution did not triumph after the end of the world war, that the world would experience a new world war, perhaps a series of wars.

At this time, at the end of the first imperialist war, Lenin pointed out that antagonisms still existed between all of the European great powers and in addition, outside of Europe, there was the clash between the U.S.A. and Japan and most important of all, the world struggle between the capitalist interests of the U.S.A. and those of the British Empire on the other.

It has turned out as Lenin said. Immediately the guns of the great war ceased to fire, the dissatisfied imperialists began to organise for the next war to divide the world. Mussolini, in Italy, organised his counter-revolutionary fascist party, as a war party with an outstandingly imperialist programme, the "revival of the ancient Rome Empire."

Hitler in Germany followed suit. The fascists unloosed a wave of chauvinism and worked day and night for the new war to realise the imperialist programme of the Italian and German finance capitalists. In

Japan, similar preparation was made.

The Communist international, acting on the declaration by Lenin, consistently warned the toiling people of the world of the approach of the new wars. It strove with all its might to avert the disaster, to organise the masses against the outbreak of war.

When the great economic crisis of 1929-'32 destroyed the temporary capitalist stabilisation, the Communist International declared that the world stood on the threshold of a new "round of wars and revolutions."

As usual, the Communists have been proved to be correct by the subsequent developments.

When Hitler came to power in Germany, the Presidium of the Communist International declared that he would lead the Germans to a new war, "would lead Germany to a catastrophe."

As usual, the Communists have been proved correct by the subsequent developments. The Communists were foremost in proposing policies aiming at the prevention of the outbreak of war. The Communists fought for the unity of the working class against war, the Com-

munists fought for a People's Front of all those opposed to war. The Communists demanded collective security, a common front of those countries who were not desirous of war, against the aggressor states.

The working class knows how and by whom, collective security was sabotaged. This sabotage had its final tragedy when the Soviet Union was forced out of the peace front by the diplomacy of the democracies. The united front of the working class was hindered and disrupted by the Rightwing reformists of all countries. Here are to be found the reasons why the toiling people, who hate war, found themselves forced, willy nilly, into it.

The forces opposed to the Communist policy were successful in preventing the operation of it and the result was the Communists said: the toilers have been involved in a cruel war that should have been avoided. A review of the events preceding the spread of the war shows that the Communists emerge with clean hands and clear consciences, people who strove with might and main to prevent the impending disaster.

Rebuffed by the Western Powers, the Soviet Union made a non-aggression pact with the Germans that forced the neutrality of Japan, helped considerably to neutralise Italy and Franco Spain also.

When the Polish State collapsed, the Soviet Union took action which aims at preventing a further drive by the German armies from Poland into Rumania, which has freed the

11,000,000 Ukrainians and White Russians from the menace of the massacre inflicted upon the Poles by the Nazi barbarians during their conquest. It further gives the White Russians and Ukrainians the opportunity to develop on Socialist lines, free from capitalist exploitation and the heavy rule of the Polish overlords.

The Soviet government had no secret agreement with the Nazis to partition Poland. The Soviet Union, ever since the Bolsheviks published the secret treaties of the Tsar with the Allies, have condemned secret diplomacy. Every treaty entered into by the Soviet Union has been published before the world. The non-aggression pact with Germany was immediately published in accordance with this practice.

The Sydney "Herald" of September 21 publishes the following statement from the London "Times" from its Berlin correspondent: "Reports from Berlin make it clear that no agreement had previously been reached about the partition of Poland." And it was these same organs of capitalism that were the chief propagators of the alleged "secret agreement."

Commenting on Hitler's treachery, the "Herald" leading article of the same date said: "Well may Stalin, in the light of the Danzig assurance, double bar the gateway to the Ukraine."

It is plain that the simple statement made by Molotov are the reasons for the Soviet action and

not the sinister designs imputed by the enemies of the U.S.S.R. The most pathetic aspect was the activity of the gentlemen who have been defending imperialism all their lives roaring at the top of their voices about Soviet "imperialism."

These gentlemen forget that imperialism is not a generalisation, but is something concrete, with a definite basis, requiring certain conditions, just as plants require certain types of soil etc., before they can flourish. The conditions of modern capitalist imperialism, its "last stage," have been correctly analysed by Lenin in his "imperialism."

Such conditions do not obtain in the Soviet Union, this "new" imperialism is truly of a strange character. Its first action was to divide the land of the landowners among the peasants. No doubt the real victims of imperialism the world over will hope that this form of imperialism will be applied to them by their masters in the immediate future. There is, however, little chance of that.

Molotov said that the Soviet Union intended to do what it could to liberate the Poles from the horrors into which their "unwise" leaders had plunged them. Negotiations are stated to be going on for the creation of a Polish buffer state. That would free the Poles from the German army and the tender mercies of the Gestapo.

The working class of Poland, no doubt, would shortly want a voice in the character of such a State. The Polish workers are determined,

experienced fighters with an old-established revolutionary movement. They certainly will not want the Beck fascists back, they will not be content to be deprived of their democratic rights nor the hard conditions they were subjected to in the past, the more especially as Socialism will now be rapidly developing all around them.

Again, the capitalist press is worried because the Soviet Union has access to Europe, right to its heart, without asking the permission of Col. Beck, whose reactionary State previously blocked the way.

That will be of vital importance as the people's revolutionary movement develops in Czechoslovakia, in Austria and Germany.

The establishment of the Soviet Power in Polish Ukraine and White Russia and the role the Soviet Union is playing of independence to both Hitler and Chamberlain, pursuing working-class objectives, is a satire on the stupid trotskyite slander, repeated by the capitalist press, that "Stalin is a nationalist," the Russian Communists are interested in nothing outside the existing Soviet frontiers," have given up the world revolution," etc., etc.

Now that such action became possible and has been taken, Trotsky will no doubt invent some new lie, in order to maintain the pose of being the "world revolutionary," actually to cover his real role of a capitalist secret service agent.

The who were "perturbed" by the Non-Aggression Pact with the Nazis should be reassured by now.

The crisis revealed that a number of people have not yet severed their umbilical cord that binds them to the British bourgeoisie, its traditions and customs. The idea that the Soviet Union would not fall into a trap when ordered to by Mr. Chamberlain caused a few to vacillate.

More education on the policy of the Soviet Union, greater study of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" has been shown to be a need, both inside the party and among its closest

supporters by the crisis. It points to the need for further Bolshevisation of the Communist Party. The anti-Soviet campaigns of the British ruling class and the anti-Soviet elements inside the Labor movement itself will become intensified a thousandfold as great revolutionary events begin to unfold.

We must steel ourselves still more against the slanders and attacks of the enemy, develop still more confidence in the leaders of International Communism and of the Soviet government.



## COMMENT FROM CANBERRA

O. H. N. Jangler

THE war crisis has forced into focus a matter which would be urgent enough even in peace time—the need for strong Labor leadership in the National Parliament.

Insofar as the war is what Chamberlain and Menzies say it is—a war to smash Hitlerism—the Australian people are solidly united in the prosecution of the conflict.

Yet we find at the head of the War Cabinet a man, Prime Minister R. G. Menzies, who until recently seemed disposed to sympathise openly with Hitler and Hitlerism. His minority "United Australia Party" government relies on the Country Party representatives for its precarious existence.

The new leader of the Country Party, A. G. Cameron, is a well-known militarist, even more likely than Menzies to get drunk with power if he can get it, and, if anything, even more noted in pre-war days for his pro-Hitlerism. Cameron, who has enormous ambitions to secure the Prime Ministership for himself, has the backing of the former Country Party leader, Sir Earle Page, between whom and the Prime Minister there exists a hatred and mutual distrust that is almost without parallel in Federal politics.

It is this glorified dogfight that is proudly presented to Australia as the "government it should be prepared to trust." Apart from the

working class, the chief sufferer is the man on the land, betrayed by the leaders of a "Country Party" whose worthier representatives are smothered by the Junkers. And that same man on the land, who not only plays a key part in Australia's development but also in the election of Australia's governments, would readily swing to the Labor Party if the Labor leaders would tackle the Country Party problem with more tact and finesse.

Failing to differentiate sharply enough between the Country Party in its widest sense and its present ultra-reactionary leadership, certain Labor members continue to make violent attacks on the party as a whole, almost glorifying in their refusal to co-operate with Country Party members to defeat Menzies, even if the result were a Labor government.

Forgetful of the pioneer days of the Labor Party, when the A.L.P. worked its way steadily by stages to the position where it soon held a majority in both Houses of Parliament, Federal Labor leaders are inclined to proclaim, quite dogmatically, that they will not even attempt to take office unless guaranteed a clear majority in both Houses, and a reasonably peaceful atmosphere all around—that is to say, they "pass the buck" back to their long-suffering electors.



It is probably not too late even now for the Labor Opposition to cash in on the Country Party leadership's hatred of Menzies as a means of ousting him, and then put forward sufficient good legislation in support of primary industries to make it impossible for the Country Party to withdraw its support. It is certainly not too late though the sands are running out—for the Labor Opposition to place itself at the head of the mass movement at present developing, in favor of a speedy and overwhelming victory for Labor at the polls.

Only one thing seems liable to prevent that victory—the pessimistic attitude of Federal Labor leader John Curtin, and those affected by his pessimism. No man in Australian history has been in a position to rally around him so much mass support, so much skilled and devoted assistance—even, one might add, so much respect and affection—from all sections of the community, as the present Leader of the Opposition. Today he stands at the crossroads—world figure or wash-out. The decision is his.

Few men, if any, in Federal Parliament have better brains than Curtin. Without any outstanding physical characteristics, he stands as possibly the finest debater and orator in either house. On foreign affairs he makes strong men clutch their temples and bash their heads in mental agony against the lobby walls, but on all other topics he produces an easy and lucid flow of constructive or destructive criticism,

satire, or ridicule on the government's policy in a manner that engenders the utmost confidence among Labor's far-flung flock. Possibly no other man could have held together the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party in the bitter faction fights of the past. For Curtin is the advocate *par excellence* of letting the other fellow have his point of view, and the steering clear of heresy hunting and like unpleasantness. His stubborn anti-militarism is also to his credit. But sterner qualities in addition are needed for the struggles ahead.

The fact that Australia's best governments, in peace and war, have been Labor governments; that in New Zealand today any thought of other than a Labor government would be regarded as fantastic; the fact that Labor leaders like Prime Minister Juan Negrin in Spain, and others, held the reins of a nation in strong hands under difficulties that Australia has never faced—all this fails to fire John Curtin's imagination; fails, as yet, to convince him that the Australian working class can produce great leaders on its own soil.

Curtin represents the electorate of Fremantle, a leading port, but thousands of miles from the great industrial centres of the Commonwealth. If he leads his party to victory at the forthcoming general elections—and the majority of Australia's people hope he will—he will lead it from afar, with austere pride in his loyalty to his adopted State of Western Australia.

Leaders, particularly weak leaders, must have lieutenants, and potential successors. Passing eastward from Fremantle, to the State of South Australia, some have seen in Norman Makin, until recently Federal President of the A.L.P., a possible stop-gap leader should the need arise. Though not an orator, Makin has considerable prestige and personality, and is more travelled than most Labor members. He had the distinction in 1937 of winning in the metropolitan electorate of Hindmarsh the largest vote in Labor history, a fact which to some extent reflects the rapid rise of S.A. labor from its former eclipse. Makin, incidentally, is one of Curtin's loyallest followers.

Passing eastward again, Victoria appears as the home of "elder statesmen." Men like Scullin and Holloway exert big influence in Caucus, but would not contemplate the possibility of leading the party.

Maurice Blackburn, already in his late fifties, but looking ten years younger, would in many respects make a leader to be proud of. No man in Federal Parliament has more personal prestige, or a more illustrious Labor background, combined with versatile qualities that would make him acceptable to Labor's "fellow-travellers." But he has not entirely shaken off the pessimism that has clouded his best work in recent years.

It is perhaps from New South Wales, by far the most powerfully industrialised State, that the next Federal leader will come. Among

those N.S.W. Members already in Parliament—new blood can be expected as the new A.L.P. executive "cleans up" the numerous seats lost to the party in the past—the name of E. J. Ward is being widely discussed.

Ward, still under 40, is undoubtedly the most improved orator in Parliament. Christened by newspaper men long ago as the "James Cagney of Federal politics," on the grounds that "he can dish it out and he can take it," Ward has already knocked off a few of his rougher edges, broadening out his popularity without losing the common touch. A natural fighter, Ward wastes less time than he did in fighting in the wrong direction, and has consolidated his reputation among the masses as one who, despite innumerable shortcomings, seems fundamentally loyal to the working class.

His stature as a man of brains and brawn has grown very rapidly at Canberra.

Even among those who dislike his politics, Ward wins praise as one who, in contrast with some of those around him, does not suffer from an inferiority complex, and does not pull his punches. Even Hansard reporters, who normally take the good with the bad, the rough with the smooth, with easy indifference, have been known to mutter over a sheaf of 200 word-a-minute notes: "Attaboy Eddie!" or "That's the stuff to give 'em."

One mainland State remains — the pioneer province of Queensland,

whence hails the Deputy Leader, Frank Forde, who represents the tropical electorate of Capricornia. Forde was favorite for the leadership when Scullin stepped down in 1935. Curtin, a dark horse, who had never held Ministerial rank under Scullin, beat Forde by one vote. This must have been a bitter blow. The loyalty and industry with which Forde—a prodigious worker—has backed up his new leader is one of those large-scale yet unobtrusive acts of Labor unity without which the movement could never advance.

A younger man than Curtin, Forde is still a candidate for the leadership in the future. Without Curtin's oratorical or intellectual gifts, he has concentrated his attention on a number of specialised subjects—mainly the building up of Australia's self-reliance through local secondary and primary industries. Apart from his energy and socialiability—it is said that he has written personally to every one of his 57,000 constituents—his most refreshing quality is an obvious desire that Labor should win each and every election. This means a

lot in Federal Parliament today.

Having got as far as Queensland, it would be impossible to return without discussing the possibility of Premier W. Forgan Smith "going Federal." Smith has been head of a government longer probably than any other man of any party in any part of the English-speaking world in modern times. For that reason, among many others, he does not suffer from inferiority complex.

He knows that, with the will to win, and the will to govern, a Labor government would be far more efficient and far more acceptable to the people than an anti-Labor government—particularly in war time. There is no doubt that Smith would like to prove it in practice. But to transfer from the State sphere to the Federal sphere at the present time would cause a good deal of dislocation at both ends, and it seems probable that Smith will for the time being prefer to confine his major Federal operations to his present dominant role in the A.L.P. Federal Executive.

Canberra, Sept. 19.



## INDIA'S PROBLEMS, 1939

G. K. Peel

THE year 1938 was one of advance in India. The growth in numbers of the Congress Organisation, largely due to the Communist and Socialist policy of enrolling workers and peasants in their thousands, until the party today has a dues-paying membership of around 4,000,000, has been symptomatic of this advance. At Cawnpore, during the victorious textile strike, a new kind of unity, socialist unity first, and secondly unity of trade unions with Congress, including rank and file members of the communal Muslim League, was forged. The two wings of the trade union movement represented by the reformist Federation and the radical T.U.C. have achieved unity in the new T.U.C. 1938 has seen an increase in strike action, and concessions have been won in most cases. Collaboration between the Communists and Congress Socialists has been greater than heretofore. The young but mighty Peasant Organisation, in which Communists, Congress Socialists and radical congressmen work together in harmony and which has as its flag the red flag with hammer and sickle, has under Marxist leadership developed to such an extent that it has great organisational problems to solve if it is to pass from the agitational stage to that of all-India struggle. Great victories have been won in some districts by the peasants

after bitter struggle. The growth of the Peasant Organisation has changed the face of India. The voice of the peasants is being heard as a national voice. But the most significant development in 1938 has been the upsurge of the peoples of the Native States, formerly the backwaters of the Indian struggle. The fight for civil liberties, and for alleviation of the burden of taxation has assumed big proportions in most States. Nearly every week pitched battles take place between the peoples of the States and the British military, who are sent to the support of the decadent rulers, in which hundreds are killed and wounded. In spite of tortures, thrashings, hangings, the struggle continues.

Counterbalancing this advance, there has been an increasing tendency towards drift and constitutionalism by the Rightwing of the Congress leadership. Congress ministries have found that they could do little under the Constitution to alleviate the misery of the masses. There has been less talk of "wrecking the Constitution" and a tendency towards concentration on "spinning," "prohibition schemes," the so-called "constructive programme" of the Congress. Peasant and working-class leaders have been arrested and there have been cases of police shooting on workers under Congress Ministries.

In spite of this the Communists and Socialists have remained splendidly loyal to the Congress. They recognise British Imperialism as the real enemy and are winning the support of the radicals, the youth and the working people and peasants for their policy of *unity in struggle*.

The growing discontent with the Rightwing policy of drift, was demonstrated by the election with overwhelming majorities of the Communist candidates in the Bombay municipal elections this winter, and by the re-election of Bose as President of the National Congress. Bose contested the election against the wishes of Mr. Gandhi and the entire Working Committee. He put before the electors a programme of nation-wide attack against Imperialism and was backed by the Socialists, Communists and the entire Left.

The Right refused to accept this democratically expressed verdict of the people. Gandhi interpreted this victory as defeat for his principles. Almost the entire Working Committee resigned. Even Nehru expressed his inability to co-operate under the circumstances with Bose. At the ensuing Congress Sessions at Tripuri the Right out-manoeuvred the Left. They shifted the controversy from the political to a personal and moral plane. They sprang a surprise by bringing before the A.I.C.C. a resolution demanding a straight vote of confidence in the Working Committee and in Mr. Gandhi. The resolution administered a mild rebuke to Bose and re-

quested him to appoint the Working Committee in accordance with Mr. Gandhi's wishes. The Right dared not ask for a straight no-confidence vote against Bose or for a straight vote on the plan of action, so they cloaked the resolution in the form of a vote of confidence in Mr. Gandhi and in his fundamental principles. In the spirit of panic caused by the resignation of the Cabinet and considering that the resolution had put the exclusive leadership of Mr. Gandhi to the vote, that 40 per cent. of the Subjects Committee voted against the resolution was significant. The open sessions opened in a tense atmosphere. Bose was ill and unable to attend. It was hoped that the resolution could be referred back to the A.I.C.C. and an amendment was moved to that effect but not carried. At this stage a small minority of factionalists on the Left staged an unfortunate demonstration and helped play into the hands of the Right. Slogans of *alternative leadership* were raised by pseudo-Leftists, who failed to realise the necessity for the Left to work for the policy of moving the Congress *as a whole* to the next stage in the struggle against British Imperialism, but thought in terms of exclusive Left leadership. As these pseudo-Leftists were close followers of Bose, these were largely interpreted to be his views. This ultra-Leftism helped the Right in out-manoeuvring the Left.

At the same time Tripuri registered some degree of political ad-

vance. Communist and Socialist unity was greater than at any previous Congress. The National Demand resolution speaks of a "nation-wide struggle" in the context of "the organised strength of the National movement, etc." It gives a call to the people, to Congress organisations and to Congress Governments to prepare for this struggle. The resolution on the States' people's struggle registers an advance in that it recognises that non-interference is not an obligation. Altogether, in spite of Left defeat, Tripuri saw a rallying of Left forces greater than at any previous Congress.

Since Tripuri the Rightwing has been following up their victory by a determined attack on the Left. At the Calcutta meeting of the A.I.C.C. Bose, Nehru and Jaiprakash Narayan, supported by a major section of the Left, Nationalists, Socialists and Communists, pleaded for a *united Working Committee, for a composite Cabinet; the Rightwing leaders insisted on a homogeneous Working Committee*, in other words in spite of the fact that the country had voted at the Presidential Elections for Bose's plan of action which assumes a united leadership representative of all sections, the Right insisted on a leadership uncompromisingly for the policy of the Right. The Tripuri vote of confidence in Mr. Gandhi was used with the co-operation of Mr. Gandhi to reverse the policy voted for at the Presidential Elections, to force the resig-

nation of Bose and to elect undemocratically in his place Prasad, a leading Rightwinger.

The Left at Calcutta pleaded for unity and meant unity because they thought in terms of struggle. The kind of unity the Right wanted was expressed in Patel's speech at the A.I.C.C. session. He said: "Discord and disharmony may prove our undoing. That is why Mahatma Gandhi has been saying that the Working Committee of the Congress . . . must be homogeneous both in spirit and action. If we work our machine in the right spirit and manner we shall be able to conquer power even without struggle." The Right believes that *gradually* power can be won by bargaining. This policy in the present situation can only mean compromise with British Imperialism and its war plans. This line means liquidation of even the existing struggles. That is why the British Imperialist Press hailed the Calcutta verdict with joy. On all fronts this disastrous policy is making itself immediately felt. The Government has taken up the offensive with a vengeance and is answered by talk of "change of heart," "truth," and "non-violence." This policy of the leadership is rapidly turning victories into defeats. On all fronts the line of compromise is being followed, not the line embodied in the National Demand resolution but the line of bargaining with British Imperialism.

Inside the Congress the leadership is seeking to introduce in the near future new amendments to

the Congress Constitution, the homogeneous Working Committee is to be followed by an A.I.C.C. packed with supporters of the present leadership. Proportional representation is to be done away with. Internal democracy in the Congress is to be severely restricted.

This disruptive policy of the Right has created a situation where Left adventurism thrives. Unscrupulous elements utilise the discontent of the rank and file for factional struggle against the existing leadership. "Down with Gandhism" or "alternative leadership" are the slogans they use.

Bose has formed a "Forward Bloc." According to Bose "the two-fold task of the Forward Bloc shall be: firstly to instil life and revolutionary impulse in the existing programme of the Congress and secondly to prepare the country for the coming struggle through an advance radical programme." The Bloc stands for struggle, for uncompromising opposition to the Federation and war, for close relationship of the Congress with workers' and peasants' organisations, for direct leadership of the Congress in States' people's movements, for the creation of a national volunteer corps, for rapid implementing of the Congress programme by the Ministries. Its programme is therefore identical with the immediate programme of the illegal Communist Party and the Socialists.

The danger is not absent that the Bloc may become only factional consolidation against the present leader-

ship using its mistakes to discredit it. It has heterogenous composition, includes many Rightwingers who are disgruntled for one reason or another but cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called Left. It has no ideological homogeneity. Even Bose has said "split may be necessary." The Forward Bloc is a healthy development, but the possibility that it may flow into disruptive channels which would weaken the Congress and the unity it has achieved cannot be overlooked.

The suicidal nature of the policy of the present leadership is best understood in the context of world politics today. At a time, when the Second Imperialist War has already begun, when the possibilities of complete victory are greater than they ever have been before in India, a policy which is harmful to national unity is being carried out by the leadership. The strain of war measures is forcing Imperialism to shift the burden more than ever on the Indian people. The Indo-British Trade Pact was ratified in spite of the adverse verdict of the Central Legislature, which, together with such instances as the persistent refusal to grant protection to growing industries, illustrates this tendency. More and more concessions are being given the Princes to overcome their opposition to the Federation; it is being sought to restrict the scanty powers Provincial Ministries today enjoy. This is necessary in order that Britain's war machine may function smoothly. The rapid mechanisation of the Indian Army,

the establishment of more and more gun factories in India, the war amendment to the Government of India Act, are all part of British Imperialism's war plan to convert India into British Imperialism's war base for the entire Middle and Far East. These things mean a general offensive against the entire Indian people on all fronts—political and economic.

British Imperialism is, however, conscious of the need for Indian co-operation in its war plans. While the needs of war drive Imperialism into conflict with Indian national interests, this very need also forces it to make gestures of conciliation, which are, however, empty gestures because British Imperialism cannot afford today to make any vital concession. British Imperialism wants conciliation with India's national leaders but at its own price.

Today the need for unity is perhaps greater than it ever was before. The danger of disruption is also greater than it ever was before. The outcome of the coming struggle will largely depend on whether unity of the entire Left is achieved in time. The Left is stronger than it has ever been, and

if unity is achieved, not to wage factional struggle against the Right but to defeat drift and disruption, this will enormously strengthen the basic organisations of the National Movement. The essential task in India is that the Socialists, Communists, Forward Bloc and other sincere anti-imperialist elements come together and chalk out a common plan of action by mutual agreement on a broad enough basis to include if possible Nehru. Left unity will form the basis of a National Front against Imperialism; it will prevent compromise on the issue of war, strengthen the Congress and take India forward to victory.

[The material for this article was chiefly taken from different issues of the Communist English weekly "National Front," published by Puranchand Joshi, 62E, Girgaon Road, Bombay 4, and of the Communist English theoretical monthly "The New Age," published by R. Balan, 270 Triplicane High Road, Madras, especial use being made of an Editorial of the "National Front," 19/3/39, entitled "Tripuri—A Political Evaluation," and the Editorial from the June issue of "The New Age" entitled "The Crisis Deepens."]



# CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

W. F. Burns

*An answer to some arguments brought forward on this subject.*

SOME of the arguments used by supporters of "Constitutional Reform" in recent issues of the "Communist Review" need a thorough debunking. This applies more particularly to arguments of "Lawyer" in the July "Review," but also applies in a lesser degree to those of Comrade Paterson.

Both these comrades opposed the line of Comrade Dixon who declared that, at this stage, "unification" (one Parliament for Australia) should not be advocated by the Labor movement, but that instead all efforts should be spent in the building of a People's Front embracing workers, farmers and middle-class representatives which would be powerful enough to control the legislatures of this country.

Comrade Paterson suggested the advocacy of "unification" with a campaign for the inclusion of a number of amendments to the Constitution which would be "safeguards to democracy." "Lawyer" supported Comrade Paterson.

But it is not with the conclusions reached by these comrades (those are not real in the present circumstance) that this article is intended to deal — but with the arguments used in support of them.

Most dangerous of these is the statement of "Lawyer" that "without constitutional reform a Labor

Government would, at best, be hampered; at worst, be completely helpless."

No one is likely to doubt that a capitalist constitution — the written expression of an important part of the capitalist state — will be so designed as to hamper any Labor Government which really tries to improve the lives of the people.

Certainly the present Constitution is so framed. So would be any altered constitution if the Menzies Government had any say in its framing.

Even under the American Constitution (which Comrade Paterson praises) the higher American courts have been able to hamper progressive legislation which has been brought forward by the Liberal Roosevelt administration.

Australian courts have made similar decisions when, technically, the Constitution was on the side of the Labor movement.

But even with a flawless constitution the ruling class can still and would still "hamper" the activities of Labor Governments if those Labor Governments threatened the profits of capitalism.

There is always the example of the continual harrying of the Mexican Government. Nor would any form of constitution prevent financial tactics such as those used against

the New Zealand Government.

If constitutions were such that Labor Governments could not be hampered then the capitalists would hamper them unconstitutionally.

But for the second part of the statement: "... at worst, a Labor Government would be completely helpless," what sort of a spineless, weak-kneed government is "Lawyer" talking about?

If there is sufficient support for Labor for the return of any sort of a government, then there is sufficient support for it to carry at least a minimum of reforms.

It would be difficult to find more difficult circumstances for a Labor Government than would be facing a minority Labor Government with a hostile Senate. But even such a government would not be helpless.

The very existence of such a government would presuppose a serious split in the ranks of capitalism. By exploiting the differences between the capitalists and by coming to the people and calling on them for support even a Labor Government in such an unhappy position could at least carry out some small degree of reforms. It could certainly alter the official attitude towards fascism — especially inside Australian administration. It could certainly prevent any further repressive legislation and could repeal at least some of the present reactionary laws.

Even the Victorian Parliamentary Labor Party, which is not in government but simply supports the Country Party Government, which does not show sufficient energy in

the interests of the workers and which does not call on the people for assistance, succeeds in recording some gains for the workers.

Even under a more reactionary constitution than the Australian, a Labor Government with the backing of a powerful People's Front movement could do a very considerable amount for the people.

As for the solving "of Australia's problems of monopolies, of finance, of peace, of fascism, of depression" — they can only be solved by class struggle, by mass action of the people and, in the final analysis, by Socialism. They certainly will not be solved simply by changing the form of the capitalist State.

Again, in challenging Comrade Purdy, who disagrees with Comrade Paterson's estimate of widespread opposition to many Parliaments, "Lawyer" writes: "I think that this feeling of opposition is very strong, not in the city or amongst the workers, but in the pastoral and wheat areas of Australia. In those parts, where the fall in prices of primary products has been catastrophic, there is a real feeling of complete frustration, of almost abject fear."

I disagree very strongly with "Lawyer" on this question. There is at present very great discontent in these areas. But it is not "complete frustration and almost abject fear."

Almost every country newspaper, almost every issue of the "Workers Weekly," now carries a very different story to that. Farmers are organising. Mass meetings (attended

by as many as 1000 farmers) are being held. The farmers are condemning the governments, both State and Federal, for their failure to look after the farmers' interests.

They are demanding action from the governments and are doing it very thoroughly. They want something done and are telling their politicians so.

A mass farmers' movement is coming into action—not for one Parliament, but for the adoption of a scheme to raise their living standards.

Instead of working out plans for what they can do when returned to power and then complaining that they can't do it without reforming the Constitution, the job for the Labor Party is to link itself with this movement and unite with the farmers in throwing out the Federal Government which has neglected and impoverished them.

In his support of "unification" Comrade Paterson uses two arguments whose basis seems to me incorrect.

These are: "Unity of action is more difficult to obtain in a given industry or in a given trade union when the workers in some States are under State awards and the remainder under a Commonwealth award, than it would be if they were all working under the same award," and "some State governments shirk their responsibility by claiming that they are willing to legislate for a 40-hour week but that owing to interstate competition it is economically impossible until

all the States introduce similar legislation."

Unity of action in Federal trade unions will result from the improved work of the Communists in those unions and by improved leadership of those unions, rather than from any question of linking up of awards. After all, over the past few years, members of the Miners' Federation have been working under different awards or agreements throughout the Commonwealth, but they have given a number of good examples of unity in action.

On the other hand, unity of action is not seen very often from the A.W.U. In this case it is not so much the matter of Federal and State awards, as the fact that extreme Rightwing splitters have and maintain control of that union, and until their power is broken there can be little hope of unity in action.

As for the second argument. Of course State governments have used this subterfuge. The Forgan Smith Queensland Government has used it and has not introduced the shorter working week. So has the Stevens Government. But by strike action the majority of the Broken Hill workers now enjoy the 40-hour week.

If there were no State governments the Federal Government would use other arguments — perhaps that it could not introduce a 40-hour week until Japan or China did.

Major reforms are won by mass activity and big class battles, no matter what the constitution.

A "unified" constitution will not

bring the 40-hour week unless the powerful mass movement (which has yet to be built) forces it.

Finally, on the question of unification itself. Comrade Paterson's suggested reforms (control of Parliament, provisions for summoning of Parliament by members, reporting by members to electors, right of recall, abolition of government by regulation, subjection of government officials to the same laws as ordinary citizens, limitation of the Governor General's powers, and guarantees of the rights of speech, press and organisation) would be excellent, but it is Utopian to think of them coming from the situation under which this question was raised.

As an indirect result of a speech by Scullin, the Menzies Government is to hold a "Constitutional Session" early next year, from which, it is expected, a proposed amend-

ment for alteration of the Constitution will come to the people.

It will be the same Parliament which passed the National Register Act that discussed this amendment. It will be the same Menzies in power. It will be the same capitulating Curtin who assisted in breaking the National Register boycott who will be the leader of the Opposition.

Any suggested amendment coming under these circumstances can only be reactionary.

Reform of the Constitution on the lines laid down by Comrade Paterson may be possible some day. But not until a very strong movement is there to force it, against the will of the capitalists, who now desire less democracy, rather than more.

The job is to build the mass movement.



# CONCERNING TROTSKYISM

L. Sharkey

**T**ROTSKYISM is a frenzied band of spies, wreckers and murderers. That is the verdict of the revolutionary movement on the revelations made at the trials of the various Trotskyist groups in the Soviet Union.

Not only was Bukharin an organizer of the attempt on the life of Lenin in 1919, but Bukharin's conspiracy was carried out in full agreement with Trotsky.

The trials revealed, from the mouths of Trotsky's lifelong friends, such as Rakovsky, that he has been a spy in the service of the German Secret Service since 1921, for which he has been liberally paid by them.

Trotsky it was who demanded that the life of the great Maxim Gorky should be foully ended; who held all the strings of the murderous, fascist plot, worked out in collaboration with the Nazis, to restore capitalism on the territories of the Soviet Union.

It is the followers of this bandit servant of the bourgeoisie and the fascists that J. D. Blake rightly demanded, in the previous number of the "Communist Review," be driven from the Labor movement, wherever they attempt to show themselves.

The trotskyites, after the death of the great Lenin, based their "opposition" to Bolshevik policy on certain "formulas."

The chief one of these "formu-

las" was that "Socialism could not be built in one country," i.e., the Soviet Union.

From this flowed several other "theories." By attempting to "build Socialism in one country," the Bolsheviks therefore were renouncing the world revolution and, particularly, wanted to "abolish the Comintern." At the time of the recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt government of the U.S.A., the Trotsky counter-revolutionaries were vociferous in asserting that the agreement meant the Bolsheviks were renouncing the Communist International and were to assist the bourgeoisie to suppress the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The next "theory" was to the effect that the Bolshevik Party's policy was "Bonapartist" (note the "puffed up phraseology" — that Lenin once referred to) meaning thereby that the Proletarian State was carrying out the policy of the bourgeoisie, without them, as the Bonapartist Emperors had done in France, despotically, without giving the capitalists a say in the determination of policy.

The next "theory" of Trotsky, the agent of the fascists and of capitalist restoration, was that the leading cadres of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government were a "bureaucracy."

What has happened to these pre-

vious "theories" in the fifteen years since the death of Lenin, when Trotsky began vehemently to raise them and to attack the Bolsheviks on the basis of these theories of counter-revolution? Trotsky and his gangsters have been compelled to drop the cry that "Socialism could not be built" in the U.S.S.R. in face of the fact that it has been built, that in industry, agriculture and commerce, private capitalism has been ended.

Trotsky and his gang are trying quietly to forget the years when they shouted this from the housetops as the key "principle" of Trotsky. The same fate has overtaken the "theory" of the destruction of the Comintern, which has grown enormously stronger and has led armed struggles of the workers against the fascists in a number of countries. The chief bandit, skulking in Mexico, has been compelled to admit that there all the prophecies about the end of the Comintern have been falsified.

The "high-sounding but meaningless phrases," as Lenin wrote, of Bonapartism, can hardly stand on their legs, in view of the liquidation of the Kulaks and the ending of capitalism in all spheres of Soviet industry.

"Bureaucracy" has been well and truly answered by the adoption of the most democratic Constitution in history and the election of all representatives by secret ballot, as well as by the most searching and widespread criticism and self-criticism.

All of this trotskyist counter-

revolutionary baggage, which only served to conceal the real fascist face of trotskyism, has been exposed, not only theoretically, but by the passage of the years, which have shown the working out of the party line in the Soviet Union in an exactly opposite direction to that "propheesied" by the leader of counter-revolution, wrecking, murder and espionage, Trotsky.

In view of this, can one attribute any sincerity, any desire to study facts and experiences, on the part of the Australian alleged followers of Trotsky? The trotskyists in both Spain and China have been summarily dealt with as spies and traitors, like their hideous fellows in the Soviet Union.

The local trotskyists are undoubtedly not "honest but mistaken people," but conscious servants of reaction, whose task is to attempt to destroy the Labor movement, to create disruption in the unions and, if possible, in the Communist Party itself; in the interests of their paymasters, the Secret Service.

The capitalist class makes yet other uses of Trotsky and his gangs of bandits. The press and radio are talking of "Stalin's purges," carefully forgetting to mention that the trials revealed the trotskyites as one of the most savage and vicious gangs of murderers and spies in history. The capitalists, by this method, try to make the people believe the Soviet Union is a country where people are persecuted for simply expressing an opinion. There is still need for us to explain the

trials, the evidence and the proven guilt of the trotskyites before the masses, who have, in the main, only the garbled accounts of the capitalist press to guide them. The capitalist press and agencies also work hard spreading the lie that the Soviet Union is "nationalist," carefully refraining from explaining what they mean by this "nationalism."

It is another Trotsky lie, arising from the one already dealt with, "the abolition of the Comintern." It is also necessary to expose these Trotsky fabrications, that are very extensively used by the enemy press, to discredit the Soviet Union and

the Communists in all countries. The attitude of some of our comrades that it is no longer necessary to fight trotskyism must be ended. Although the trotskyites here are few in number, the capitalist press and the A.L.P. Rightwing do all they can to spread Trotsky's lies, to whitewash Trotsky, and why shouldn't they, when he stands for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, for the disruption of unity and the victory of fascism in other countries and is an inveterate fascist enemy of the world party of Lenin and Stalin, the Communist International, the vanguard of the Socialist Revolution?

## WHO RULES?

A Short Story By "Gordon"

"NERVOUS."

"No. Why should I be?"

"Game as Ned Kelly, eh? Give me your hand."

Ignoring the offer of assistance, the woman stepped down from the big car and joined her companion on the gravelled drive.

"How quiet it is!" she whispered, with an apprehensive glance at the enveloping darkness.

"Don't you like it?"

"It's beautiful, beautiful!" She looked upwards to where a few stars blinked through the overhanging branches. "Imagine it, Melbourne is only thirty miles away! And they're still dancing at The Coolibah! And we were there only an hour ago! Where's the house?"

He had turned off the headlights the instant the car stopped. All she could make out now was the

loom of the nearest trees and a few boulders marking a flower-border.

"Right in front of us," he replied. "And you needn't whisper. There's only one other house on this side of the hill, and it's empty, like mine. Where are you?"

He reached out, found her arms, and drew her to him. "You are scared, just a little, aren't you?"

"What of?"

He could not distinguish her face, but could imagine her tantalising smile.

"Of me?"

"Would I be here if I were afraid of you?"

"Your husband?"

She laughed softly. "No. Not of your wife. I'm afraid of nothing. Just a little—well, excited. This is a terrific thing for me to do, Paul."

"You're not sorry you came, are you?"

"No, no! It's an adventure, and I used to think adventures were not for me. Paul, how can you ever live in Melbourne? There's something here . . ."

"Business, my dear, business."

"Pooh! An hour's drive, and you keep a chauffeur."

"A country home has advantages . . ."

"So I see!" Her hand moved up and settled on his shoulder. "Paul, this isn't just another escapade for you, is it?"

"Must I tell you again that I'm in love?"

"Not unless you are."

"Very well, I am. Deeply in love. I didn't mean to suggest that I'm in the habit of using this place only . . ."

"It would be characteristic of you!"

"That's unkind . . ."

She kissed him swiftly. "Forgive me. I'm not suspicious. Just anxious. I'm in love myself. All this means so much to me. And you . . . you take it so lightly. Aren't you just a little conscience-stricken about my husband? He's your friend."

"That's rather a good one, isn't it? After all, he's YOUR husband! And I don't feel a bit guilty. Why should I? It's a case of spoils to the victor. I'm a better man than him. I've beaten him. You're here; I'm entitled to you."

"You're hard, Paul."

"It's a hard world. The weak go to the wall. I happen to be strong; I prevail."

"In love, just as in business, eh?"

"But Viv, isn't it fair enough? Men can lose their wealth. True, I inherited something, but I've not only kept it, I've increased it. Am I not entitled to it? I hold it by right. I ask assistance of nobody. protection from nobody. If a stronger man than myself . . ."

"You take me so seriously!"

"But—oh, these humanitarian notions of yours! I know you; you

weren't jesting . . ."

"Hush! We're nearly quarreling, and . . ."

"You do love me, don't you?"

"Of course."

"And you're glad to be here?"

"Yes—yes!"

"Then damn your husband! And my wife, and everybody else . . ."

"Paul!"

"Viv!"

Overhead a 'possum chattered, startling them out of their embrace.

"Come," he said briskly, "let me show you my country home. We're alone in the world. Give me your hand . . ."

Across a tiled loggia, heavy with the scent of wisteria, they came to the front entrance. He carried an electric torch, and in approaching had swept the light across the front of the house. The size of the place astonished her; two stories, mantled in virginian creeper, vanishing into the shadows at either side.

"And you have nobody living here at all?" she queried thoughtfully as he stood fumbling for the key.

"Nobody. Why should I? All the other week-end places are empty, and the few locals wouldn't touch a thing. There we are. Stand still. There's a switch just inside."

He stepped forward, and in an instant the luxurious hall leapt into view. "Come in dear. It doesn't matter much, but we needn't advertise the fact that we're here."

Closing the door, he stood watching her as she advanced a few paces across the heavy carpet and then halted, studying the expensive furnishings with an appreciative eye.

"Well?" he prompted.

"How nice!" she exclaimed. The air of doubt and uneasiness which had possessed her for the past few minutes fell away from her. She gave him a flashing smile. "Come, show me everything. I'll be able to tell what sort of a woman your wife is!"

"You think you will! Why, what's the matter?"

Her expression had suddenly



changed just as he reached her side. She was looking at his hands.

"Paul, were you smoking when you came in?"

"No. Why?"

"Can't you smell smoke?"

"Tobacco?"

"Yes." She clutched his arm, her eyes fixed on an open doorway at the far end of the hall. "Why, it's strong! Paul, there's somebody here!"

"Nonsense!"

"There is! . . ."

"Wait here . . ."

"Stay where you are, son! The lady's right."

A third voice. They swung round.

He was standing near a pedestal, under the overhand of the staircase. A fairly big man, with work-soiled clothes and a few days' growth of hair on his face. He must have been crouching right in under the foot of the stairs, otherwise they would have seen him as they came in. As he advanced now into the middle of the floor they saw that he was quite young, with features far from villainous. His expression, nevertheless, was uncompromising.

"Is there anybody in that car out there?"

"No . . . at least, yes . . ."

"All right, I believed you the first time."

"What are you doing here?"

The woman, who, apart from a little scream of surprise, was showing excellent self-command, glanced now at her companion. His face had gone ashen pale, and there was a distinct tremor in his voice.

The intruder gave her a sympathetic smile. "Sit down, lady. You needn't be scared. I'm going in a jiffy."

Paul began to bluster. "You're going? That's a good one! You've no right here to begin with. What are you after?"

"A night's kip, that's all. But seeing you turned up . . ."

"This is a private house. I'll have you arrested."

"Don't talk punk! I'd be well

away long before you could get the Johns here, even if I let you use the 'phone."

"You couldn't stop me . . ."

"Keep still, mate! You're as safe as the bank as long as you behave yourself."

The woman, who had moved a little away from her companion, saw the perspiration begin to collect on his forehead. His fists were clenched, but she knew positively he wasn't going to fight.

"What exactly do you want?" snapped Paul.

"Just a couple of things. All the money you've got in your pockets and a promise you'll leave that 'phone alone after I've gone."

"Why, that's robbery!"

"You don't say! Hear that, lady? Paul Cramm, chairman of the board of directors of Paragon Finance and Guarantees, Ltd., not to mention Cosyfold Woollen Mills and a few other rackets—objects to being robbed!" The intruder waved his hand to indicate the surrounding luxury. "God speed the crows, Cramm, where did you get all this? You never did a day's useful work in your life. And look at you! You don't even manage your own businesses. And me—I never stopped working, not until ten weeks ago. And it was you that stopped me. Rationalisation, you called it. Never mind which factory I was in. You got ten years out of me . . ."

"You got your pay, didn't you?"

"Pay!" For the second time a note of menace crept into the man's voice, but he recovered himself on the instant. "Hell, what's the use of talking? You wouldn't see it if . . . here, give us that dough and I'll beat it."

He advanced with hand outstretched.

Paul, after an uneasy glance at the woman, made a final effort to take command of the situation. "You can't get away with this . . ."

"Well, what are you going to do about it?"

The stranger halted, and for perhaps five seconds the two men fac-

ed each other in silence. The woman observed that there was little difference between them as regards size.

"I'll have you arrested . . ." began Paul.

"Quit talking and give me some money. That's all I want. Ah! Now, that's better . . ." A few coins had been savagely thrust into his hand. "Got any notes? A bloke like you doesn't go about . . ."

"You dirty . . ."

"Shut up, if you can't fight. You're not in your damned office now. Good! Here you are; you can keep the wallet. You'll be able to fill it again as you get back to town. And now look . . . I want a promise you won't use that 'phone to put the Johns after me."

"You won't get it!"

"Then I'll smash the 'phone."

Paul made an impulsive movement, but promptly pulled up as the stranger gathered himself for the blow.

"Well? Do I have to smash you or the phone?"

"Oh, smash yourself! Anything you like . . . only get out of here. I'll have you picked up, anyway."

"Not with the 'phone. You heard him, lady; he promised. See he keeps to it . . ."

And in a matter of seconds he was gone, by the front door. They heard his footsteps crunching swiftly away down the drive.

"Paul . . ." began the woman.

"Wait . . . listen!"

They waited, for perhaps a minute. Then Cramm sprang to the 'phone. But quick as he was, the woman was with him. Her hand settled over his even as it gripped the receiver.

"Paul, you promised!"

"A thief! It isn't binding . . ."

"Yes, it is. And Paul . . . wait!"

. . . There's something else. You're forgetting me . . ."

"You?"

"You couldn't charge him. I'd be dragged in. Don't you see? What are we doing up here tonight, you and I . . ."

He gave an exclamation of disgust. "Damn it all! Have I got to let him go?"

Releasing the receiver, he took out a handkerchief and began to wipe his moist forehead.

For some seconds neither of them spoke. He was observing her closely, but her eyes were fixed thoughtfully on the telephone. Her composure troubled him.

"And that's that," he said nervously. "A nice thing to run you into, eh."

"Paul," her head came round suddenly, "would you really have called the police?"

"I hadn't thought of you, dear."

"Yes, but apart from that?"

"Certainly I would."

"Why?"

"What do you mean, why?"

"The police?"

"It's the correct thing to do, isn't it?"

"Paul."

"Yes, dear."

"Please take me back to Melbourne."

"Now?"

"Yes, now."

"You're joking."

"No, I mean it."

"But why?"

"Don't ask me why. I just want to go back."

"You're upset."

"No, it isn't that."

"Then you're made."

Her gaze was direct and unflinching. "Perhaps so, but I've learned things in the last few minutes . . ."

"You're disappointed in me. You think . . ."

"Paul, I can't tell you what I think. I want time to work it all out. And it isn't that I'm disappointed in you. It's something else, something deeper. You, who have so much. That man, who has nothing. And between the two of you, the police."

"Go on."

"Paul, please take me back to town."

"But good heavens, I can't let it go like that!"

"Am I to walk to Sassafras? I can hire a car there."

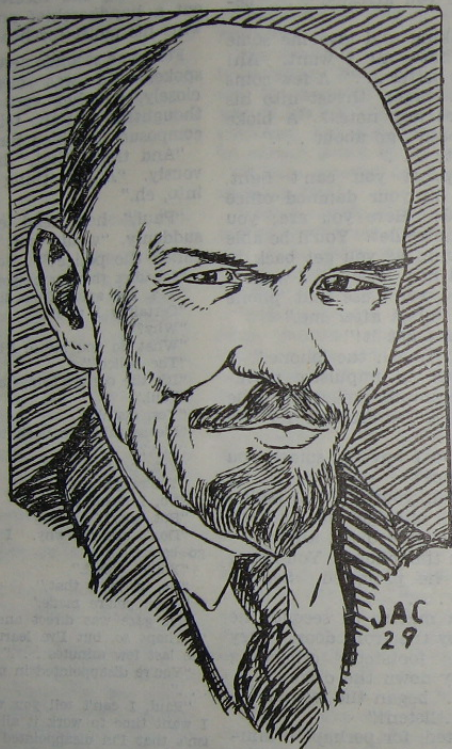
"Viv! . . ."

"I'm going, now, whether you drive me or not."

She moved towards the door, and after a second's bewildered hesitation he followed her.

THE END.

## War: Its Cause And Outcome



*"The present war is of an imperialist character. This war is the outcome of the conditions of an epoch in which capitalism has reached the highest stage of its development; in which not only is the export of commodities of the greatest significance, but so also is the export of capital; in which the trustification of industry and the internationalisation of economic life have assumed considerable dimensions; in which colonial policy has led to the partition of almost the whole of the globe; in which the productive forces of world capitalism have outgrown the limited boundaries of national and state divisions; in which the objective conditions for the achievement of socialism have fully matured."*—LENIN, March, 1915.

## OFFICERS AND GENTLEMEN

E. W. Campbell

ON the first of September about fifteen senior army officers throughout Australia were retired from the service.

This is in accordance with the reduced retiring age provisions recommended to the Cabinet by Lieutenant-General Squires, the Inspector-General of military forces in Australia.

The retiring ages of colonels and brigadiers have been reduced from 60 to 57 and that of lieutenant-colonels from 60 to 53.

The conditions of retirement are generous to the extreme, providing for:

- 1) Three months' leave on full pay.
- 2) Ordinary accrued leave on full pay.
- 3) Half pay up to former retiring ages and then reversion to superannuation.
- 4) Officers retired may choose to be placed on retired or reserved list.

Under these terms a Lieutenant-Colonel of 54 with 35 years' service would receive 13½ months' leave on full pay and would then go on half pay for a further seven years before falling back on to superannuation scale.

Not bad is it? Especially when contrasted with the conditions of mere foot-sloggers or even naval ratings. The latter were recently driven to the verge of strike action

before their claim for a measly 7/6 a week wage increase was heard.

We know many army officers who would not be financially embarrassed by retirement from the service.

There is Colonel the Hon. Harold Edward Cohen, for instance, who is a director of:

Associated Pulp and Paper Mills, Carlton and United Breweries, Carlton Brewery Ltd., Electrolytic Zinc, Foster Brewing Co., Shamrock Brewing Co., Standard Mutual Building Soc., Swan Brewery Ltd., and Zinc Investments.

The aggregate paid-up capital of these numerous concerns amounts to £8,688,000.

But Colonel Cohen not only finds time to administer his diverse business interests, and play soldiers, he also dabbles in politics as the member for Caulfield in the Victorian State Parliament.

Another brass-hatted tycoon is Major-General the Hon. Sir Thomas William Glasgow.

He will be found on parade when the Boards of the following concerns assemble:

The Australian Mutual Provident Society, Dalgety and Co., Hornibrook Highway Ltd., Millaquin Sugar Co.,

National Bank of Australasia,  
and  
The Union Trustee Co.

The A.M.P. alone disposes over £108,000,000 assurance funds. The other companies between them command £11,000,000 in share capital.

If Sir Thomas is as competent in his direction of troops as he is in his direction of companies Australia has nothing to fear from invasion.

If Australia becomes involved in war the market for medicines and drugs will expand. In which case Major-General Harold William Grimwade will be in the happy position of being able to serve his country on two fronts.

He is a director of Australian Glass Manufacturers, Drug Houses of Australia Ltd., and the firm of Felton, Grimwade and Duerdon, manufacturing chemists.

Major-General Sir C. Brudenell White has a stake in the country that is worthwhile defending. He falls in when the chairman's gavel summons to attention the directors of:

The Fourth Victorian Permanent Building Society,  
The New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Co.  
Trustees, Executors and Agency Co., and  
The National Mutual Life Association.

The last named concern seems to have a powerful attraction for military men. Besides Major-General White its Board includes Brigadier R. M. Stoddart, Queensland; Major

G. B. Van Zyl, M.P., South Africa; and Lieut.-Col. Lord Somers, London.

Lieut.-Col. the Right Hon. Lord Somers once served a term as acting Governor-General of Australia: His predecessor, Viscount Stonehaven, is also on the London Board of the National Mutual Life Association.

Stonehaven also holds a post on the Directorate of the Union Bank of Australia Ltd. We hope that his stay in Australia at our expense enabled him to overlook his interest in this £4,000,000 banking concern.

A person who evidently does not hold the view that the army, business and politics are mutually exclusive fields is Lieut.-Col. T. A. J. Playfair, M.L.C.

He is a director of the Australian Gas Light Co., which, with the connivance of the Budget-faking Stevens government, recently robbed thousands of consumers by illegally reducing the heating quality of gas.

He is also a director of the National Bank of Australasia Ltd., the N.S.W. Fresh Food and Ice Company, Waters Trading Co., and the Perpetual Trustee Co.

Colonel Alfred Spain is another who finds that politics, the army, and big business mix fairly well.

He is a director in:  
Caledonian Collieries,  
Howard Smith,  
North Coast S.N. Co.,  
Sydney Ferries,  
Katoomba and Leura Gas Co.,  
and

Emu and Prospect Gravel and Road Metal Co.

There must be some kind of lethal beauty about a gas company which attracts military men.

The City of Newcastle Gas and Coke Co. has two Major-Generals on its board of five, W. L'Estrange Eames and J. Paton, C.B., C.M.G.

We anticipate that as war preparations develop the government will liberally disburse funds for the construction of strategic roads.

If so Major-General Bennett will be able to offer some good advice. He is a director of Damman Asphalt Co..

In these days of mechanisation and mobile armies motor transport becomes more important.

Major-Generals Johnston and Sir Thomas Blamey are doing their bit to put more motors on the road as directors of City Motor Service and Automobile Finance Co., respectively.

Of course it is in the best interests of Australian defence that our motorised units are well shod.

Major-General Frederick Godfrey Hughes should be able to render yeoman service here.

He helps to direct the destinies of Barnett Glass Rubber Co., Dunlop Perdriau and Broken Hill South Ltd.

This by no means exhausts the list of high army officers in Australia who display an amazing capacity for mixing soldiering with big business and, in many instances, finding time to dabble in politics as well.

It is true that some of those mentioned may not be found on the army pay roll today, but they would undoubtedly be recalled from reserve or retirement to serve in an emergency.

Why should politics be open to officers and not to men? We wonder how far a private or non-com. would advance in his military career if he dared to engage actively in working-class politics.

Before we conclude we would like to draw attention to the number of politicians who have close ties with big business in Australia.

Senator McLachlan was forced to resign his portfolio as Postmaster-General recently when his connections with a firm of contractors to the Postal Dept. was exposed.

But he is only one of many who divide their time between directing their own and their country's interests. It would be foolish to think that for them the former would not take precedence over the latter.

Some that we know of are, the Right Hon. Alexander Mair, who is keeping the Premiers seat warm in the N.S.W. Parliament until the portly B. S. B. Stevens can stage a come-back. Mair is a director of Baltic Simplex Machinery Co.

The Hon. Eric Spooner is a director in Robert Reid and Co.

J. V. Fairbairn, M.H.R., is a director of Commercial Banking Co. and Union Trustee Co.

Senator Chas. Wm. Grant, Tasmania, is a director in Brewery, Gas, and Trustee Companies.

Senator Guthrie is a director in  
Federal Woollen Mills Ltd.

R. G. Menzies is interested in a  
number of big investment and finance  
companies in Victoria.

J. MacCallum Smith, M.L.A., is  
a director in Bank of N.S.W., Swan  
Portland Cement, and W.A. Finance

Co.

These are only a few, there must  
be many more. We are not offering  
any prizes but if readers have  
any information about the connections  
of other leading lights in politics  
we would be interested to hear  
from them.

## PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENT

"... The people

*Have sent me to parliament with a song."*

So spoke the poet Lebedev-Kumach in Moscow in July last year, when the Supreme Council of the R.S.F.S.R. met for the first time. Speaking on the report of the Mandates Commission he recited in Parliament the following poem he had written for the occasion.

For in the Soviet Union people from every sphere of life are elected to the highest administrative positions in the land. At this session the 724 deputies included 13 members of the Academy of Sciences, 24 teachers, engineers, doctors, artists, poets, writers and students.

"Comrades! I am a poet by profession, and more accustomed to speaking in verse than in prose," Lebedev-Kumach said, "I made no secret of this to my electors, and yet they deemed it useful and necessary to send me to the Supreme Council. That is why I ask you—not only in my name but also in that of my electors—to allow me to express myself in the language of poets.

*Deputies to the Supreme Council, Comrades,  
For the first time in the world perhaps  
A parliament of the people has opened its doors  
To poets, and poetry has entered, too.*

*Countless muses of freedom, work and justice  
Are robbed the world over.  
With us art is the darling of the people  
And walks with head held high.*

*Tell me, comrades, whether in bourgeois countries  
Poetry is part of the proceedings?  
But we are young and new men, and the people  
Have sent me to parliament with a song.*

*It is the highest honour for artists  
To be members of the Supreme Council.  
What words are rich enough to express it?  
Mere words are inadequate.*

*Mandates are not part of my concern.  
Yet one thing do I know full well:  
These deputies assembled are  
A collective portrait of our beautiful land.*

*The best and foremost, the better than good,  
These have the people chosen from all professions.  
No government in the world is better  
Nor patriots more ardent.*

*In which other parliament could you see  
So closely united, miner and singer,  
Leader and dairymaid, teacher and mason,  
Lieutenant and Smithy?*

*This platform overtowers so many others.  
Speaking here my voice carries far,  
Much further than across my country. For  
Berlin and Tokyo, Paris and Prague are listening too.*

*And from this platform,  
As deputy and patriot I proclaim:  
United and firm, in the glowing dawn,  
My people stand round the banner of Stalin.*



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

*We here invite expression of views not exceeding 300 words.*

*In elucidation of an earlier letter on defence and compulsory military training, A. Weaver, Cheltenham, Victoria, writes:*

I SHOULD be pleased if you would grant me space in the "Review" in order that I might reply to your criticism of my letter on "Universal Training."

I must admit that I find it hard to understand how any person reading my letter could come to the conclusion that I was referring to the danger of fascist invasion.

I wish to make it quite plain that I think that danger very remote, in fact, non-existent. I believe the danger of fascism to be internal, and I thought I made that point quite clear.

It seems to me that should a strong Labor Government pass legislation, and should one or more of the large monopolies think this legislation detrimental to their interests, there would be danger of their trying to displace that government by force, in which case I think it would be of great advantage if Labor sympathisers were to have some military training.

*In connection with the deliberations of the recent N.S.W. Conference of the Communist Party, J. Fraser, Wickham, N.S.W., writes on Communist education and science:*

THE Party State Conference just concluded in Sydney reflects a new political level never previously achieved by the Party in this State. Of the many delegates who spoke, it could be said that there was not one who did not contribute one or more items of real value to the discussion. A milestone in the advance of our Party to a real Bolshevik Party has been passed in as much as the theoretical discussion was linked up with and based upon the concrete and everyday tasks of our Party in a way not previously achieved.

The contribution of Comrade Dixon was brilliant in its conception and daz-

zling in its presentation. The posing of the question of the ethical standard of Party members' conduct, effectively raised it to a high level and opened up new avenues of Party leadership. That only the best is good enough for the Communists is very true because only the best is good enough for presentation to the masses whom we aspire to lead.

Comrade Campbell sharply raised the question of National School and the need of struggle for a theoretic basis for all our struggles. Other comrades also raised the question of Communist education which is of paramount importance if our Party is to progress successfully towards our goal.

On the question of education there are some important points for our consideration. Many recruits who join our Party are immediately drawn into the vortex of political crusading without first having some grounding in economic theory. This tends to raise a superstructure lacking a solid basis which becomes top heavy and unreal.

The first essential before a broad political development takes place is a basic understanding of the questions around which our campaigners are to develop. This in turn stresses the importance of the National School, where a balanced curriculum has its basis in political economy, which is the starting point of all our activities.

It is well to look to the future when political levels will have to be raised tremendously in order to meet the complex situations that will inevitably arise. To meet the situation our theoretical level has got to be advanced to the point where it constantly keeps a step ahead of our activities if we are to successfully develop our leadership.

A study of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and socialist works in general is not sufficient because without an elementary knowledge of science as known by these great leaders, how can we visualise in its broadest sense what the import of these teachings are. First principles of science can be learned and understood by the layman. There is no mystery about science, but science can explain apparent mysteries.

Lenin had this thing in mind when he said that the workers should not only read socialist works but should have access to scientific works as well.

Without an elementary knowledge of scientific principles we are unable to capture the inner meaning and correctly interpret these masters and therefore must remain only imitators.

But to merely interpret is not enough; we must also be initiators and capable of further developing Marxist theory. When we speak of Marxism-Leninism we refer to the further development of Marxist theory by Lenin in the epoch of Imperialism and Monopoly Finance-Capital. When we speak of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism we refer to the further development of Marxism-Leninism by Comrade Stalin in the period of Socialist Construction, when the Soviet Union is going from triumph to triumph along the road to Communism, and when the political panorama is in the process of undergoing rapid changes, when a further theoretical development is taking place.

Every Communist should endeavor to equip himself or herself with an elementary knowledge of physics and biology in order to understand the dialectics of motion and change. Illustrative of dialectics, Engels provides examples in the physics of chemistry and also biological examples. Heredity, which has its physical basis in the chromosomes of the protoplasmic cell, is both a progressive and a conservative force. Without it there could be no development; yet it continually tends to conserve the past.

Thus we see, not completely new forms evolved, but the transformation of existing forms into newer and more adaptable forms. Here we see the contradictions of the positive and negative which supply the dynamics of change.

If Communists are to successfully carry out their tasks they must continually grapple with these questions, at the same time bearing in mind that they must be the leaders in thought and action, not only of some phases of social life, but of every conceivable phase.

Yes, only the very best is good enough for Communists; but this places a tremendous responsibility upon our shoulders, a responsibility that will be more readily accepted as we attain to higher levels of understanding.

Communists will not be remiss to this trust, but with the aid of science will triumphantly lead the masses to the new and higher order of Socialist and Communist Society.

*From Parkside, South Australia, our regular correspondent, W. S.*

*Cathcart, writes to us concerning theoretical articles and a booklet on Australian history:*

AS a suggestion, do you not think it would be advisable to give at least four pages monthly to a consideration of subjects like: "The Origin of the Family, the Private Property and the State" (Engels); "Dialectical Materialism; the Materialist Conception of History, and "The Evolution of Property" by La-fague. These subjects could be dealt with per medium of brief articles or reviews of books on the matter. At all events, we should publish articles on these important matters, as well as our other features.

A booklet on the History of Australia, say 3d. or 6d., would now sell like hot cakes. A booklet like this would give us the gist of the convict period, Eureka, the Chinese and the Kanakas in Australia, the beginnings of unionism and the Labor Party, concluding with a brief summary of Communism in Australia. Or it could be made general (which would be better), like "Who Owns Australia?" a champion book.

A general booklet on the History of Australia at sixpence could be sold in the bookshops as well as at meetings. In conversation with the Adelaide comrades it is agreed that this booklet on the History of Australia is an urgent necessity and would meet with a popular demand, as people want to know about our history.

*From North Queensland T. F. Lawless writes on the laws of economic crises:*

ON re-reading "England and Economic Crisis" ("C.R." March, 1938), I've come to the conclusion that I have never seen an article like it on the Australian boom, crisis, and recovery of the same period.

Maurice Dobb gives four factors (a), (b), (c) and (d) which brought about the recovery in England, and I would like to read the Australian four factors in the same form as M.D.'s article.

In the last chapter, M.D. says: There is only inflation and armaments left to maintain "recovery."

I think that inflation is a quicker way to the bust than even armaments. Isn't inflation a "method" more to get out of the mess than to keep out of it? If there is such an article written on the Australian crisis and method of recovery I would like to get it.

# NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Gordon Grant

EVIDENCE of the Soviet Union's consistent efforts to maintain peace in Europe and the world is given in a concise and interesting form in a collection of speeches by *Maxim Litvinov*, as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs in a book *Against Aggression*, published by Lawrence and Wishart and recently received here.

Of great interest to political students and others who desire to be well informed on foreign affairs is the second part of the book, comprising the terms of the many treaties pacts and protocols of non-aggression between the Soviet Union and her neighbors.

It also contains the treaty for the definition of "aggression" and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The speeches are the principal ones made by M. Litvinov between 1934 and September 21, 1938, and in the clearest way show the open manner and frankness with which Soviet diplomacy is conducted.

There is an admirable dignity of phrase, aptness of illustration and convincing note of honesty in the speeches addressed to the League of Nations meetings and to foreign representatives. No one who heard them could have the slightest doubt of the purpose of the Soviet Union to stand strongly for peace and against aggression. They contrast

with some of the published statements of diplomats of other nations whose speeches have left sufficient doubts of their meaning to permit varying interpretations.

At home in the Soviet Union where he speaks to his comrades, the people, Litvinov describes amusingly how bourgeois diplomatists work.

This speech is received with much appreciative laughter as the Foreign Commissar shows the workings of non-intervention, "when States whose vital interests were menaced by Italy and Germany" said to the latter: "You probably do not want to interfere in Spanish affairs and so far have done so quite inadvertently. We ask for your confirmation and in the meantime shall not intervene and we shall not help the rightful Spanish government, although we have the right to do so. Let us sign a paper and form a committee for observation."

"The paper is signed, the committee observes, but intervention increases day by day."

On demand of the Soviet government control is established on the frontiers and coast of Spain, "but the control springs a leak" and whole divisions and war material penetrate to the Spanish mutineers.

"The committee observes, and then says to Italy and Germany: 'You, of course, did not wish to

send your huge armies to Spain. You probably sent them inadvertently. Confirm this. . .'"

He explains how the tragic farce has gone on from time to time, permitting one free country after another to be enslaved. He shows that there is only one champion of freedom in the world who is prepared to act for the sufferer on all occasions.

The appreciation of his audience gives the working people of the world and their allies the anti-fascists their only hope, that the Soviet people will stand with them strongly for defence of world democracy.

The famous speech by M. Litvinov made to the Seventh Plenary meeting of the Nineteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 21, 1938, when Germany with the aid of the British and French traitors—Mr. Neville Chamberlain and M. Daladier and their fellow conspirator Mussolini—was preparing to descend on Czechoslovakia, ends the collection.

At that time the press was commenting on the "silence" of the Soviet Union, whose Foreign Commissar, speaking from the world's most prominent forum, stated that the Soviet Union took no part in a policy of granting "bonuses to sabre-rattling" and was prepared to fight to save Czechoslovakia if France would show the same loyalty to her obligations.

"*Against Aggression*" (Lawrence and Wishart, London), by Maxim Litvinov. Paper cover 2/6, cloth 6/-.

A BOOK of interest because of the facts it gives about Germany and its revelation of the outlook of bourgeois writers up to the stage of the Hitler Sudetenland march is "Germany—What Next?" a Penguin production.

There are several maps.

Of particular interest are the references to Nazi colonial aspirations and the results of secession of any territory and of certain territories.

Edited by Rich Keane, a journalist, who has "politics in his blood," the book contains articles on Totalitarian diplomacy, and other related subjects by the editor, Sheila Grant Duff, Victor Gordon Lennox, Bernard Keeling, Sir Sidney Barton, Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., and General Tilho.

Mr. Keane is apologetic for Chamberlain in his Munich action, but when he wrote the article his political education appears to have been a stage or two behind the level it had reached when he wrote the introduction.

His conclusion of his chapter "Totalitarian Diplomacy" shows this. He details many of the well-known bandit methods of the Nazis and ambitions of Hitler and company, and warns Britain that if she does not defend her "booty" strongly Germany, when "Master of Europe," will "wish to proceed to attack the British Empire."

By the time he reached the writing of the introduction, Mr. Keane had discovered the need of an alliance with Russia for peace in the British Empire or victory in war.

"Military alliances," he said, "should be at once concluded with Poland, Russia and the Balkan entente."

He further urged that military supplies from America should be ensured and the fullest political and naval co-operation with the United States in the Far East.

England and France "should also categorically and publicly pledge themselves to the defence of Holland and Switzerland."

Mr. Amery, former Dominions Secretary, on "Germany's Colonial Demands," shows very clearly the falseness of the German claim that she desires colonies for any other reason than war bases.

Appeasement would mean more demands and weaken resistance to further demands, he says.

One of the most interesting of the articles is that by General Tilho

on the "Axis in Africa." This is French authority on strategy in the colonial Empire indicates the tremendous importance of the Nationalist victory in Spain to the Axis powers, increasing tremendously the danger to African colonies.

He points out that if France and Great Britain were to make Germany a peace-time gift of Togoland and the Cameroons, the German fleet would in time of war be in a position to intercept shipping on the route to the Cape of Good Hope. With the Mediterranean bottled up the Berlin-Rome axis would be able to blockade Britain and France.

For the safety of France and Britain he urged that the German and Italian troops should be withdrawn from Spain as soon as possible. The war was not over then.

"Germany—What Next?" (Penquin). *Ninepence.*

## THE TASMANIAN SCENE

T. Wallis

THE Tasmanian scene at the moment presents some points of interest for students of developing economic and political trends.

Over the past few years there has taken place an expansion of secondary industries which has increased their relative importance in the total economy of the State.

At the same time primary industry has lost none of its significance

and the farmers still constitute a numerically strong section of the community.

In the 1933 census 37.55 per cent. of the population were classified as breadwinners. Of these the industrial section constituted 13.84 per cent.; professional, entertainment, commercial etc., 11.94 per cent., and the farming, 10.27 per cent.

Since then the industrial side of

Tasmanian economy has expanded considerably. New paper pulp mills have been established at Burnie, a hydro-electric scheme has been instituted, Cadbury's have extended their plant, and the timber, wool-washing, and zinc working enterprises have grown.

The gross value of output of manufacturing industries in 1932-33 amounted to £3,668,000. In 1936-37 it had increased to £5,820,000.

This growth of secondary industry has been in part encouraged by the policy of the Labor government. Cheap freight rates have been fixed on certain sections of the State railways which carry most of the metal from the B.H.P. Melbourne quarries. The Paper Pulp Co. benefited by a £250,000 government subsidy.

It is a great pity that the same degree of consideration has not been extended to the farmers. Their

plea for cheap freight rates for the carriage of lime has so far been ignored by the government. There is some talk of starting lime crushing in various parts of the island as an alternative.

The farmers are also raising a strong demand that the government give effect to the land resumption measure introduced two years ago.

The basis for this agitation can be found in the maldistribution of land which exists at present.

There are 11,754 farmers in Tasmania who own or lease 6,800,000 acres. This is used for grazing, fruit growing, hop growing, wheat and potato growing.

Almost half the total land in use is concentrated in the hands of 244 big landholders. The remaining 11,510 farmers share the remaining land amongst them.

A picture of this land monopoly is given in the following table:

Size of Holding Acres	No. Farmers	% of total	Total land held acres	% of total land in use
1 to 500	9959	84.73	1,240,714	18.21
500&under 5000	1551	13.19	2,218,156	32.56
over 5000	244	2.08	3,352,107	49.23

Thus 2.08 per cent. of landholders control 49.23 per cent. of the total acreage whilst 97.92 per cent. of farmers are confined to 50.77 per cent. of the land.

If the land resumption measure, which provides for the acquisition of undeveloped properties, was put into operation it would go far towards satisfying the land hunger of Tasmanian farmers.

The Labor government failure to implement this legislation is adding to the discontent of the small farmers. Unless some steps are soon taken to remedy the position there is a grave danger of their support being alienated entirely.

At the recent Annual Conference of the North West Coast Branches of the Tasmanian Producers' Organisation in Burnie a declaration was

made favoring the amalgamation of all farmers organisations in the State.

The Moriarty Branch forwarded a motion recommending that the T.P.O. become a Farmers' Political Organisation. This was rejected. But the signs point plainly to the fact that the farmers are thinking and moving in the direction of a new political party.

Such a party, if it does emerge, could seriously weaken the position of the Labor Party and strengthen the hands of the Nationalist opposition.

It is desirable that a Labor government be kept in office in Tasmania, but workers and farmers are justified in demanding that their interests be given precedence over those of big industrialists and landholders.

## FAN MAIL

Written after the Munich Agreement

Dear Mr. Chamberlain:

*I'd like your photo.*

*to hang with all the others on my wall;  
with Robert Taylor, Garbo, "Mr. Moto"—  
and dozens of whose names I can't recall.  
The plot in War Scare was most cute, I think . . .  
(much better than the Spanish Bully Ring),  
all Europe tottering on War's thorny brink—*

*you flying (as pre-arranged) to stop the thing!  
(A war for land already given away)  
'Twas nice to give young Hitler that free ticket!\*  
but what about yourself? I'll always say  
you acted far away the best . . . it's wicked  
if you don't get that medal from Hollywood!*

*I am,*

*Yours most sincerely,*

CYRIL GOODE.

*P.S.—I've read your lovely book Mein Kampf.\*\**

\* In diplomatic circles Czechoslovakia is sometimes referred to as the free ticket to Europe.

\*\* From "Wattle In the Ranges and Other Sonnets," Cyril E. Goode (Imperial Printing Co. Ltd., 397 Hay St., Perth), 2/- post free.

## PAGES FROM THE PAST

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)

#### VICTORIAN CAPITALISM IN 1872

What follows is the concluding part of the editorial from the "International Monthly," begun in last issue.

"I went through the same process; education and energy gained high wages from a lad, and my father was proud of me. He saw I promised well at school; he had not been deceived in me. I felt my consequence. But a change came as I approached my journeyman-ship, the demeanor of those about me altered, one advantage after another over me was allowed, and on the consummation of a lad's dearest wish the injuries became too marked. On remonstrance, the truth came, and I was told, 'I can get a boy off the street to do your work, as I did you'—an indignant retort and discharge followed. Sought work elsewhere, and everywhere the same answer—'Can't afford to pay journeymen, take you as an improver, you know you don't know the business!' Alas! I had married during the present and prospective prosperity of the last year of apprenticeship—bought a little property through a building

society; but now, stung by the capital I had strained my young life to heap—broken in health and spirits by the long drudging mental labour—with a genteel wife and a suckling infant, and wages insufficient to keep them in respectability as of old, I fell into the ranks of those whom I had displaced. The wife (true to the core) takes again to her sewing machine to help; home became disorganised and demoralised and lost its dearest charms. But see the wife—the same process again—first good wages, over taxed energies, loss of health, not up to the standard, machine becomes a curse instead of a blessing—young energetic women are wanted—give you some shirts to finish—2/6 per dozen—she tried them, and the result was 10/- for the week, working all hours, finding her own cotton, candle light, &c. Our home gradually became tasteless—headaches, loss of temper—neglect of better-off friends—removal to a cheaper,



narrower, crowded, mixed-class street — despair — drink — Yarra Bend—and I am here!—See to it. O man! where will you drag your fellows? Your army, navy, law, medicine have protecting patronage and class laws.—Save my fellows.—Britain with his Factory Act (still further extended and amended last year) has saved millions. Do thou step in and tell Victoria to do likewise if she would save herself from the retribution of the soul-darkened progeny of misused capital. Oh! give the young budding flowers the hue of the rose, and not of the fungus, which true to its nature will topple over your sand-based civilization."

### OTHER ACTIVITIES

Much intellectual and social reform activity was being displayed in Melbourne during the seventies.

The **Land Tenure Reform League** was very active. It printed many pamphlets which it distributed free. And they were by no means small pamphlets. I don't know how many were printed in all, but I have seen seven. The first three, published in 1870 and 1871, were: "Right to the Use of the Earth," "The Land Question in England," and "Selections from Mills' Political Economy."

An **Eclectic Association of Melbourne** was established on May 1, 1867. According to its laws as amended on May 6, 1869, "the objects of the Association shall be the unrestricted temperate investigation and discussion of any subject whatever of general social interest and importance; to hold debates at least once every month; to maintain a library of standard and liberal philosophical works for the use of members; to reprint such essays and works, and publish such papers of members as to the Association may seem desirable; and to accumulate funds with a view of ultimately purchasing premises for a Lecture Hall, Library, etc., for the use of members."

Among the men active in the Association were some who were to the fore in the Democratic Association and the Land Tenure Reform League. Treasurer and Secretary in 1872-3 was H. K. Rusden, Secretary to the Royal Society of Victoria; the Librarian was E. W. Cole, later of Cole's Book Arcade fame; two Committeemen were W. H. Gresham, Secretary of the Land Tenure Reform League, and G. S. Manns, at whose "Secular Academy" the Democratic Association used to meet.

Amongst the books of the Library of the Eclectic were the works of Tom Paine, Renan, Huxley, Robert Owen, Stuart Mill, Darwin, and files of the National Reformer.

One of the earliest publications is a pamphlet, Professor Tyndall's "Miracles and Special Providences," reprinted from the Fortnightly Review, and published June 1, 1867. A copy is in the Mitchell Library.

### AUSTRALIA AND THE PARIS COMMUNE

After the defeat of the Paris Commune, some of the Communards were sent out to New Caledonia. Thence, later, some came to Australia to settle. But Premier Robertson of New South Wales didn't want them in Australia and he endeavored to have the various premiers act unitedly to prevent their landing. But his move resulted in an ignominious failure and the Communards landed. What follows is a leader from the Sydney "Stockwhip" on this matter; it speaks for itself.

### OUR PREMIER AND THE COMMUNISTS

Mr. Robertson's now famous telegram to the rulers of the different

colonies, asking them to join him in prohibiting the landing on Australian soil of the Communists, has become quite an interesting topic, and

we are informed by last night's "Evening News"—a good official authority—that the government of Victoria has not condescended to even answer it. All honor, say we, to that government for thus treating with contempt a presumptuous and ill-advised attempt to violate a principle which is cherished by every public man in England with tenacious devotion, that is, the right of the political offenders of all countries to the refuge and protection of England and its laws. Even at this moment if our poor Premier knew what was happening outside the little world of New South Wales, he would know that the present high Tory government of England was making a remarkably firm stand against the United States on this very question, and submitting to the abrogation of an important treaty sooner than yield. What a contrast this noble and steadfast conduct of England's rulers is compared with the childish splutter of alarm and consternation as indicated by poor Mr. Robertson's silly telegram. Does the gentleman know anything about the Communists? Does he know who or what they are? We know that he does not read extensively, and is, perhaps, about as ill-informed a man as there is in the country. For his information we may state that the Communists enrol among their number such names as Victor Hugo and Gambetta, and that as a body they may perhaps be designated as the cream of French intelligence. Mr. Robertson, however, seems to have no higher notions on the subject than that Communist is synonymous with assassins or felon, and hence the wretched figure he cuts on the present occasion, making all true men hang their heads with shame at his barbarous attempt to enact the part of a petty blockhead, a tyrant, and oppressor. Six hundred Communists forsooth to be excluded from Australia at the instance of Jack Robertson!!

What next, yes we may well ask what next? If Mr. Robertson had been an informed man, which, unhappily for this colony he is not, it is just possible he might have heard of Colonel Rasel, a Communist who suffered death under the judgment of court-martial—he was as pure and exalted a character as the pages of history furnish — able, patriotic, single-minded, and devoted beyond expression; he met his death with a calmness and dignity and dauntless intrepidity which went to the heart of France and of the world. It is quite possible that this same Rasel might have been among the unhappy men that the brave Mr. Colonial Secretary Robertson is trying to hound from our shores had the petition to spare his life been listened to, not the least learned and impassioned of those petitioners being the London "Times," who can doubt but that there are many men of the stamp of Rasel among those 600 unfortunates to one and all of whom Mr. Robertson would refuse rest to the soles of their feet, and is now attempting to prevent landing here? This is the fruits of having half-educated men in the office of gov-

ernment. Mr. Robertson's action is at the present moment discrediting the country, and the mischief it has done is great in the eyes of foreigners. Every true Englishman has reason to blush for the ill-advised and supremely ignorant act. What a consummation to have arrived at as the result of democratic institutions, and a liberal Premier! Does Mr. Robertson not know that these Communists are men who have risked their lives for the political opinions they hold and would be ready—as they have well proved—

to lay them down at any moment to advance the cause of Liberty! But whatever he knows, or does not know, the intelligence of N.S.W., we trust, is aware that these poor, but noble men, that our government proposes to treat so horribly, are in many cases highly educated and refined gentlemen, and in every case, men who have suffered exile and imprisonment for their sterling honesty and devotedness to the political creed which they profess to hold.

—"The Stockwhip," Sept. 9, 1876.

#### AUSTRALIAN REPUBLICANISM

The period of the eighties was one of great republican and anti-imperialist activity in Australia. The sending of troops to the Sudan by acting-Premier Dalley in 1885 met with widespread opposition, and it is significant that no other Australian Premier attempted to follow his example. Many papers were openly republican: the *Bulletin*, *Liberator*, *Radical*, *Republican* among others. In 1887, a meeting was called by the Mayor of Sydney to make arrangements for the celebration of the Queen's jubilee. It duly met in the Town Hall, but — the official motion was defeated! The big meeting repudiated the jingoes and passed an amendment refusing to support any jubilee celebrations here. The following poem was written at the time of the jubilee celebrations and published in the *Republican* for February 2, 1888. Its author was George Black, then a Socialist and a Republican and later one of the founders of the Labor Party in New South Wales. It is difficult to believe that he ended his days as a U.A.P. member of the Legislative Council.

#### A JUBILEE HYMN

For the slaughters, struggles, miseries of fifty burdened years,  
For the hindrance of progression at the hands of bishops, peers,  
For the load of German princelings hung around the nation's neck,  
For the swarm of Royal paupers from Tummy down to Teck;  
For the drones that eat our honey, every leech that sucks our blood,  
For the workers, all supporting, scorned and trampled in the mud—  
Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

For all pensioned kingly bastards, and a host of tilted bawds,  
For the lordly spongers living by the Exhibitions frauds,  
For wife-beating, leching earls, and dukes, and knonish, drunken knights  
For a seething mass of monsters, with lascivious appetites,  
For young maidens, ruined, cast-off, for the "walkers" on our streets,  
For the worker worn with searching for the work he never meets—  
Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

For all pontiffs, haughty prelates, and vicars rich and fat,  
For churches, State supported, chapels, "sending round the hat,"  
For confession, mass, and ritual, bazaars, and sale of pews,  
For the sombre halls of worship where the drowsy sitters snooze,  
For archbishops whirled in chariots, followers of the "lowly one,"  
For the Pharisaic zealots who their poorer brethren shun—  
Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

For the poor-man client, pigeon, and his lawyer, licensed hawk,  
For our Parliamentary humbugs with their selfish, babbling talk,  
For the usage of old statutes, ill-befitting modern time,  
For vile punishments and tortures for the stamping out of crime,  
For Coercion Bills for Ireland in the interests of the rich,  
For evicted Irish tenants lying hungered in the ditch—  
Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

For the generals, the armies, the admirals, the fleets,  
For the plunderings, the bloodshed, petty victories, defeats,  
For annexation wholesale, for feeble powers o'erthrown,  
For a vast unwieldy Empire, chaotic, overgrown,  
For freedom trampled in the dust, her sons oppressed, enslaved,  
For the hatred of the British, on ten thousand hearts engraved—  
Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

For sectarian animosities, and bigotry unsate,  
For societies called secret, with their legacies of hate,  
For the snivelling Primrose Leaguer, and the grovelling Royalist,  
For the low-browed Orange bully with a bludgeon in his fist,  
For lick-spittle mayors, aldermen, the servile bowers down,  
Before the great god Mammon and the wearer of a crown—  
Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

For the revels of the wealthy, and the sufferings of the poor,  
Lack of outlets for poor labour barred from forest, park and moor,  
For the factory's smokeless chimney, and the workroom's silent floor,  
For diseases in the alleys, countless beggars at the door,  
For squalor mocked by splendour, social evils growing worse,  
For all the vultures tearing at the bleeding country's purse—  
Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

For the changes, blessed changes, of the coming fifty years,  
For the throwing down of monarchs, for the thrusting forth of peers,  
For the growing love of knowledge, the desertion of the church,  
For the vested wrongs of ages left by progress in the lurch,

For Superstition in the rear, and Science in the van,  
For, the Liberty that's coming, and the Brotherhood of man—

Jubilate, jubilate, jubilate.

Balmain

—GEORGE BLACK.  
("Republican," 8/2/1888.)

### HENRY LAWSON

The next poem is from the pen of Henry Lawson, also a Republican.

#### A SONG OF THE REPUBLIC

(From the "Bulletin," 1887.)

Sons of the South, awake! arise!

Sons of the South, and do.

Banish from under your bonny skies

Those old-world errors and wrongs and lies,

Making a hell in a Paradise

That belongs to your sons and you.

Sons of the South, make choice between

(Sons of the South, choose true),

The Land of Morn and the Land of E'en,

The Old Dead Tree and the Young Tree Green,

The Lord that belongs to the lords and Queen,

And the Land that belongs to you.

Sons of the South, your time will come—

Sons of the South, 'tis near—

The "Signs of the Times" in their language dumb,

Foretell it, and ominous whispers hum,

Like sullen sounds of a distant drum,

In the pregnant atmosphere.

Sons of the South, aroused at last!

Sons of the South are few!

But your ranks grow longer and deeper fast,

And ye shall swell to an army vast,

And free from the wrongs of the North and Past,

The land that belongs to you.

(Continued Next Issue.)

# SOVIET-GERMAN PACT

## Questions Answered By H. Pollitt

(Published in British "Daily Worker," August 26.)

I HAVE been asked to reply to a number of questions arising out of the Soviet-German Pact of Non-Aggression. I gladly do so, but first of all would like to make a few preliminary remarks.

As I listened to the questions which were asked us on the telephone and in letters, and to conversations in the tube and at street corners, instinctively my mind went back to 1917 when the German government allowed Lenin to return to Russia. I thought of the barrage of lies that then appeared in the British and French press. I remembered the slanders and calumnies in the reactionary Russian press, the accusation that Lenin's return was meant to facilitate the destruction and dismemberment of Russia on behalf of German imperialism and to make it, in fact, a German colony.

I remember the outcry against Lenin's decision that in spite of the infamous character of the German demands, the proposals made at Brest-Litovsk must be accepted.

When the Franco-Soviet Pact was signed, in a different way of course, you had exactly the same type of misrepresentation. It represented they said, "the end of Russia as a force for Communism"—"the Comintern was finished."

When Russia entered the League of Nations the old, old story was

revived. This was the end of Communism and of the influence of the Soviet Union in world politics! "Russia had joined the thieves' kitchen and there was no further possibility of advance."

On each of these occasions the policy of the Soviet Union proved correct.

When I was a kid, living in a poverty-stricken home in Lancashire, I remember every Tuesday night an old man singing in the street, "You never miss your mother till she's gone." This was just the thought that occurred to me when I saw the panic and demoralisation which broke out among certain sections of people at the news of the opening of the Soviet-German negotiations.

But in this present case mother has not gone. She is still here, strong and powerful, growing in strength and more than ready and anxious to help guide a war-weary world into the harbor of peace.

I must also speak quite frankly and admit that some of the exhibitions of wavering and panic that I have witnessed this week filled me with disgust and disquiet. If these are the forces on whom we must rely to fight Chamberlain and fascism, I thought "God help us."

I tried to think what was at the bottom of all this and can only come to one conclusion, and that is

that many of those people who talked so glibly about an Anglo-Soviet Pact had been comforting themselves that the Soviet Union was so strong that she would willingly do all the fighting and sacrifice that was necessary, whilst the rest of us could sleep quietly in our beds without any extra effort of any kind being expected from us.

I believe that the main task of the Soviet Union, in the interests of her own people and of progressive mankind, is to make herself so strong that her territory can never be placed in danger. The better she can guarantee her security, the greater can be her service to peace and Socialism.

It never was, nor ever will be, in my judgment, the function of the Soviet Union to do the job of the working-class movement itself, either in the fascist or capitalist countries. And the sooner we all appreciate her power, the better we will carry on the struggle to achieve for ourselves a position of freedom equal to that of the Soviet Union.

#### ANGLO-SOVIET PACT COULD HAVE BEEN SIGNED

*Question 1.—Does the Soviet-German Pact mean that the Anglo-Soviet Pact is now impossible? Does this mean that Russia has pledged not to sign a pact with Poland, France and Britain?*

The Soviet-German pact does not mean that the Anglo-Soviet pact is now impossible. Just think what these two pacts would be. The Soviet-German Pact is a pact of

non-aggression between those two countries. The Anglo-Soviet Pact would, like the Soviet-French Pact, be a pact of mutual assistance against aggression. So would a Soviet-Polish Pact. There is nothing incompatible between promising not to attack a man and promising to help another man if he is attacked.

Let Chamberlain fly to Moscow with full powers given to him by Parliament that an Anglo-Soviet Pact against aggression, of full mutual reciprocity, should be signed, and you will speedily see the answer. Why doesn't Chamberlain go? Why did he go to Munich? He could fly to Munich to hatch a plot against the Soviet Union, but he does not go to Moscow to sign an Anglo-Soviet Pact that could save the world from war.

In answer to the latter part of the question I would refer the readers to question 2.

#### NO CHANGE IN FOREIGN POLICY

*Question 2.—Does this Pact mean a fundamental change of Russian policy leading to isolation and the abandonment of democracy and the Peace Front?*

Of course not! A statement of our Central Committee shows that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as defined by Comrade Stalin is unmistakably clear.

The essence of this is:

(1) Peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries.

(2) Peaceful, close and friendly

relations with all countries bordering on the Soviet Union.

(3) Support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

(4) Two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war, who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

At the same time the Soviet Union would not allow itself "to be drawn into conflict by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them."

The Soviet Pact of non-aggression is in accord with point 1. Point 2 was specifically made towards convincing Poland that the way was open for the establishment of such peaceful, close and friendly relations with the Soviet Union, that if concluded would undoubtedly place Poland in far greater security than Chamberlain's policy had succeeded in getting them into. Point 3 remains an essential part of Soviet policy, whatever agreements may be made in fulfilment of points 1 and 2.

The Soviet Union will never "withdraw into isolation." For, as Stalin indicated in the speech to which I have already referred, in the carrying out of its foreign policy the Soviet Union relies not only on its own growing economic, political and cultural might and the moral and political unity of the people, but also on the moral support of the working people of all countries who are vitally concerned

in the preservation of peace and the good sense of countries who have no interest in the violation of peace.

When Chamberlain first started the policy of non-intervention in Spain, it was the Soviet Union who rendered every possible form of moral and material aid to the Republicans and made it possible for them to put up such a magnificent resistance.

A resistance finally betrayed by Chamberlain. It is also due to Soviet help in the past and the destruction of the Anti-Comintern Pact now that the victory of China over Japan is assured.

#### RUSSIA HAS NOT DOUBLE- CROSSED

*Question 3.—Why has Russia double-crossed us?*

The Soviet Union has not double-crossed us. It has shown us how Chamberlain has been double-crossing us over the Anglo-French-Soviet Pact.

Isn't it curious how sometimes the language and habits of the ruling class of this country tends to be accepted in other circles? Some people talk of "double-crossing," just as some (who should have more taste and dignity) copy the short black coat, vest and striped trousers, that once supposed to be the hall-mark of the bourgeoisie. It arises, perhaps, because people think that every country is tarred with the same brush as our own, and that because our ruling class has become so adept at the art of double-cross, everybody else does it as well.

Of course no other word but

double-cross can describe the policy of the Chamberlain government, this combination of English gentlemen, who thought they could treat the Soviet Union as some third-rate power, and only have to waggle a little finger to make her fall into line. But they have made a mistake. They forget Britain's policy in Manchuria, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain and in China. A policy of duplicity which made Britain's name a byword of shame throughout the world and tended to isolate the people of this country.

They forget that other countries, perhaps, did not miss the significance of the double-cross which led to the surrender of the Czechoslovakian armaments, worth £160,000,000 to Hitler, and the handing over by Montagu Norman of the Czech gold to Hitler; or the double-cross when the government allowed the F.B.I. delegation to go to Germany to negotiate an agreement with the German F.B.I. at the very moment of the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

We could go on for a long time piling up examples of our government's double-crossing. For instance, the British people were double-crossed when the armaments manufacturers of this country were allowed to supply 20 per cent. of Japan's armaments and again this year, when the Emergency Powers Act has been introduced, precious British stocks of nickel, copper and shellack, all essential war materials, were sold to Germany.

Then the double-cross, of which

the real name is Munich; the double-cross of China, when the Japanese were allowed to subject British citizens to unheard of indignities, and when four Chinese citizens were handed over to the Japanese militarists.

The double-cross of British seamen going about their lawful occasions to Republican Spain, with the result that their dead bodies now lie rotting at the bottom of the Mediterranean.

And finally, the biggest double-cross of all, in relation to Poland and Danzig and to China.

No, comrades, the Soviet Union has not double-crossed the people of Britain. It has spiked the guns of the pro-fascist Chamberlain, the enemy of the people of Britain.

#### CHAMBERLAIN IS NOT CARING FOR PEOPLE

*Question 4.—The Russians are taking care of themselves. We must now do the same by supporting the Chamberlain government, whatever may have been its mistakes in the past.*

There could be no greater misunderstanding of the situation than there is revealed in this question.

In the first place the Chamberlain government is not taking care of the British people. On the contrary, our complaint against it is precisely that its policy is leading to the betrayal not only of the interests of international peace and of other peoples, but equally the interests of the British people.

On the other hand, the Soviet

government, by pursuing a policy which serves the interests of peace to the greatest extent of its power, including by means of this non-aggression pact, is promoting the interest of all peoples.

Since November 7, 1917, when the Bolsheviks won power and abolished for ever exploitation of man by man, their every act in domestic and foreign policy has been consciously directed, not only to the good of their own citizens but to advance the interests of all sections of progressive mankind.

I remember the howl of indignation when, on November 8, 1917, the news came through of Lenin's proposals for an immediate peace policy based on a general peace, no indemnities or annexations — the only proposals that could have avoided the Versailles Treaty and everything that has followed from it.

No, comrades, the Soviet-German Pact of Non-Aggression is taking as much care of you as it is meant to take of the Soviet and German people. Not care of Hitler, mark you, but of the German people — a very different thing.

If an Anglo-Soviet Pact were signed tomorrow, that Pact would not be directed against the German people — it would be directed against acts of aggression.

#### VICTORY OVER FASCISM

*Question 5.—Is not this pact a sign that fascism and Communism are similar? Isn't it a betrayal of what the Soviet Union stands for?*

On the contrary, this pact rep-

resents the victory of Communism over fascism. It represents the capitulation of Hitler, the arch-enemy of Communism, who openly proclaimed as his aim the destruction of Bolshevism, and who now has been forced to recognise that he can never achieve this goal.

I have no method of communication with Ernst Thaelmann, but I believe that this heroic fighter against fascism would be delighted to know that the dictator who has imprisoned him for so many years, believing that by doing so he has silenced him for ever, has capitulated to Stalin. Thaelmann will understand the political and psychological effect on the German people — how it will strengthen the mass opposition to Hitler within Germany, and increase the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union.

#### CABINET SABOTAGED TALKS

*Question 6.—How long have the Russian-German talks been going on? Why did the Russians choose this moment, just before Poland is to be attacked?*

I have not the slightest idea how long the talks have been going on, and care less. I am only happy to know that the Soviet Union is strong enough to have been able to achieve the capitulation of its arch-enemies as evidenced in the signing of the Soviet-German Pact.

I do know, however, that from the moment the Chamberlain government has been in power, its policy has been leading to a clash between the Soviet Union and Germany and

that it has worked night and day to delay and sabotage the Anglo-Soviet negotiations, in the hope that it would be able to bring about a conference of certain powers that would involve the exclusion of the Soviet Union.

The notion behind this question shows an extraordinary confusion of the facts. The fact is that the Soviet Union has during all these months been offering a Peace Pact which would have included the full defence of Poland against attack. It was Britain and Poland who have refused this. It is this refusal which has placed Poland in danger, not the signing of the non-aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Germany.

#### BIG EFFECT ON WORLD OPINION

*Question 8.—Why does the Soviet Union place any value in Hitler's word or pledge?*

We may be sure that the Bolsheviks, who have had such experience in world politics since 1917 as has fallen to no other nation, know exactly the value or otherwise that can be attached to Hitler's word.

The importance of the pact is not whether Hitler may or may not intend to carry it out, but the effect on world opinion, as well as on the people of Germany, that the fascist rulers have been compelled to sign such a pact.

#### WHO HAS BEEN LET DOWN?

*Question 8.—The Russians have let us down the same as they did in 1917.*

Yes, we know this was a cry that went up in the trenches in France, backed by British and French imperialism, but I also know that when British and French boys were fighting to crush the Germans, the British, French and German High Commands were sending their soldiers to fight side by side against the Russians, although they were still killing each other in France.

When the Russian workers took power in 1917, they brought about a position where, for the first time in history, the workers and peasants came to power and have since solved the problems of poverty and unemployment, which all capitalists can never solve.

The Russian Revolution also struck a terrific blow at the imperialist aims of both sides involved in the old world war. They exposed the secret treaties, which revealed how the British and French peoples had been deceived by their rulers, and how their lives were being sacrificed for aims of aggression and annexation.

So far from letting the British and French workers down in 1917, they gave the greatest assistance to the people of both countries, as they did to the toiling masses of the whole world.

No, comrades, it was your own rulers that let you down in the last war, and it is those rulers which have today brought you into your present position. To those who asked this question, it may be well to remind them of the biblical utterances of casting out the mote

from their own eyes before they condemn others.

#### POLAND NOT DESERTED

*Question 9.—Why has Russia deserted Poland?*

Russia has not deserted Poland. A Pact of Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Poland has been open for a decade. But the Poles, with the full assistance of the British ruling class, have not had the slightest hesitation in telling the world that they do not want to be defended by the Russians. In fact it has been this very statement of the Polish government that they would not allow the Soviet defence forces to defend Polish independence on Polish territory that has been used by Chamberlain as an alibi for not being able to accept some of the proposals the Soviet government has placed before them.

Anyhow, there is an easy way to test this statement. Warsaw is not

far from Moscow. Let Beck go and sign a pact of mutual assistance. Let Poland end its talk that it would prefer to be over-run by Nazis than defended by the Russians.

#### BULWARK OF STRENGTH

Let me say in conclusion that, in the midst of the wavering and confusion which has been created as much by the dastardly attitude of the "Daily Herald" as by anything else, the members of our Party have once again shown themselves a real bulwark of strength. They saw the main issue, and they got to work, and have carried on that work in a magnificent way.

The Communist Party will continue in this spirit, because it knows that its policy of defence alone can help save the people of Britain from the dangers that confront it so long as the Chamberlain government remains in power.

## THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

R. Dixon

**T**WENTY-FIVE years after the outbreak of the world imperialist war of 1914-18, Europe is again being torn and devastated by a war involving the British, French and Polish imperialists on the one hand and German fascism on the other.

The war is an imperialist war and the burning question of the moment

is: what must be the attitude of the working-class movement towards the war?

Lenin regarded war as "the continuation of the politics of the given interested powers—and the various classes within these countries—at a given time." It is from this standpoint that we must consider the

present war.

It has become fashionable for the capitalist press to suggest that Britain is waging war to uphold a pledge given to Poland to come to her assistance in the event of aggression. The issue we are concerned with is: Why the pledge was given. It should be perfectly clear to anyone that the British imperialists did not pledge their Empire to defend Poland in order to prove to the world that they could be relied upon to honor their word, even though 12 months ago they betrayed Czechoslovakia and dragged Britain's name in the mire. Nor did they pledge themselves to come to the aid of Poland out of sympathy for the Poles or love of peace. The explanation for Britain's sudden decision to guarantee Poland is that the expansion of German fascism in eastern and southern Europe was a threat to the interests of British imperialism. If Poland were to go the same way as Czechoslovakia, then the Balkans would be at Hitler's feet and immediately beyond was the Near East and then India, the very heart of the British colonial Empire. Chamberlain suddenly realised that the anti-Comintern Pact, which had his blessing in the first place, was directed not so much at Soviet Russia as at the British Empire. The British and French capitalists understood that they must call a halt to the expansionist plans of Hitler, or sink into the position of secondary powers denuded of colonies. Hence the guarantee to Poland.

The working-class movement is also interested in calling a halt to fascist aggression, in bringing about the defeat and destruction of German fascism.

The war that has broken out in Europe is an extension of the imperialist war which has devastated China and also Spain for more than two years. It is the continuation of those politics which led to the annexation of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, Albania and whole parts of China.

In this war the working-class movement has already taken a definite stand. We supported China against Japan. We supported Republican Spain against Franco, Mussolini and Hitler. We declared ourselves on the side of Austria, Czechoslovakia and other victims of fascism. And we worked day in and day out to establish a collective front against aggression. We set ourselves the task, as Dimitrov put it at the 7th World Congress of the C.I., to deliver the main blow at German fascism, the chief instigator of war, and the continuation of this policy calls for support for the war against Nazism.

The defeat and destruction of German fascism should, if it does not result in proletarian revolution, at least free and restore the German working-class movement and thereby create the conditions for great working-class advance throughout the world.

Thus, from two totally different angles and for fundamentally different reasons, the British and French

imperialists on the one hand and the working class in these countries on the other, support the war against German fascism. Victory for the British-French-Polish alliance in this war will almost inevitably rebound to the advantage of the international labor movement. Victory for German fascism will lead to the crushing of the working-class movement in all western Europe and usher in a long period of the blackest reaction.

In our ranks and amongst our supporters there are those who have doubts as to the correctness of this policy, people who believe that because of the imperialist character of the war that our slogans should be the same as those raised by the Bolsheviks during the last imperialist war, namely, "transform the imperialist war into civil war." Here we have in mind those who are quite sincere in their doubts, as distinct from the Trotskyists who raise the slogan, "transform the imperialist war into civil war" with the object of helping German fascism to victory.

These doubts are influenced very largely by the decision of Soviet Russia to enter into a non-aggression pact with Germany and remain neutral in a European war, for the present at any rate. The question is raised: because of this decision by the Soviet Union, should the working class in the imperialist countries concerned in the war, not come out against their own ruling class? This view does not take into consideration the fact that the responsibility for

the failure to achieve a British-French-Soviet agreement against aggression does not rest with the Soviet Union but with the British and French governments. The Chamberlain government did not want an agreement with Soviet Russia. It was using the negotiations to try and strike a bargain with Hitler, which had it been concluded would have resulted in the isolation of the Soviet Union, even as at Munich. It was only when it became clear that an agreement with Britain and France was out of the question, when the reactionary policy of the British and French governments was fully revealed, only then did the Soviet Union accept the German proposals to negotiate a non-aggression pact.

From the standpoint of Soviet Russia, the agreement with Germany would limit the scope of the war, about to break out, to a few Powers. It determined the neutrality of Japan and Franco Spain, in the initial stages of the war at any rate; it greatly influenced Mussolini's decision and the neutrality of a number of the Balkan States. For the time being, therefore, the war is limited to Britain, France and Poland against Germany, and this is one of the outstanding results of the policy pursued by Soviet Russia.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union did all in its power to establish a collective peace front and would unhesitatingly have entered it had Chamberlain and Daladier not torpedoed the scheme and opened the flood-gates of war.

And while the Soviet Union as a great working-class power, was striving to establish a system of collective security, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries were working to build a peace front with Soviet Russia. We declared again and again that the defeat of the Chamberlain and Menzies governments and the ending of the policy of appeasement, was a necessary condition for a peace pact with Soviet Russia and for checking fascist aggression. Because we did not accomplish our aims of establishing a world front against aggression, the object of which was to facilitate the downfall of German fascism, does it mean that now war has broken out we should turn from the anti-fascist struggle? After supporting the victims of fascist aggression in the past and demanding of the British and French governments that they stand against aggression, should we, now that Poland is marked out as the next victim of Hitlerism and is being carved up, and now that the British and French imperialists have taken a stand because their interests are threatened, should we suddenly turn our backs on everything we advocated before, reject the slogan of collective action against fascism and switch to the slogan "transform the imperialist war into civil war"?

No one, more than Lenin, warned the revolutionary parties against the mechanical transference of slogans which in one set of circumstances and conditions were correct and necessary, to another set of circumstances and conditions, in which they

are already out-moded by the development of the class struggle. He emphasised that slogans once true and correct in new conditions may serve only reactionary ends.

The slogan "transform the imperialist war into civil war" which had such revolutionary content during the imperialist war of 1914-18, if raised in the circumstances of today, would prove reactionary, as it would serve the ends of German fascism.

Because the present war is an imperialist war, it does not mean that the circumstances are the same as in the first imperialist war of 1914-18. At the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in March of this year, Manuilsky, one of the leaders of the Communist International, said:

"The second imperialist war is developing in a condition which differs from that of the first imperialist war, the war of 1914-18. Unlike 1914-18, the world today is divided into two diametrically opposed systems; the world of capitalism and the world of socialism. Now there are not only imperialist States, but imperialist States which have established a fascist regime, which are trying to impose this regime on other nations by force of arms, and which are acting as instigators of wars of plunder."

In developing this point, Manuilsky went on to say that in the new circumstances "the working people will support the just war waged by any people against the imperialist marauders for its national independence. They will support a war that

speeds the defeat of world reaction, and of its shock troops—Germany, Japan and Italy."

There is a unity of interests between the working class of the British Empire, France and Poland and of Germany in the struggle to destroy German fascism. For the working class of Britain, France and Poland, the aim must be to defeat Hitlerism and free the working class of Germany from the scourge of fascism. At the same time, they must insist irrevocably that there shall be no annexation of German territory, no new Versailles Treaty and that the peoples of Austria and Czechoslovakia will obtain their freedom.

In this war, the German Communist Party will be doing all in its power to bring about the defeat and downfall of Hitlerism. It will raise the slogan, "transform the imperialist war into civil war." Hence the working class of the British Empire, France, Poland and of Germany are working to one end, the destruction of German fascism.

If the French Communist Party instead of working for the defeat of Hitlerism, were to raise the slogan, "transform the imperialist war into civil war," it would mean, as Lenin stressed so often, that it would work to bring about the military defeat of its own government and armies in the imperialist war. If it were successful in this and the French army was defeated, then the victory of Hitler would be assured. Poland, Rumania, Hungary and other Balkan States would be brought under

the complete domination of Nazism; France and Britain would be subjugated and the working-class movement destroyed, for Hitler would not permit the establishment of a Soviet government in France or Britain. In this event the working class of Europe would be subjected to the most brutal repression and lie, bound hand and foot, under the heel of German fascism for decades to come.

The immediate task before the Communist Party and the working-class movement is to facilitate in every way the defeat and destruction of German fascism, to free the German working class from fascism, and to resist to the limit any imperialist annexationist aims on the part of their own governments. Should the working class of Germany succeed in overthrowing fascism and throwing of the yoke of capitalism, and should the British and French Imperialists intervene to overthrow the working-class rule, we would do all in our power to prevent the intervention of our imperialists in Germany; we would exert every effort to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism in our own countries.

The Communist Party has always insisted that war is inseparable from capitalism and that the final abolition of war will be achieved only with the overthrow of capitalism. In our view, there can only be one end to this war that would be of advantage to the working class and all oppressed peoples and that is the establishment of socialism in a number of countries of western Europe, if



not throughout the world. If we do not approach the achievement of socialism, now that war has broken out in Europe, by the more direct path taken by Lenin and the Bolsheviks during the last war, it does not mean that we have turned from this objective but that the circumstances of the class struggle in 1939 have forced us to take a more devious path. Only those who are blinded by slogans belonging to a period now past will fail to realise this.

The support of a war to destroy German fascism must not, however, be confused with support for the Chamberlain and Menzies governments, or renunciation of the class struggle. It must be clearly understood that whereas the working class support this war, in order to deal a knock-out blow to Nazism and to help free the German working-class movement, thereby helping to advance the cause of socialism, the British and French imperialists are in the war for reactionary purposes, to preserve their domination in Europe, to maintain their hold over their vast colonial Empire.

If the working class, which alone is progressive in this war, were to renounce the class struggle and declare itself united with the capitalists in the prosecution of the war, it would betray its own interests and become the hopeless tool of black reaction.

When the Labor Parties, both of Britain and Australia, unequivocally take the side of the imperialists in this war, making it next to

impossible to distinguish between their policy and the policy of the reactionary governments, they are betraying the working class to capitalism.

Because war is a continuation of politics of the various classes and because the working class has been gathering together its forces for the struggle against fascism, both within and without of the country, now that war has broken out, this struggle, far from being relinquished as the Labor Party leaders would like, must be intensified. If before the war we regarded the defeat of the Menzies government, the seat of reaction in Australia, as the most important immediate task of the labor movement, then that task today is doubly important.

The present government which claims the responsibility to organise and lead this country in a war to destroy German fascism, is a friend of fascism, even as the Chamberlain government in Britain is. It is well known that Mr. Menzies, not so long ago, after returning from a visit to Germany, praised the rule of Hitler and expressed a yearning to have the same power and authority in Australia. The attacks of the Federal government on democratic rights, the closing down of Station 2KY, the use of the Transport Workers' Act against the waterside workers and seamen, as well as other reactionary steps, need no reiteration here.

It is not surprising that now, upon the outbreak of war, the Menzies Cabinet, without even consulting Parliament, proceeded, by regulation,

to limit the freedom of the people and of organisations, and following this, introduced legislation into Parliament under the high-sounding name of "National Security Act," which gives it powers so complete that the country can be placed under dictatorship at any time.

We must ask: can a government which so openly sympathises with fascism, which on every pretext, no matter how flimsy, has resorted to fascist measures to limit the people's freedom, and which time and again has displayed its hostility to the working-class movement, can such a government as this be given the confidence and support of the Australian people in this war?

The needs of the anti-fascist struggle itself demands that the working class, instead of declaring a condition of class peace, instead of uniting with this government, or adopting even the benevolent co-operation *a la* the Labor Party leaders, should prosecute the class struggle to the limit, with the object of bringing about the defeat of Menzies and the removal of his government from office.

The election of a labor government which, at the moment, is the logical alternative to the present Federal government, could only be regarded as a stage in the struggle of the working class against reaction. A labor government under the existing leadership, at any rate, would not solve the basic problems arising from the war, nor take the necessary measures to deal with reaction in Australia, to defend democracy and

the living standards of the masses. At best it would create improved conditions in which to organise the resistance of the people to reaction. With the further development of the anti-fascist struggle, however, and the drawing into this movement of farmers and middle classes, the way could be cleared for the creation of a people's front government based upon a great movement of the people.

The aims of the anti-fascist struggle, in the present situation then, should be: to defeat the Menzies government and secure the election of a Labor government; to further develop the people's movement to the point where a government of the people's front becomes possible.

This policy is by no means a fantastic one. The war will bring about vast economic and political changes, which is going to exert an extraordinary influence on the lives of the people. So far as Australia is concerned, our remoteness from the centre of conflict will preserve us to some extent from the main blows and shocks of the war—that is, providing Japan remains neutral. At the moment, the Australian capitalists are joyously contemplating the enormous profits to be made out of supplying Britain and France with foodstuffs, raw materials and the means to wage war.

It is too early to effectively estimate the influence of the war on Australian economy and social life. This much is certain, however, that in Europe, the economic life of the

countries involved in the war, as well as other countries, will be disarranged and enormous destruction of productive forces will take place. The financial position of all the powers involved is uncertain and inflation will be inevitable if the war is prolonged. The stability of governments is also uncertain. That of Poland seems likely to be ejected from the country. If a revolutionary situation does not now exist in Europe, it will develop as the war continues and the misery and suffering of the masses increase.

Twelve thousand miles will certainly reduce the effects of the economic and political earthquakes in Europe, but only reduce them. In Australia, there is a complete lack of enthusiasm for the war, or of the spurious patriotism so marked at the beginning of the war of 1914-18. In place of enthusiasm, there is bitterness, distrust, sullenness — and these moods can quickly be transformed into hatred of the capitalist system which has caused this war, and of the governments who failed to take the necessary steps to establish a peace front, especially with Soviet Russia, to prevent the outbreak of the war.

The progress of the war will see ever-increasing in-roads into the conditions of the masses, and as poverty grows amongst the people, the profits of sections of the capitalists will increase.

Very significant is the spontaneous opposition from every quarter to profiteering. The government was forced to take immediate action to restrict those "patriotic" Australian capitalists who at the moment of the outbreak of war seized the opportunity to raise prices and further enrich themselves at the expense of the country's peril. It seems certain that with the progress of the war profits will increase, that prices will rise, the currency will depreciate and the conditions of the masses will be worsened.

This war will impose suffering more terrible and burdens far greater upon the people than the last war, and as a consequence, revolutionary conditions may develop more rapidly than during the last war, and continue as the last post war period showed, for a long time after peace had been concluded.

It is in these circumstances that the class struggle must be developed, that we fight to ensure the victory of a labor government, the development of the people's front and work for the establishment of a people's front government.

Ahead of us is a long period of the most intense class struggle. There must be no shirking, or baulking at the issues. We inscribe on our banner the slogans of the people's front, of defeating fascism. And in the process of defeating fascism, there will be created the conditions for the victory of socialism.

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