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The WHITE MAN BEARS HIS BURDEN

THE "white man's burden" is the capitalist name for what is regarded as his "civilising" task in the less developed countries—Africa, India, China, and the Pacific Islands. In reality his invasion of these countries is an economic necessity, forced upon the imperialist powers by the need for cheaper raw materials, markets for home goods, and spheres for capital investment. As such, imperialism, whether British, French, Japanese, or American, is ruthless.

One fully considered example of Britain's "civilising" role in China will suffice to make the bloodiness of imperialist penetration, often described as "peaceful," plain. But British imperialism does not differ materially from any other. China is not a land of pagodas, of dancing girls, vases, fans and of luxury; it is a country with immense half-starved, hard-worked, ill-clad masses, struggling to produce wealth for the great "white gods" and their own rentiers. Its ports are crowded with these toiling poor, who live in fear of starvation and death, and whose protests are met by brutal suppression. It is not to keep the coast and rivers of China warm that the gun-boats of the robber powers are always prowling there. The guns are used to "protect the interests" of the vultures, who cry that theirs is a "civilising" mission, not an economic invasion which stops at nothing.

At Wanh sien, a little trading town far up the Yang-tse, there occurred a series of events some of which have been made the basis of Tretiakov's play, "Roar China." The British gun-boat "Chinon" lay in the river. It had been used as a trading office and the representative of American capital, Mr. Ashley, was returning to the shore. A quarrel arose with the boatman, with the result that the boat was overturned and Ashley was drowned. The town was ordered to produce the "murderer," or two of his fellow-workers, within two days; the alternative was bombardment. The two workers were executed to an imperialist accompaniment. The incident closed, except in the minds of the workers.

In the play, which cannot be called fiction, Tretiakov has presented China's problems with outstanding skill. He has shown the role of imperialism, its economic basis and its ruthlessness; he has demonstrated the part played by the missionary. He has shown how the Chinese masses are to overcome their difficulties by revolution, by following the example of the "people over there" in the North-west.

In September, 1926, during the national movement against the imperialists, Wanh sien was razed by British shells. In order to transport troops down the river to Hanchow, one of the Chinese armies commandeered two British merchantmen. An expedition of an armed and disguised merchantman and two gun-boats arrived at the town, engaged the two stolen vessels, and recaptured them with the loss of the commander, two lieutenants and four ratings, as well as thirteen wounded. The British officers of the merchantmen were safe. The gun-boats then engaged, the one in bombarding the army on the bank, the other in destroying the town. As a result five thousand Chinese were killed and as many wounded. The status of the killed was not given in detail.

After such inglorious "civilising" activity, the British Admiralty had the temerity to send this cable:

"Deeply regret loss of valuable lives and casualties at Wanh sien. Note the traditional gallantry of the service was fully sustained by all participating in hazardous expedition. Desire warm appreciation be conveyed to officers and ratings concerned."

The "Argus" of September 15, hails the event as "Epic in Naval History." The Chinese masses have remembered it; they have hundreds of such acts to remind them of the "Christianising effects" of imperialist robbery.

As a result of the Wanh sien affair and others, the powers were able to stifle the campaign against them. By forcing extra-territoriality measures on the corrupt Chinese national government they have been put outside the pale of Chinese law, having decided for themselves "that China was not yet able to deal with foreigners according to her own laws." (Report of Extra-territoriality Commission, September, 1926.)

BRITISH IMPERIALISM then is bloody; very bloody. In 1926 a Belgian proposal to the League of Nations to permit the use of forced labour in private enterprises in mandated territories met with great opposition, especially from the "moral" British delegates.

But in reality, conditions in the African colonies are a revelation of the hypocrisy of British imperialism. There the native populations have been ruthlessly exploited. The population of British Sudan has been reduced to half. Reserve and compound systems have robbed the natives of the fertile lands on which they now toil for the robber "whites." Parents hire children to the great, kind white man at the rate of a heifer per year. Mothers work for ten shillings a month. The infant mortality rate is fifty per cent., and the surviving infants grow up in an environment of misery, starvation and want.

The mission stations report with faithful consistency that the native does not make a good worker, that he is lazy. Nevertheless, the profits of the Unilever soap and margarine combine are largely derived from the efforts of the natives of British Nigeria, where six women who dared to demonstrate against the appalling slavery in which they were enmeshed, slavery none the less because ten shillings is handed out for each month's efforts, were shot dead by the Government police on December 14, 1929. Two days later, nineteen women were shot by the troops for the same offence.

In 1930 the Chief Medical Officer reported of the Kenyan natives:—

"In general they are naked, poor, illiterate, uncultured, entirely without common things like soap, beds, tables, chairs, etc., which are usually believed to be necessary for a comfortable life. Their huts are infested with worms and other parasites, so much so that it has been said that the inhabitants of some areas do not know what 'health' means. In general between 30 and 80 per cent. of them have malaria."

The Chinese workers and peasants are finding in revolution the way of ridding themselves of the foreign yoke. Revolutionary struggles develop in many countries. Javanese natives seize a Dutch cruiser in protest against wage cuts. The capitalist press is aghast. It even suggests timidly that the "exemplary" killing of eighteen of the crew is a little "too violent." But the masses see in the Javanese revolt, in the countless revolts against oppression in all capitalist countries the signs of developing mass consciousness which will lead to the ending of all oppression.



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The Australian Situation

IT IS THE FASHION TO acclaim that Australia has touched "bottom," in the economic crisis, and that it is now on the royal road to recovery. But, when faced with the realities of the crisis, prosperity palaver (only intended to deceive the workers and toiling farmers) quickly evaporates. It is true that with the aid of good seasons, the exchange position, and a 25 per cent. wage reduction (imposed on the workers by the "Labour" Governments, assisted by the Trade Union Bureaucracy), Australian Capitalism has managed to keep going with comparatively little organised resistance.

So we read in the financial supplement of the "Argus," 26.1.33:

"It is widely recognised that nothing but increasing vigilance will convert what is little more than a temporary immunity from catastrophe into financial security."

This "vigilance" must be directed toward lowering the cost of Government administration and the cost of production in industry. Government budgets are to be balanced by a continuation and intensification of the attacks on old age, and invalid pensions, on maternity allowances, on the unemployed through reductions in the dole by the operation of the Permissible Income Regulations, etc.; on workers in industry by taxation, and by the dismissal of Government employees. In industry, costs will be reduced by further wage-cuts, by speeding-up and by further unemployment. In other words, only by further attacks on the working class can the "temporary immunity from catastrophe" be maintained.

A serious analysis of the economic position reveals the weakness of capitalism in Australia. For example, wool-growing, Australia's basic industry, is in a parlous condition. The raising of the rate of exchange for New Zealand, South Africa's abandonment of the gold standard, and

the worsening of the position of the Canadian dollar all affect Australia's export industries, and allow these countries to compete with Australia on more favorable terms than hitherto. Due to the fall of both wheat and wool prices, a record year for wool and almost a record for wheat will yield a lower return. The butter and meat export trades are also affected by low world prices. Australian foreign trade declined from £144 million sterling in 1930-31 to £127 million sterling in 1931-32.

Despite reductions in Government deficits, there has been a rapid growth of short-term indebtedness to the banks in Australia and London to the high figure of £86 million. To-day the main outlet for money is in financing Governments, and this must lead to increased budgetary difficulties in the future.

AUSTRALIA'S CAPITALIST attack on the working class has been met with a growing resistance. Strike struggles have developed in the mining industry (Wonthaggi, Collinsville), textile industry (Victoria and Tasmania), meat industry (Sydney and Victoria), clothing industry (Victoria), and among the fruit pickers in the cherry orchards at Young, N.S.W. Two struggles have taken place in the glass industry in Sydney; a series of smaller struggles has occurred among construction workers (Wyangala Dam, Maitland, Mt. Coolan, etc.), wool and basil workers (Sydney), metal workers (Toowoomba), timber workers (Cardwell, Qld.), and on a large number of relief jobs. The beginning of the year also witnessed the successful conclusion of a long-drawn-out struggle of the Dobbyn miners, which had lasted over six months.

The strike struggles, however, provide only one part of the evidence of the extent of the growth of unrest in the ranks of the working class. The mass participation in demonstrations secured by Lang and Garden when they voiced

the correct cry, "Against the capitalist offensive," to mislead the workers, the successful one-day strikes organised in support of the unemployed, the development of agitation for general strike which forced the union leaders to call the A.C.T.U. (only to crush the agitation and thus assist Capitalism), the stifled movements of shearers, miners, textile workers (N.S.W.), the growing demand for action on the waterfront and the successful agitation against the dismissal of married school teachers, are all further evidences of growing radicalisation as a result of the offensive of the capitalist.

New methods have been used in all these struggles. The tactics of the Red International of Labour Unions put forward by the Minority Movement (the Australian section of the R.I.L.U.) have been used even if imperfectly. Growing distrust and resistance to the class collaboration policy of the Trade Union bureaucrats has been the feature of the workers' struggle. The efforts to build the Minority Movement have met with considerable success; but, nevertheless, the Australian workers are only beginning to forge the correct weapons for struggle.

THERE IS A vast amount of discontent which has been made manifest in eviction fights where the solidarity of the workers is clearly shown, in struggles against work for sustenance, etc., but much of the unrest has found no organised mass expression.

The deepening crisis has not only forced the workers to struggle against the oppression of the capitalists, but the smaller farmers are rapidly realising themselves to belong to the exploited class, and are uniting for action in their own interests. In Western Australia the dairy farmers secured a partial victory by strike action, and the wheat farmers engaged in a strike which was prevented from growing to victory through the betrayal of the opportunist leadership of the wheat growers' union. Group settlers in the south-west of W.A. are actively engaged in a campaign against the Agricultural Bank for the right to sell their own produce.

The "catastrophe" so much feared by Austrian capitalism implies a great social upheaval. Capitalist "vigilance," besides providing for economies at the expense of the working class, has met the developing revolutionary struggle of all oppressed toilers in very definite fashion. It anticipates further struggle and prepares to combat or avert it with grim determination.

Legislation has been passed, the Amended Crimes Act, 1932, under which it is made possible to "legally" do anything whatever to militant working-class organisations and to militant workers. The police forces are strengthened in Victoria, in spite of the record low crime level last year. Political squads of police are formed; these have been active, for example, at the

November 7th Soviet anniversary demonstration in Melbourne, 1932; in W.A., where the Communist party was attacked last year. Open-air meetings are continually interfered with. The military machine is strengthened, partly in preparation for imperialist war (as seen by the fortification of Darwin), and partly in anticipation of "internal trouble." Mr. Latham was able to assure the frightened Federal Parliament that Australia's military preparedness was very adequate.

The militia is boosted; its troops are trained in street fighting. Fascist organisations, such as the Silent Knights and the New Guard, have risen among the petit-bourgeoisie. They receive the "moral" support of the governments, which do nothing to suppress them. They prepare feverishly to preserve "law and order" by force, and declare that all Communists (i.e., militants) shall be ousted.

MORE SUBTLE FORMS of hindering the organised struggle are used. These are most potent weapons, especially among those toilers whose discontent has as yet had no organised expression. The press is used to discredit militant action, not only in Australia, but the world over. The workers are kept in ignorance of the struggles of workers in other capitalistic countries. Attempts are made to eliminate any sources of direct information about the U.S.S.R. (the dismissal of Mullins, of Beatrice Taylor, and the banning of the Five Year Plan film).

The smaller farmers are misled in organisations (the Primary Producers' League, etc.) which are really controlled by the big farmers and the banks.

The organised struggles of the workers are diverted by the leadership of the official Labour parties and the treachery of the Trade Union Bureaucracy. The so-called working-class leaders resort to more and more "radical" talking which is exposed by their actions. Due to the leftward swing of the masses in N.S.W. the Lang Plan is now being abandoned and a new left plan for Socialism is being put forward. But these socialisers put forward only capitalist solutions for the crisis, such as Socialism without revolutionary overthrow of the system, and all the fake currency nostrums.

The economic crisis is deepening; the capitalist class will press on in its attack on the working class in order to find a capitalist way out. To prevent this is the task of the Labour Movement. Capitalism's manoeuvres of wage-cuts, war, and fascism must be defeated. And they can be defeated if the broadest possible united front of all oppressed elements is organised to struggle. By struggle, in the full and correct sense of that term, the Australian working class will be finally victorious.

E. M. HIGGINS, M.A. (Oxon.).

JAPAN AND CHINA

LENIN, IN HIS WORK, "IMPERIALISM," 1917, wrote: "While Capitalism remains, the excess of capital is not put aside to raise the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decrease of profits for the capitalists: but it is used to increase those profits by the export of capital abroad to the backward countries. There the profits are generally higher, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively small, wages are low, raw materials are cheap. The possibility of the export of capital is created by the entry of numerous backward countries into international capitalist life: the most important railway lines are either built or being built there: the elementary conditions for industrial development are in existence, etc."

CERTAIN VERY DEFINITE methods alone are available for capitalism to overcome its crises. These are, firstly, to reduce production and production costs (meaning wage-cuts and unemployment); secondly, to exploit existing markets to the utmost (leading to tariff wars); and thirdly, to find new markets, if necessary taking those of other powers (by tariffs and war). The finding of new markets and the re-division of colonies for supply of raw materials had become difficult at the beginning of this century. This development led to the outbreak of large-scale imperialist war.

The new division of the world which resulted after 1918 has proved to be as incapable as the old to solve capitalist contradictions; everywhere the inter-imperialist and class struggles intensify.

Japan, sharing the common fate, has been able to seize part of the only remaining field for (doubtfully) profitable capital investment.

JAPAN IS AN INDUSTRIAL-agricultural country in which industry has been rapidly developed at the expense of less profitable agriculture. Capital investments have increased from 1.983 million yen in 1913 to 13.161 in 1928. In this process of capitalist development the workers and peasants have been shamelessly and crushingly exploited. Wages are one-third those of European workers: fifty per cent. of workers are women, paid half the rates of men; the colonial workers and those in the many Japanese factories in China get half the rates of the home workers. (1)

Japan's penetration of China is well advanced. This process, like all imperialist penetration, has been a bloody one. Japan has fought many wars in the past forty years, and in consequence she has a military clique of considerable power. Her constitution is naturally semi-feudal. There is now a great concentration of capital in the hands of a very few large trusts and concerns. These are "interwoven with the feudal clique in which the power of the bureaucracy, military landlords and financial oligarchy is supreme." (2)

The workers in industry, and the agricultural workers, are destitute. They are revolting in an ever-increasingly organised manner. In the colonies, especially Korea and Formosa, there are intense national movements of the workers and peasants. Japan is thus faced with impending revolution.

AS A SPHERE OF investment China affords Japan a vast and little exploited field. The total interests of Japanese capital in China amount to £250,000,000. This is controlled mainly by monopoly groups in textile, mineral, railway, agricultural, forestry, manufacturing and banking concerns. As example, Japan controls 45 per cent. of the total cotton goods output of China.

As a source of raw materials China is indispensable to Japan in her contest with the other powers. Japan is poor in iron, coal, oil, metals, wool, timber and cotton. She imports a great part of China's raw material output.

As a market China is very important to Japan, whose exports to China are valued at 532 million yen a year. China absorbs a large proportion of Japan's light goods, and, with increasing internal industrialisation, an increasingly important proportion of heavy goods.

To sum up: "Thus, China represents for Japanese imperialism both an important market for the export of Japanese capital, a source of raw materials and a market for the sale of industrial products. Japanese capitalism has deeply entrenched itself in the economic life of China; it virtually controls a large part of the Chinese textile industry; it grips China in the tentacles of its powerful banks and sucks out its tremendous riches." (3)

JAPAN'S SPECIAL interest in Manchuria lies in the facts that it is a country close to her, of twice her own area, half her own population, at present largely agricultural and only half developed in that; a country of vast food, mineral, oil, wool and timber resources in which many railways are built, 40 per cent. being

under Japan's direct control, and in which the building of more railways will not only provide fields for investment, but is vital for its preparation as a military base. In addition, Manchuria has abundant supplies of cheap labour power and is a more than convenient immigration field for dispossessed peasants and revolutionary workers from home and the colonies. By 1932, 1,200,000 Koreans and 200,000 Japanese had migrated to Manchuria; 200,000 Koreans are deprived of their land yearly, and in Japan itself the number is still greater; the workless are sent away from the revolutionising influences at home to be used in Manchuria.

Manchuria has increased in economic importance to Japan at the relative expense of the rest of China. Her exports to Japan have increased fivefold since 1913; those of China have only trebled.

Her economic subjection is essential to Japan, who, however, can retain her in the face of U.S.A. only if she is made into a military base. Japan's designs in Asia are openly announced; she was forced to relieve her internal condition, and to do this had to go to war; and, having taken Manchuria, she has to entrench herself against probable American attack. Then, from this more secure base, she will be able to strike at Siberia to the north, Mongolia to the east, and China to the south.

THE TOTAL investments and loans held by each power in China are:—Japan, 2,321 million yen; England, 1,893 million yen; U.S.A., 327 million; and France, 203 million.

France is too isolated from China to have aspirations of any magnitude there. England is weakening in China; her naval power cannot assure her of victory from a conflict in the Pacific, although she prepares for struggle there, and her internal affairs keep her capitalists occupied at home. Japan's Chinese interests are absolutely vital to her. In direct opposition to Japan's interests are those of U.S.A., which dreams of control of the Pacific and bordering lands. American influence in China is already great; she is gaining control of railways and financing the building of new lines, especially in Manchuria; she has a strangle-hold on the developing civil aviation service, on road-construction and the motor trades; her banks are established with a network of branches, and she controls the Kuomintang, the Nanking Chinese National Government. At American behest, this government, in 1931, declared all the trade agreements with Japan off and imposed new and heavier tariffs.

As an example of the complexity of the capitalist world, it is an amazing fact that, while Japan and America are bitter rivals in the Pacific and its bordering lands, America absorbs 40 per cent. of Japan's exports.

IN ORDER TO ESCAPE from internal crisis; in order to divert the attention of its awakening exploited; in order to preserve its interests in China against the ever-increasing rivalry of U.S.A., and against the Chinese Revolution, Japanese capitalism was forced to attack Manchuria.

Internally Japan's position was very desperate. She had been compelled to abandon the gold standard in 1931; of her former 1,163 banks, 380 had failed altogether; industry was restricted 40-50 per cent.; workers' nominal wages were less than in 1929 by 600 million yen; imports were restricted by 57.7 per cent. over the same period, and agriculture was in a desperate plight. Strikes were of frequent and violent occurrence, 4,788 in 1929-June, 1931, and the unemployed had increased to 35 millions. The struggles between peasant and landlord were more frequent and more bitter.

In the face of this grave position Japanese capitalism raised the cry of the "foreign danger," and under that pretext deluded the masses into financing the war.

The stage had been thoroughly set. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of Britain, then in the painful throes of abandoning the gold standard, and America, then a very concerned observer of Britain's labour, and with the co-operation of France and her vassal European states, Japanese capitalism launched its bloody attack into a prepared country. In the preceding months, Japan had carried out two political-military moves. She took advantage of the antagonisms between Chinese militarists who were always willing to be bought, and inspired an attack by General Sze Yu-hsiang on Peiping and Tientsin. This led to the withdrawal of troops from Southern Manchuria. She promised support to the Canton group of militarists against the Kuomintang in Nanking. Thus she hoped to weaken China internally in preparation for future invasion. She had previously given help to Kuomintang generals in return for promises that things would be made easy in Manchuria.

Taking advantage of the murder of a Japanese officer as a pretext, she commenced hostile relations. Chinese soldiers were blamed for slight damage done to the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway by Japanese agents, and Manchuria was invaded in the arranged manner on September 18th, 1931. Japan attacked Mukden, the political and military centre of the country, and, after a campaign made all too easy by the disguised co-operation of the Manchurian generals, she was able to establish "control" through agents among the Manchurian bourgeoisie. She sought to delude the people by establishing an "Independent State." She has encountered brave resistance from the peasants and workers of Manchuria. "More than half a million Chinese and Korean armed peasants

are already fighting against this Japanese counter-revolutionary action. (The invasion precipitated the revolt of the Manchurian oppressed. Now Japan, having the support of the bourgeoisie, has to fight that revolution.) They not only helped in May last (1932) to prevent the commencement of the action against the Soviet Union, but they are also proving to be forces preventing the Japanese from establishing 'law and order' in Manchuria." (4) These troops are the "bandits" who are so useful to the League of Nations, whose masterly and sympathetic inactivity allowed Japan to pursue her policy with the approval of the Powers (even America for some time).

The complete treachery of the Kuomintang, which had piously raised its filthy, palsied hands to the Geneva Joss, and had sold Manchuria, was exposed to the people. The masses of Chinese people had awakened to the role of the "civilising nations" in past years; now their eyes were opened more fully to the role of their own bourgeoisie. They had begun to revolt, they had already established Soviets covering 800,000 square kilometres with a population of 75-80 millions. There were already Red Armies which had successfully resisted four campaigns of the Kuomintang.

JAPAN'S ACTION had the effect of stimulating further anti-Japanese feeling in the Chinese workers. This was favored by America and Britain, who saw the opportunity to grab more trade. A Japanese boycott began.

By December, 1931, Japan found her important Chinese market completely gone; her mercantile fleet was idle. The need for a large army in the North further embarrassed her, and her own masses were more discontented. She was forced to war again. On 21st January she attacked Shanghai. She bombarded the workers' quarter, Chapei, for the workers were her enemy, not the Kuomintang (she knew that America wished to avoid war). Japan met with gallant resistance from the 19th Red Army which, when ordered to retreat by the Kuomintang generals, refused and stayed the Japanese advance, despite the support the latter obtained from the other powers by being allowed the use of the "neutral" International Settlement as a base for bombardment of adjacent Chapei. Chiang Kai-shek, the Kuomintang general, sabotaged the defence of the Red Army by refusing reinforcements, arms, etc. In the rear, rumours of peace were spread and the government sought to delude soldiers and the people with the lie that diplomatic relations were to be resumed with Russia. The resistance was broken by the government, but, in the meantime, America had compelled Japan to withdraw by threat of economic pressure, backed by the presence in the Pacific of 199 war vessels

"equipped for any emergency." Since this last exposure of the Chinese government the Soviets have advanced triumphantly and a fifth intervention, inspired by Britain and America, has been successfully withstood.

AS STATED ABOVE, Japan made her attack at a time when Britain and America were concerned with grave internal affairs. America was not prepared for war; such action on her part might easily precipitate a revolution. France was busy taking advantage of the situation by consolidating her position in Europe; she was favorable to Japan in return for Japan's approval of her hay-making. Since France controlled the League of Nations (through her control of many representatives) Japan was in a good position.

Britain is pro-Japanese. Her influence in China is waning, and thus she pits Japan against America. America, desiring to avoid war, sees in the situation a means of weakening Japan, and this at the expense of the common enemy of the powers, U.S.S.R.

Knowing Japan's designs on Siberia, America has directly incited Japan to attack that country. This would serve American ends. The proofs of these statements are many. As examples:—A section of the American press referred to the advantages of such an attack as a means of "mitigating the crisis" and securing "war profits." The American press supports false accusations made of Soviet support of the Manchurian traitor, Ma (who was actually supplied with arms by the Japanese). It spreads lies of the Soviet's "sinister" intentions in Manchuria.

The role of the League of Nations is clearly shown in its treatment of the matter. The "disinterested" Lytton Commission found no "imperialism" in Japan's actions. It found that the Chinese revolution, an expression of an "abnormal bitterness against foreign influence" (6), is a thing to be crushed out by "international co-operation in the inner transformation of China" (6), that is, by imperialist intervention. The League's role is best exposed by Strate, the chairman of the association of journalists working in Geneva. Writing in the "New York Times," 18th September, 1932, he said that there were two tendencies re the Lytton Report: First, that the League should accept the Report despite the possible resignation of Japan (which would ruin the value of the League as an international smoke-screen); second, that events should be awaited and decision postponed. "This policy (the latter) is based on the supposition that the further developments of events in Japan, whether taking the form of financial bankruptcy, of revolution, or of open war with China, will lead to Japan's giving way." (7)

TO SUMMARISE RECENT events:—In China, Japan has continued the arming of her puppet state against the continuous opposition of the huge numbers of "bandits." She has falsely declared Jehol to be part of Manchuria, and has been attempting its capture for months. The control of Jehol would consolidate her position for further attack on China and Soviet Mongolia. She has attacked Shanghai again; her demands for lifting of the boycott against her being met by the declaration of the Mayor of Shanghai that he would "suppress all anti-Japanese lawlessness"!!

In Manchuria, the opposition to Japan comes from the masses; attempts to mislead them are made continually by bourgeois generals; the Japanese army is disrupted by constant mutinies and desertions to the revolutionary troops.

In Japan there exist still worse conditions of poverty and starvation. In Shangtung and other colonies there are revolts against Japanese rule. Japan seeks to make her navy, which she boasts of as superior to America's, independent of American oil by contracts with U.S.S.R., and proceeds to fortify her mandated Islands in the Pacific, declaring that she will not give them up. Her press engages in "sabre-rattling" with that of America. Relations between these two Powers are very strained. Japan has provoked U.S.S.R. directly by attacking towns on its border, by interfering with its Chinese Eastern Railway, and, latest of all, by seizing several Soviet vessels for alleged trespass.

The Powers have expressed their attitudes through the League of Nations (which has declared itself impotent). Britain expresses apprehension lest the Chinese opposition to her pro-Japanese attitude will have the result that "British commercial interests, which hitherto have been reaping the benefits of the Japanese boycott, will be seriously affected." (5) There has been fighting on the Tibetan border. In 1932, Britain concluded a treaty with the bourgeoisie of Tibet whereby, in return for trade concessions, she undertakes (and has undertaken) to protect Tibet. This provides Britain with a base for operations against the revolutionary masses of China. Britain, in common with other Powers, has been supplying arms to the combatants, and her forces in Shanghai are of formidable strength. America has ordered a military survey of Manchuria; she has continuously supplied arms to China.

Stalin stated last year that "whenever the contradictions of the imperialists sharpen, they ask themselves, 'Is it not possible to solve this or that contradiction at the expense of the U.S.S.R.?' " It is clear that the powers are unable to attain a united front in their attitudes on the Japan-China question, but, through their representatives—the Lytton Commission—they have expressed themselves in agreement that "Japan's main interest in Manchuria is the stra-

THE NEW YEAR HONOURS LIST.

FOR MEN LIKE THESE

*The fatted men of leisure,
The gnomes of gold—no gorging can appease:
We work earth's treasure.*

FOR MEN LIKE THESE

*The grey ones, dry of soul,
The pimps, the righteous and the sodomese,
Our love pays toll.*

FOR MEN LIKE THESE

*For Fortune's Favourite Sons
The gartered thugs and surpliced pharisees
We bore our guns.*

Our day will come.

*We'll raise a gibbet-maypole from tall trees
And the last time beat a drum—*

FOR MEN LIKE THESE.

—H.A.L.

tegic importance of this region. There are many people in Japan who believe it is necessary to be powerfully fortified against the possibility of an attack from the Soviet Union." (6) This commission deliberately ignored any consideration of the clash between American and Japanese interests. It devoted a great deal of attention to the "interests of the Soviet in Manchuria." It deliberately lied in accusing U.S.S.R. of aggressive intent. This lie, made "without prejudice," is direct propaganda against the only country whose representatives at "Disarmament" Conferences can offer honest plans for disarmament. They are listened to in scornful silence.

There is no doubt that the imperialist Powers are agreed on the necessity for wiping out the revolutionary movements of the Chinese masses. There is no doubt that they would like to see the U.S.S.R. crushed. Its existence as an example to toilers of all countries is a menace. The difficulties of obtaining a united front for their attack have been insuperable, not the least difficulty being the existence in every country of a revolutionary movement which the outbreak of imperialist war can only accelerate.

Workers of Australia, you will be called upon to fight; you will be called upon to "defend our (!!) glorious Empire"; you will be called upon to be sacrificed in bolstering up the dying system under which you are exploited. Let your slogan be:—*Not a man, not a ship, not a gun.*

References:—(1) These facts and most of the following statistical data are found in "Japan and Manchuria," S. Dashinsky, 1932, Modern Books Ltd. (2) *Ibid.* p. 7. (3) *Ibid.* p. 12. (4) *Imprecorr.*, Vol. 12, No. 44, p. 936. (5) "Argus," Jan. 24, 1933, p. 7. (6) Report of the Lytton Commission. (7) Radek, "Report of the Lytton Commission," *Imprecorr.* Vol. 12, No. 46, p. 930.

—F. H.

Official Union Leadership

WE SHALL SHOW by two examples what is meant by social fascism. These examples are typical of the treacherous conduct of workers' struggles by the Union officials. Afterwards a definition of social fascism will be given.

In 1928 the waterside workers were prepared to resist the proposed application of the Beeby Award, which would take from them all that twenty years' struggle had gained. An All-Ports' Conference of waterside workers was called. This instructed the branches to accept the award. The workers in Fremantle, W.A., in Adelaide, the Deep Seas Branch in Melbourne and Brisbane, with all Queensland ports except two, refused to accept this decision and struck. Despite this definite stand by a great majority of its members, the Federal Council of the Waterside Workers' Federation tried to bring about surrender on the grounds of "the inevitability of defeat." Great leaders these! The strike was broken, largely by the action of the Sydney workers. In 1917, Sydney had been invaded by scabs, and these had only recently been admitted to the union. They continued to work the cargoes requiring skilled labour for all ports. The General Council was quite aware that, without Sydney, the fight was lost. As a result of its not forcing these men out, unity was lost and the necessary solidarity was impossible to achieve.

In Victoria the part played by the A.C.T.U. was clear. The motion to declare Victoria Dock black, thus supporting the strike, was put. Four officials voted for it; four against. The revoting went against the motion, as two officials changed over because Turley, Federal Secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation, and Bates had voted against it in the first place. Turley, who received £10 per week as secretary (now £9), has carried out the same policy ever since. He has never adequately exposed the bad conditions of the men in the courts, although he has had many opportunities to do so, and he knows of men repeatedly working from 48-60 hours, only stopping for meals.

At the special A.L.P. Conference in 1931, when the waterside workers' delegates, Harland and Jones, did expose these conditions, Turley tried to discredit them to the Federal Government and assured the Attorney-General, Mr. F. Brennan, that they occupied no official position in their union. But, as a result of their exposure, the Federal Government passed regulations under the Transport Workers' Act, so that no more than nine hours could be worked in each twenty-four (since repealed).

Turley is carrying out a determined campaign to reduce the membership in the branches. The ship-owners are attempting the same thing. The difference in methods is the only one between these two. Turley wants the branch committees to eliminate unfinancial members (this in a time of widespread unemployment and poverty); the ship-owners want the right of selection. This move would eliminate many militant unionists.

Recently, Turley and the Federal Management Committee unconstitutionally suspended the State Executives, thus freeing the committee from the last vestiges of rank and file influence. The N.S.W. Branch appealed in the court against this; Turley won the case by revealing a past criminal record of one of the branch delegates. This is not working-class leadership. Solidarity is only a cry with the Trades Hall Bureaucracy.

As a result of this manifestly corrupt leadership, aided by the opportunities for discussion while waiting in mustering places, the waterside workers are becoming concerned and are re-acting under rank and file leadership.

THE OTHER CASE is that of the Tramway Workers of Melbourne. At a general meeting on January 15, these workers decided to send a delegation to the Tramways Board to insist on the restoration of the 10 per cent. wage cut imposed in 1931, and to demand the discontinuance of rationing. The idea of the deputation was essentially that of the militants, but, by manœuvring, union officials were elected to it. The delegation received a "sympathetic hearing" from the board and returned to report to the meeting of January 22. At this meeting a motion was put forward that if no reply or an unsuitable reply were received from the board before the next Wednesday, the Board's Rules and Regulations should be rigidly adhered to from the following morning, until such time as the board grew tired of their strict interpretation. This was amended by Stapleton, the recently defeated president of the union. He suggested that the decision of the executive be awaited. This was carried. It must be remembered that a large proportion of unionists are content to follow leads; the various devices of their demagogues suffice to blind them and the officials rely upon gaining their support. Another Trades Hall official moved that decision be postponed pending knowledge of the attitude of other unions. This amendment, made in order to introduce the idea of officially arranged unity, was defeated.

On Thursday, February 2, the Trades Hall Council met to discuss this position, among

other matters. In "The Labor Call" of February 9, it is recorded that:—

On behalf of the Executive, Assistant Secretary Monk moved:

That this Council congratulates the members of the Australian Tramway Employees' Union upon their action in opposing continued wages reductions and their effort to regain the 10 per cent. reduction imposed by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, commends to all members of affiliated unions their inspiring example, and expresses the hope that the workers of Australia will unite in a determined opposition to further wage cuts.

The Executive was of the opinion that the stand which had been taken up by the Tramways Union was a step in the right direction. It was one which should be supported by the Trade Union Movement.

An amendment, subsequently defeated, was proposed as an addition to the motion:—

"And furthermore, we pledge ourselves to give the Tramway Union our full support, should it decide to use its organised force to demand the restoration of wage cuts."

The discussion which followed this gradually led to a frank statement that the T.H.C. could not support the Tramway men without consulting the various unions. This process would take months, since many unions meet infrequently, and the T.H.C. made not even a gesture of attempting to hasten the process. So the tramways workers' efforts were sabotaged. But it is a peculiar fact that the T.H.C. overlooked the fact that the Tramways Board was meeting to consider the delegation's requests on the following Monday.

The Tramways Board did meet. Sure now that the T.H.C. would not support the men, it refused all their requests, and to prove its benevolence offered not to reduce wages further by eighteen pence in accordance with the basic wage reduction.

On February 12, the men met and the official attitude had been spread sufficiently for them to accept the board's ignominious proposal. In the "Argus," February 13, there appears this statement by the president of the union:—

Although the wages of men on the basic wage, and those receiving less than £400 a year, had been reduced by 33 per cent., 94 officers on the official staff of the board, whose salaries were up to £2,000 a year, had suffered a reduction of only 10 per cent. The Preston workshops had cost £326,300, but it was now a "white elephant," and only between 200 and 300 rationed men were employed there. The board had a surplus last year over working expenses of £703,000, and £108,000 had been absorbed by what was known as the statutory payments. To restore the 10 per cent. would mean £90,000, or £18,000 less than the statutory payments.

The matter of the tramways is not finished with. The tramways workers, like all workers, are realising that their struggles are not led,

but misdirected, by the Trades Hall officials, whose functions are the prevention of organised struggle, and, where it does arise, its diversion into channels which serve capitalist ends.

These examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

It would require a more detailed analysis of these causes to show how it is possible for such treachery to be perpetrated.

Social fascists are those who, while pretending to be anti-fascist, play, in effect, the same role as the openly fascist leaders. They cry that they are against capitalist dictatorship. They are actually only "opposed" to the openly violent fascist form of that dictatorship. They recognise that they are of special service to the capitalists only so long as they can deceive the workers into easy submission to capital's dictates. When exposed by their actions, such leaders often become openly fascist (Ramsay Macdonald) and are branded for what they are, working-class enemies.

But before their exposure, the essence of their politics lies in dressing their fascist policies in shallow "socialist" garb (socialisation movements). For instance, the Premiers' Plan wage cuts, pension cuts, and social services restrictions were initiated by Scullin and Lang upon the excuse that if they were not accepted Australian economy would crash and there would be no wages, etc. In this they obviously denied the possibility of any alternative to capitalism.

Workers, awoken to the fact that your self-styled leaders are your enemies in reality. To win your struggles you must direct them yourselves. In your united efforts lies the solution to your problems. Your officials belong to a capitalist organisation which makes you bear the brunt of depression. Workers, unite to fight, but lead your own struggles.

CHARLES SILVER.

MR. L. MULLINS, A.R.U. delegate to the U.S.S.R. last year, returned to find the Union leaders cowed by the recently amended Crimes Act. The Union officials had bound him by contract to lecture only with their consent. Now he found that they censored, then sabotaged, and, finally, disallowed his lecturing. He was released from his contract, the Union claiming no responsibility for his utterances.

He was dismissed from the railways. His union officials have done nothing about the matter. The Railways Department gives no reason for its action. Only by mass protests can this injustice—obviously political in motive—be remedied. The case of Beatrice Taylor is proof of this possibility. Workers! Unite against this Fascist act.

Public Opinion—Its Nature and Origin

PUBLIC OPINION is a vague and popular phrase, which conveys more by suggestion than it ever can by precise definition. Nevertheless, it is exceedingly important to analyse it, in order to find its meaning and its relation to the whole complex of social life; and that for the following reason. There is a type of political theory rampant at the present day, which appeals to this very public opinion, under various guises, as the controlling factor in, or at any rate the ultimate sanction for, the maintenance of the authority of the state. Thus, to take a few examples, MacIver argues that the state is an association which is the outcome of the "general will" of the community that order be preserved in that community—the "general will" being the underlying texture of public opinion, which persists irrespective of the transient control of majority or even minority. Green and Bossinquet would exalt this "general will" to the position of an embodiment of the common good of the community. Again Duguit would regard the statutes of the state merely as legal embodiments of public opinion, differing only from custom in the fact of explicit statement. And so on. It is this type of theory, then, that introduces the need for an examination of the nature and origin of public opinion. For, firstly, most of these theorists fail to analyse this public opinion, or even indicate its most important types, and, secondly, they refuse to treat it objectively, as something which has an origin or cause. What follows consists of some brief suggestions on both these lines.

We can approach the subject in this way. There is at present—in Australia, at any rate—no political revolution in progress. In other words, most people are obeying most of the laws of the state. People must have motives for such obedience. These motives are mental states—ideas in the minds of men. We might call them the psychological basis of the state's authority. But the complex of such motives as it exists in the mind of every individual, is not as such public opinion. Public opinion consists, surely, only of those ideas which are common to the whole group in question. It does seem to be true, as MacIver argues, that people who live together tend in time to have thoughts, feelings, valuations, interests in common, to form, in a word, a community. And people living within any geographical area over which a state power is exercised, do in a sense live together.

Thus we do find that texture of common ideas which is called public opinion; and the interests which these common ideas imply, principally the interest in maintaining an order

in which these ideas can find expression, would seem to be among the main motives in the acceptance of the state's authority. We must notice, however, that "living together" can mean more than living within a given geographical area. There is a division within the area between owner and worker, rich and poor. And as a man's environment in production differs radically according as he is an owner or a worker, and his environment in consumption, as he is rich or poor, we can see that people live together according to class, just as much as according to geographical area. There are common ideas which go to form a class community, just as there are common ideas which go to form a territorial one. Thus it is that here, at any rate, there tend to be motives for obeying the state which differ radically according to class. What, then, are the motives and ideas which we can call truly *public* opinion?

Directly *economic interests* are clearly those which will tend to be class interests rather than community ones. They are frequently, it is true, covered over by what seem to be more general interests, but where they do consciously exist, we have, in the case of the working class, a "will" for the preservation of the existing order based on fear of economic destitution and political punishment; and in the case of the employing class, the desire to retain economic wealth and power. There is little room, then, for public opinion here. When we come, however, to that vast conglomeration of ideas that go under the name of *custom*, we seem to be coming to something more general. There are a large number of customary ideas, such as those for example which find expression in the ordinary forms of social intercourse and speech, which go to form a public opinion. It is true, of course, that whether you work eight hours a day or not, and whether you live on £100 or £1,000, do make a great difference in your customary modes of living; but still there would seem to be sufficient community of custom to justify its inclusion as an element of public opinion.

Concerning the interests of *common culture*, there is even less difference. Interest in science penetrates to all sections of the community. Likewise, in the spheres of art and literature, the same tastes will tend to prevail. People of all classes will whistle the latest popular tune, read popular novels, frequent the pictures, listen to the wireless, imbibe the mental attitude of the press. Here then there is a large field for common interests. We come, again, to *patriotism* and all forms of national feeling. To judge from the popular support given, say, in most countries during the last Great War, a feeling

for one's own country as against others still remains an element of public opinion within a country. Moreover, it seems that the feeling has become stronger since the comparatively peaceful periods of last century. Religion, again, has always been a very powerful element in public opinion—frequently, indeed, the central one. At the present day, too, especially in Roman Catholic countries, the common bond of religion is to be noticed.

Finally, we have the general *moral ideas and valuations* which pervade a community. Are not honesty, thrift, good-heartedness, charity, independence, among the best of virtues? And is it not wrong to steal? Present-day public opinion would answer yes.

In thus glancing over the main types of the ideas and interests in a community, we find that we must admit a very considerable area of public opinion. We have also been able to see what are its main types. We must now turn, therefore, from its nature to its origin.

HERE WE TREAD on holy ground, for public opinion seems to be regarded as a political final cause by the theorists we mentioned above. Absolute idealists, turned conservative, derive its finality from its being the embodiment of the common good; personal idealists, turned liberals, leave it to its own spontaneous development; but we must treat it as political fact, the growth and change of which must be explained. Even when we take this step, we must be careful not to fall into that type of agnosticism which says that public opinion has thousands of causes, the analysis of which is tedious and futile. We must pick out what seem to be the governing factors.

Following this line, we are led to conclude that the ideas of men—of all men—in a country in any given period, are influenced and conditioned in a most pervasive way by the existing system of production; and therefore that changes in public opinion are ultimately due to changes in the system of production. In any such system, those who own the particular means of production have always been the economically powerful class. That system is to their advantage, and they wish to maintain it. A public opinion, therefore, which is moulded into conformity with the continued existence of the system, can be regarded in another aspect as one which is under an unconscious ruling class control. Thus it is that the very public opinion which to a certain extent supports the state, restricts its policy by the fear of thwarting it, and in our days of parliamentary democracy, even plays, or thinks it plays, a small part in controlling that policy, is itself so moulded by its productive and class environment that it becomes turned to the interest of the economically powerful class, or at any rate limited so as not to conflict with that interest.

Such is a self-consistent statement of the position. It remains to show its consistency with experience. Let us deal in turn with the main elements of public opinion which we mentioned. As regards custom, any of our customs which we choose to take we will find to be but a social habit—a common response to an environment; and as such they are all adverse to change. When then have customs changed? Only when a change in the methods of production has forced upon the people concerned an entirely different natural and social environment. The customs of the feudal lords and peasantry do not seem to have undergone radical change for centuries. It was only when the peasants were driven into factories, and the lords or their successors became big business men, that old customs were swept away, and new ones arose in their place. Again, do we not read of a change of custom in the Soviet Union accompanying the abolition of the capitalist method of production, sufficient to enable Hindus, for example, to speak of "humanity uprooted"?

In the sphere of culture, most literature and art, the pictures, the wireless, the press, in reflecting as they naturally do the "spirit of the times," accept the existing mode of production and distribution of economic power. And even where they do not do this, they unconsciously accept the common ideas moulded to that system, and thereby reinforce the ideas already in the minds of readers or spectators. When we come to patriotism, however, we find an extreme case of conscious class stimulation. Arising, as it probably did, from the need to protect one's country against invaders, it began to wane last century with the advent of the free world-market of capitalism. But with the growth of capitalist monopoly in the last few decades, an economic nationalism (which, on its offensive side, is imperialism) has been necessitated; and this in turn requires a patriotic public opinion. That such opinion has been stimulated, not only in the slow moulding of ideas, but also in conscious war propaganda, is, I should say, fairly apparent to all.

With regard to standards of morality, we may note how, in all class structures, property has become sanctified, how "honesty" has been considered a more important form of ultimate justice than, say, the equality of men, theft more unjust than the exploitation of man by man. Again we ask—Why was it that chivalry, and the "patriarchal, idyllic relations" (in Marx's phrase) between lord and serf, master and man, shone forth as the virtues of the feudal period? And why the above-mentioned thrift, charity, etc., as virtues of capitalism? Religion itself has ever been content to mould itself into the status quo; and has even in its time been an active ruling class organ, as when

The German Crisis

THE GREAT DAY OF THE Nazis has arrived. They have entered the government, and Hitler occupies the post of Chancellor! This re-grouping of the capitalist forces in Germany marks a further stage in the development of the fascist regime—a continuous development through Bruening, Von Papen, General Schleicher and Hitler. Each government in turn has more and more dispensed with the Reichstag and resorted to the Emergency Decrees of the President; the political rights of the working class have been whittled away; demonstrations are forbidden; the communist press is rigorously censored and prohibited; legal terrorism has been developed against the workers, who suffer brutal sentences for political offences. The Von Papen government sought to impose the death penalty for political activities of workers. Thus has been taking place a change to fascism, to open dictatorship in place of the dictatorship masked by parliamentary democracy.

Fascisation of the State apparatus has hitherto been supported from the outside by the Nazis, the mass party of fascism, which has engaged in terrorism against the working class, using the methods of civil war. As an independent force outside the government, the National Socialists had greater scope for their demagogic appeal to the mass of the petit-bourgeois and peasant voters supporting them. Direct responsibility for the government brings great dangers for the Nazis, whose strength has been built mainly on the ruins of the old bourgeois parties and whose organisation contains conflicting elements, and the germs of rapid disintegration once the policy of the party is put to the test.

The unreliability of the Nazi organisation was the chief reason for the former exclusion of Hitler from the government, despite the enormous voting strength of the National Socialists compared with the other bourgeois parties (13,745,781 in July, 1932, and 11,729,201 in November, 1932). Despite the "unreliability" of the Nazi organisation, the bourgeoisie are now compelled by the growing revolutionary upsurge to draw them directly into the government in order to broaden their social base. Von Papen had only 32 supporters out of more than 600 deputies, all attempts to secure a majority had proved futile. The change to General Schleicher was an attempt to broaden the social basis of the government, but it was intended from the first that the Schleicher government should be followed by a government including the National Socialists. Big industry, in the first place the Krupp group, set the Schleicher government a definite task:

"The purpose of the Schleicher Cabinet is to secure for German politics a breathing space of 12 weeks, during which negotiations can be conducted between the holders of power and Hitler. . . . The new government will place this chief aim in the foreground, and, while holding firmly to the great achievements of the Papen era, economic revival and Prussian counter-revolution must make concessions in all minor spheres to meet the need of the people, economy, and parties for peace." (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Dec. 5th, 1932.)

It is interesting to quote General Schleicher to understand his view that military dictatorship in Germany must have other support in addition to bayonets:

"If we understand under military dictatorship a government supported only by the bayonets of the Reichswehr, then I can only say that such a government would rapidly run itself down in a vacuum, and would be bound to end in failure. In Germany, perhaps more than in many another country, the government must be borne on a broad current of the people." (Schleicher's wireless speech, published in "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," No. 347.)

The rapid growth of the mass revolutionary movement of the workers, the fight against wage cuts marked by a big strike wave, accentuated the differences within the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

The dispute in the camp of the bourgeoisie over the share of profits was one of the main factors in the resignation of Von Papen. Big industry and commerce sharply rejected Papen's import quota plans, which favored the big agrarians. Hindenburg, in his letter to Von Papen, on the occasion of the latter's resignation, made an indirect attack against Schleicher, reflecting the quarrel between the industrialists and the big agrarians.

THE CENTRAL AND DECISIVE factor of German politics is the rapid growth of communism. The November elections secured six million votes for the Communist Party, which now has behind it the most important sections of the working class, in the main industrial centres. The fact that while the Communist Party gained 700,000 votes over the July figures, and that in the same period the Social Democratic Party lost 700,000 votes, reducing its total to 7,266,873, and the Nazis lost two million votes, is of tremendous importance. The Communist Party again led in Berlin, with 860,579 votes, which was 140,000 votes ahead of the Hitler Party and 214,000 ahead of the Social Democratic Party. The increase of the Communist vote was particularly good in those areas where big strikes had taken place under Communist leadership, including Berlin (the great strike of the traffic workers), Hamburg, East Dusseldorf, West and South Westphalia.

The heavy losses of the Social Democrats was due to their policy of capitulation to the bourgeoisie and strike-breaking tactics (the support to Hindenburg in the Presidential elections, the treacherous policy of the social democratic party and trade union leaders in the Berlin traffic strike).

Here, in the tremendous growth and strengthening of the revolutionary movement, is the explanation of fascism, its historical antithesis. The growth of fascism in Germany and the Chancellorship of Hitler signifies not the defeat of the proletariat, but the increasing instability of the rule of the bourgeoisie in the face of the revolutionary upsurge.

RECENTLY THE COMMUNIST Party of Germany published some of the "Letters to German leaders" (Deutsche Führerbriefe, Nos. 72 to 75, of 16th and 20th September, 1932), private correspondence, intended only for a select circle of less than 100 of the trust kings and bank magnates at the head of German finance capital, and edited by Dr. Franz Reuter. In these letters was contained a remarkable outline of the role of Social democracy, as the following quotations will show:

"Thanks to its social character as being originally a workers' party, the social democracy brought into the system of reconsolidation at that time (1918-9), in addition to its purely political force, something more valuable and enduring, namely, the organised working class, and while paralysing their revolutionary energy, chained them fast to the bourgeoisie State."

"As, moreover, the social democratic capitalisation of the revolution into social policy coincided with the transference of the fight from the factory and the streets to Parliament, the Ministries, and the Chancelleries, i.e., with the conversion of the fight 'from below' into security 'from above'; from now on the social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, and with them also that part of the working class led by them, were firmly bound to the bourgeois State and its power."

The "Letters to Leaders" compare the Hitler Party with the social democracy as follows:

"The parallelism is indeed striking. The then social democracy (from 1918 to 1930), and present-day National Socialism perform similar functions, in that they were the grave-diggers of the previous system, and then, instead of leading the masses to the revolution proclaimed by them, led them to the new formation of bourgeois rule. The comparison which has often been drawn between Ebert and Hitler is also valid in this respect."

These, and many other similar statements giving the views of German finance capital, prove the view that social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy are the main social buttresses of the bourgeoisie.

TWO DAYS before the November elections, Von Papen proclaimed as his special task "to destroy Bolshevism, root and branch." "Destruction of Bolshevism" was Hitler's main slogan. "War to the knife with the C.P. of Germany" was the first slogan of Hugenburg. All

three are now united in one government of bourgeois "national concentration." Press cables announce that Hitler has denied that he intends suppressing the Communist Party, a recognition of its strength among the masses. Nevertheless, it is clearly indicated that repressive measures are increasing, the prohibition of the press, the terrorism, and increasing armed clashes of police and fascists against the workers, has reached the stage of incipient civil war.

All hopes of escape from the economic crisis are in vain for the German bourgeoisie. The Hitler government will inevitably fail to alleviate conditions in the face of deepening economic crisis. The disintegration in the ranks of the Hitler Party will proceed more rapidly. The revolutionary upsurge of the working class continues. The revolutionary party leads mass actions, and constantly extends its leadership over broader strata of the working class.

The external contradictions are equally acute. The Nazis exploited to the full the national sentiment engendered by the Versailles Treaty, but the Versailles system will remain despite the vainglory of Hitler. Hitler, like his predecessors, will grovel to French and British imperialism in the face of the greater enemy, that of proletarian revolution. All the conditions for a revolutionary crisis are rapidly maturing. There are now 9,000,000 unemployed, and Germany is headed for bankruptcy, civil war, and socialist revolution. The advanced revolutionary proletariat of Germany will play the decisive role. The outcome will be, not the "Third Empire" of the fascists, or the "Second Republic" of the Social Democrats, but Soviet Socialist Republic of Germany.

—JOHN FINLAYSON.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

Australia Gains £136,543 in Year.

"Last year's trading has restored the balance in Australia's favor. Trading between the two countries is proceeding under conditions similar to those which apply to trade between Australia and other foreign countries."

("Herald," Nov. 22, 1932.)

THIS is strange. "Dumping" has no terrors to the importer.

* * * * *

FASCISM:—

"One million idle, of whom only one-quarter are on the dole. Maximum, 5/6." Italy.

("Herald," Feb. 18, 1933.)

THIS IS THE OUTCOME of open Fascist rule. The Italian workers were deceived into giving up their strike victories in 1921, when power was almost theirs. And for this.

The International Labour Defence

IN THE LATTER HALF of 1929, in common with most other capitalist countries, industrial production in Australia suddenly slumped, and unemployment just as suddenly commenced to mount. Since then has been a continuous increase in unemployment, with the result that over half a million workers are now either wholly or partially idle. Comparing this situation with that in 1928, there is observable a great increase in the class consciousness and militancy of Australian workers.

To counter this an intense repressive drive by the ruling class has been made and continues. Early last year this drive was crystallised in all its intensity in the Amendments to the Crimes Act. By this legislation the Federal Government is enabled to outlaw any militant working-class organisation, and although all such organisations are still carrying on legally, a marked increase in the number of prosecutions against their members for working-class activities has taken place. Added to this oppression is the all-round 25 per cent. wage cut, with others pending, the frequent, and where necessary, violent evictions of workers from their homes, the cutting down of pensions and social benefits, and the curtailment of government relief.

In this period, therefore, the role of the International Labour Defence is made clear. Ten years ago the necessity for such an international organisation was clearly foreseen by the old and well-tried Bolshevik leaders, who had themselves suffered imprisonment and exile under the czarist regime. Mustering their forces in the Soviet Union, the M.O.P.R. came into being, and, within a short time, an international committee, the International Red Aid, was formed. This was for the defence, assistance and co-ordination of all workers in all lands. In November of last year the tenth anniversary of the I.R.A. was celebrated throughout the world by a membership of approximately twelve millions. This is the largest international working-class organisation in existence.

It was not until last year that the Australian section of the I.R.A. took up its tasks in a determined fashion. It then sought to co-ordinate various working-class bodies up till then independent, and it launched the I.L.D. There were in existence then the International Class War Prisoners' Aid, and the United Front Against Fascism, fighting against fascist and social fascist repression. These were merged in the I.L.D., which linked up their former activities with those of the Defence of the Soviet Union and the Liberation of National Minorities and Colonial Peoples.

In Australia, there are huge tasks facing the I.L.D. Due to the activities of the I.R.A. in America, the lives of the Scotsboro boys, accused of a framed charge, have been spared up to date. Throughout the whole of Europe, Asia, and America an energetic fight for the release of the Meerut prisoners, the Rueggis in the East, and the veteran leader, Tom Mooney, is being waged. Twelve million workers are demanding their unconditional release. In Australia the I.L.D. has rendered legal assistance to many members of the working class. *Any worker or farmer who is the victim of class oppression can obtain legal advice by applying to the I.L.D.* But in this period there is a great deal more than this to be done.

Imperialist war is raging in China, preparations for struggle are now made openly by all powers, the U.S.S.R. is being encircled by a chain of armed countries. The workers of all capitalist lands will be dragged into war to save the "glorious traditions" of their exploiters. The I.L.D. has as one of its tasks the organisation of the workers against this monstrosity of war.

The attack on the workers of the capitalist world continues. In Australia, there is ever-increasing curtailment of free speech and free assembly. Those who are in a position to tell the facts about the Soviet Union are victimised. Mullins has been dismissed without reason from the Victorian Railways. Miss B. Taylor has been dismissed from the N.S.W. Education Department. She has been re-instated as a result of mass protests. The Five Year Plan Film was banned, despite its having been shown for a long period in England and Europe. Working-class demonstrations are broken up or prevented by the political police: for example, the anti-war demonstration on last August 1, and the November 7 Soviet Anniversary gathering in Melbourne. Meetings are prevented in the suburbs, the police anticipating them with Black Marias, as at South Melbourne last winter.

To fight against these restricting bonds is one task of the I.L.D., which is conducted by workers, who must help to build it into a more effective organisation for united struggle. And the I.L.D. is international; it co-ordinates the efforts of the workers the world over. Workers of Australia, *you* must support and work in the International Labour Defence. It can protect you from the violence which the capitalists must use in attempting to prevent your rising against them. You must be united in your efforts.

ALICE S. STEWART.

The Times Change!

Strikers Bombed in Bucharest

BAYONETED BEHIND BARRICADES

CRISIS LOOMING

"Herald" Special Representative—(Feb. 17, 1933.)

UNEMPLOYED.

SURPLUS WHEAT PROBLEM.

Wheat Cheaper than Sawdust.

("Sun" World Cables.)

Vancouver, Friday.
"In the coming winter much wheat will probably be used in farmhouse furnaces. In some places to-day it was quoted below the cost of a corresponding weight of sawdust."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 29, 1932.)

NEVERTHELESS, millions of workers starve in the Capitalist countries.

FAMILY "ALMOST STARVING."

"Stating that the wife and six children of Myles O'Farrell, Little Curran Street, North Melbourne, were almost starving, Maurice Morganti, sustenance officer, said at the North Melbourne Court on Monday that because of the exceptional circumstances of the case O'Farrell's family was still receiving sustenance. O'Farrell was charged with having on September 19 made a false statement to the North and West Melbourne Unemployment Relief Committee."

(The "Argus," Feb. 14, 1933.)

AND this family, existing on 24/- a week, was "almost starving." The "Argus" resents the suggestion. Workers, this case is not "exceptional." There are thousands such cases in Australia.

GIRLS TO WORK OR LOSE DOLE.

Placed on Same Footing as Workless Men.

"Girls and women who refuse employment will have their sustenance payments stopped. In this they will be treated like the men who refuse to work. This decision was announced by the Minister for Sustenance (Mr. Kent Hughes).

"Registry offices have complained that, although they have positions, these have been refused by girls and women out of employment.

"Unemployed girls are partly engaged at relief workrooms, and get a sustenance allowance. Some have stated they are better off as they are than if they accept some of the positions offered."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 29, 1932.)

THERE ARE SOME FACTS which may explain this peculiar independence. The jobs offered include many positions as domestics, at five, and ten shillings, a week. Girls at relief workrooms have received notes in their "pay" envelopes, telling them of some such position which must then be accepted unconditionally or no dole is forthcoming.

RELIGION.

CHURCH DENOUNCES SOVIET.

Campaign Against God and Mankind.

("Herald" Special Representative.)

London, October, 31.

"A Pastoral letter denouncing the Communist campaign and hatred of God and mankind, issued by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, was read in Scottish churches on Sunday.

"The power behind the persecution is no chance outbreak of fury against the Church, the letter says, but a relentless working out of a system center in Russia aiming at a universal anti-God campaign."

INSPIRED BY DEMONS.

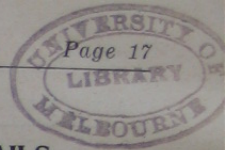
"To accomplish this they will stop at no enormity," it adds, "and will not shrink from drenching the world in blood or grinding the entire human race in appalling misery."

"The letter also refers to the preternatural genius of the organisers of the campaign, which is inspired by demons."

(The "Herald," Nov. 1, 1932.)

COMPARE this ranting attack with the following unbiassed account of reality:—

" The Church began by . . . leading a Holy War of counter-revolution against them (the Bolsheviks). In consequence, it suffered the same fate as its allies. This period is over. The Church acquiesces in the new order. The churches are open, and services continue unmolested. The latest figures give 94 per cent. of the churches as still open. We entered and witnessed a variety of services. Congregations had dwindled in many instances to a handful of old women. The ordinary people were obviously not in the least interested in religion. There is an Anti-religious society . . . which conducts steady propaganda and runs anti-religious museums in the disused churches. Much of this propaganda would gladden the hearts of



stout Protestants, three-quarters of it is directed against the glaring corruptions of ecclesiasticism, including its unblushing sanction of imperialist war. The remainder is first, the vindication of science against obscurantism, secondly, the insistence of the first importance of the physical welfare of the people. A religion which definitely discourages efforts to banish disease and illiteracy because "Heaven is our home" is an enemy to be overthrown. It is, however, a first principle of Communism not to restrain men's religious beliefs, simply because, however wrong they are, the most futile way to eradicate them is by force; that will only confirm people in their superstition."

(Rev. John Lewis, B.Sc., Ph.D.,

From the "Christian World," 1932.)

REV. LEWIS, in company of Professor Julian Huxley and other members of the British-American Educationalists Delegation, made an extensive tour of the U.S.S.R.

MIDDLE-CLASS "LIBERTY."

"MIDDLE CLASS MOST VALUABLE."

"Has not been treated too well,"
says Mr. Latham.

Geelong, Monday.

"Discussing class conflict in various parts of the world, at a meeting at Ocean Grove to-night, the Attorney-General (Mr. Latham) said that in Australia few people gave much thought to the existence of the class that was an object of animosity on the other side of the world.

"This is the middle class, which I regard as the most stable and valuable class in Australia," he added. "It embraces professional men, most farmers, producers, shopkeepers, a host of individual workers, including the skilled manual worker, who has not been treated too well in recent years."

"Australia is fortunate in not possessing a proletariat class, the existence of which is a reproach to any country. It is a class which the Communist seeks to create in order to begin a revolution."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Jan. 17, 1933.)

OH! MR. LATHAM!!! You and your class would like to see the world's toiling millions as individuals un-united for struggle. Australia possesses no property-less people! Hence evictions, sustenance!

Mr. Latham, your imagination is too ripe. Did you draft the amendments to the Crimes Act in order to prevent the "creation" of the proletariat? And by the Communists! Oh! Mr. Latham!!

The Herald informs us that Mr. Latham believes wholeheartedly in "Liberty." His favorite reading is in Areopagitica and Mills—"Liberty." But he considers communists to have forfeited the right to "liberty," freedom of speech and assembly. He loves liberty for his much maligned "middle-class"—for the exploiters and their retinue.

TALKING AND ACTING.

IF ARMS TALK FAILS.

Hoover says America will build to Full Strength.

"SUN" WORLD CABLES.

Washington, Thursday.

"Speaking at a Navy Day function yesterday, President Hoover bluntly threatened that America would have to build up to the full naval strength allowed under the London Treaty if the Disarmament Conference failed."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 28, 1932.)

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE did fail. America builds. Now Britain finds it necessary to build if the other Powers will not reduce.

"Well-informed naval circles regard the following plan as being essential to security:—The replacement of obsolete battleships by vessels of 25,000 tons, of moderate speed and heavy armour, with eight 13½ in. guns; the increase by 25 per cent. of the number of British cruisers with guns heavier than six inches if foreign Powers exceed this calibre; the construction of from 12 to 16 destroyers a year for several years; and the increase of personnel by at least 10,000."

(The "Argus," Feb. 14, 1933.)

DISARMAMENT Conferences have lost all their pristine value as "blinds" for the war-sick masses. They are acknowledged for what they have always been—Armament Adjustment Conferences.

CRIMINAL COURT STATISTICS.

Figures Lower than in 1931.

(The "Age," Jan., 1933.)

AND at the same time the "inadequate" police force is being strengthened. Political squads are formed. Their purpose was made clear on Nov. 7, 1932, in Melbourne streets.

"We are not concerned with Communists as Communists," he explained, "but only as breakers of the law. Order must be maintained, and this applies to everybody—not merely to Communists. Because Communists have several times defied the law, several plain-clothes men have been detailed to watch their activities."

(General Blamey, in the "Herald," Nov. 8, 1932.)

IN effect then, you most definitely are concerned with Communists, as such.

JAPAN IN MANCHURIA.

CIVILISING AIM CLAIMED.

No Invasion.

("Herald," November 21, 1932.)

THIS needs no comment.

FAIR PLAY IN INDIA.

THIRD INDIAN CONFERENCE.

Selection of Delegates Fairly Well Received.

NO PUBLIC SESSION.

("Sun" World Cables.)

Calcutta, Wednesday.

"It is officially announced that there will be no public session of the Third Round Table Conference on Indian affairs, which will open in London next month. The number of delegates will be limited to 40.

"The list of delegates has been fairly well received in India.

"The Hindu delegation commands the respect of the masses, and those who want to be critical of the Conference are finding it difficult to belittle Sir Tej Sapru or Mr. Kelkar.

"It is admitted that in Mr. Pandit, the Punjab Hindus are well represented, and that Sir Purshot Amdas Thakardas is a strong appointment for Indian commerce."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 27, 1932.)

A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE!! The Indian masses are represented by such people as Sir Purshot Amdas Thakardas—business man enough for British Capitalism to recognise. Secret meetings!

Quite unexpectedly the delegates' list has been "fairly well received." These are the methods of British Imperialism. Anticipating trouble, the British Government made out an individual disturbance to be a new "terrorist" campaign which might need "suppression."

But:—

ORDER RETURNING TO INDIA.

Civil Disobedience Dying Under Firm Treatment.

It is becoming difficult for "malcontents to keep vital the spark of the movement, of which it is evident the people are generally heartily sick.

GANDHI'S MEDITATIONS.

"Even Gandhi appears tired, and, according to one well informed source. There are those who believe that in his long meditations Gandhi is undergoing further spiritual development, and the time will come when he will abandon civil disobedience forever, embrace co-operation, and devote himself to the task of promoting social unity in India."

"Be that as it may, the Government is taking no more risks of reviving the old civil disorder.

"What was believed to be a fresh manifestation of terrorism at Calcutta, in the form of attacks on European women, is now revealed as the work of a demented man."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 29, 1932.)

AND so once more Gandhi has fulfilled his role of diverting the popular national movement from anti-British ends. Britain does not need

its "terrorist" pretext, and scraps it. These are the methods of Imperialism.

And, feeling more secure, Britain conceded the following vast increases in the "democratic" franchise to the property-owning Indians.

London, November 21.

"The Third Indian Round Table Conference to-day agreed that a larger percentage of the depressed classes should be enfranchised, and that the percentage aimed at should be 10 per cent. of the depressed class population in each province.

... there appeared to be general agreement that an essential basis of the franchise should be the property qualifications proposed by the Franchise Committee, subject to such modifications of detail as might prove necessary.

"Its report, presented in June last, recommended the raising of the present electorate for provincial legislatures from 2.8 to 14.1 per cent. of the population, and from 0.4 to 3.3 per cent. of the British Indian portion of the proposed Federal legislature."

("Herald," Nov. 22, 1932.)

THE masses still groan, but not without hope. Their revolts are diurnal.

* * * * *

"INCITED TO MUTINY."

WARSHIPS SAIL.

("Herald," Nov. 8, 1932.)

In this case of the Australian Navy, the trouble was long in brewing. Serious results were averted by official welfare committees, and, these failing in part, by separating the ships, taking them to sea where trouble could be isolated and news of it suppressed. The sailors of the Australian Navy, like those of other navies, are awakening. The Javanese natives have just paid for peaceful demonstration against wage-cuts with 18 lives.

Batavia, Monday.

"The dissatisfaction in the Dutch navy because of the reductions in pay has led to many arrests.

"At Onrust, 32 European sailors and 150 natives are imprisoned, at Modura about 450 natives are prisoners, and there are 71 Europeans in custody at Malang.

"In future sailors will be forbidden to attend political meetings or demonstrations."

("Herald," Feb. 14, 1933.)

THIS, then, is the parlous state of Capital's defences. The revolutionization of the masses proceeds apace.

—A. F.

A Programme for the Farmers

THE EXTENT OF THE DISTRESS prevailing among Australian farmers can be gauged from the number of applications for relief made under the Farmers' Relief Act of South Australia, 1932, as given in the Auditor-General's latest report:—

Applications received	4267
Applications granted	3459
Applications withdrawn or denied	808

This means that in one year alone, probably one-third of the South Australian farmers were compelled to seek Government relief. What is, perhaps, even more important is the fate of those farmers who received advances.

Paid all creditors	5%
Paid dividend to first preference creditors	10%
Paid first and second preference and allowance for sustenance	15%
Dividend to second preference	45%
Partial repayment of advances	22%
Total failures	3%

Despite the so-called "relief" given to these farmers, only 5 per cent. were able to pay all their creditors! The dividends paid to their various preference creditors are not stated. No information is given concerning the 3 per cent. total failures, who presumably were sold up and forced to travel the roads on sustenance. This state of affairs is quite general throughout the country, South Australia's facts and figures being worked out in most detail.

The low prices ruling at present for all primary products are, of course, felt almost entirely by the farmers themselves. The big wheat-buying firms, especially the exporters (who are greatly aided by the exchange rate), are still making large profits, especially as China and Japan are at present buying much more Australian wheat.

Despite the great fall in the price of wheat, wool, etc., the cost of production has actually gone up. As is well known, the average prices of industrial goods have risen by about 15 per cent. since 1914, while primary products have fallen by approximately 10 per cent. The toiling farmer has to pay the price for his submission to monopolist financial control of wheat production and sale. In big industry the growth of monopoly trusts has enabled the manufacturers to keep up the prices of their products. The farmer has no such advantage, and hence, with the onset of the crisis, prices dropped to remarkably low levels. But, apart from the disastrous effects of this disproportion between the prices of the goods the farmer sells and those he buys, he is compelled to carry

the burden of interest, which is owed especially to agricultural banks and machine and fertiliser companies. The investigators in South Australia questioned a large number of representative farmers in the Eyre and Murray Lands districts as to the cost of production during the last season, and the total price obtained per bushel at the end of the season. The following are four typical answers:—

Cost of Production in Pence per Bushel.

No. of Settler	Working Expenses	Depreciation	Interest	Taxes	Total Cost	Price Obtained
1	11.1	3.8	17.0	3.0	34.9	36.44
13	6.9	2.0	22.4	2.6	33.9	30.4
24	8.8	3.2	8.9	3.5	24.4	32.3
38	16.7	6.7	13.3	4.0	40.7	29.8

IT WILL BE SEEN that in general, interest is by far the biggest item. These particular farmers were considered to have a chance of regaining their financial stability "with good seasons and good prices"; so the condition of many more who were considered to be in a hopeless position can be imagined. In any case, with the prices for wheat as low as they are in this present season (1932-1933), it is obvious that the above farmers could only get further into debt. The average price obtained by the above farmers was 2/8. This season they will be lucky to reach 2/6, and in many cases will certainly average nearer 2/-. In a vast proportion of cases the Auditor-General estimated that prices of even 3/6 and 4/-, coupled with unusually good crops, would be of no avail in rescuing the farmers from complete bankruptcy. And certainly the number of evictions and forced sales is increasing rapidly.

The smaller farmers in Australia have been, and are being, forced down into a condition of slavery and serfdom, compelled to work for from 12 to 16 hours daily on their farms in order to produce interest for the banks and big manufacturing interests. They have lost all their former outward appearance of independent producers. The depression has revealed them as the victims of the loan and mortgage companies.

This fact is quite openly admitted by the capitalist class and given official recognition. The various State Governments in the past two or three years have conducted an active campaign directed towards facilitating the process of extracting profit out of the poorer farmers. This process has gone farthest in Western Australia, where a Royal Commission made a detailed investigation in 1931. It found the wheat-grow-

ing industry in a state of dissolution as a result of "lavish spending," etc.

To remedy this state of affairs it suggested, not that the industry be relieved by the cessation of all interest and debt burdens, but that the oppressed farmers be placed more securely at the mercy of their creditors. They aimed at giving the control of the farmer's income for the seasons 1931-32 and 1932-33 to his chief creditors (out of 14,000 wheat farmers, 9,000 have the Agricultural Bank as their chief creditor), the farmer being compelled to give him a priority over all other creditors. In other words, the big financial interests, especially those behind the Agricultural Bank, are making sure that, in this period of reduced profits, they are going to have first go at the meagre earnings of the farmer. (In actual fact, they are also making sure that small creditors, such as shopkeepers, do not get their money.) "The controlling director (i.e., the chief creditor) has the collection of crop proceeds, and the allocation thereof in briefly the following manner. After the costs, charges, etc., of the preparation and registration of the security and expenses of the creditor during the period of control (this may be a lifetime!!) have been met, 5 per cent. (!!) of the balance is to be paid to the farmer for his personal use; then debts for approved current supplies, services or advances incurred in connection with the ensuing crop or clip are to be met, followed by one year's mortgage interest, land rents, rates and taxes and one-quarter of the outstanding machinery balance within limits of £75 maximum and £15 minimum. Deficiencies in previous years' payments in connection with the same liabilities are next to be met, and so on till . . . the suspended liabilities of the settler begin to be liquidated." (!!!)

What could be clearer than that the Government intends to chain the primary producer to the land in order to produce wealth which will then be divided up among his numerous creditors? That is the whole object of this legislation which is hypocritically advertised as being "beneficial" to the farmers. Taylor justly remarks: "The only argument in favor of the adoption of the Commission's report is the time-worn one of necessity; on all other grounds it seems open to condemnation, and the beneficiaries of the plans—the settlers—bear more resemblance of a new species of serf, *adscriptus glebae* (bound to the soil), by bonds of debt, than to free men." Certainly, then, "necessity" is a good excuse, and this same necessity has driven the Western Australian farmers into a heroic strike for relief from their oppressive burden. It is obvious that the Australian farmers must organise themselves and follow a definite programme in order to free themselves from what is really a disguised form of slavery. For at present they are certainly in the posi-

tion described in the song of the American Negroes:—

"Slavery 'n freedom
They's most the same
No difference hardly
'Cept in the name."

MANY ORGANISATIONS, such as the Victorian Wheatgrowers' Association and the Primary Producers' Restoration League, exist among the farmers. But these organisations, while claiming to represent all the farmers, in actual fact voice the interests of a few only, and, in the case of the Primary Producers' Restoration League, are organisations created by the big city bankers and bondholders to sidetrack the rushing tide of agrarian discontent into harmless and convenient channels.

Is it possible to have an all-inclusive farmers' organisation? The answer is, No; for far from there being a community of interests among the farmers, there is a definite cleavage between the few wealthy farmers on the one hand and the great mass of small, hard-working producers on the other. There are plenty of farmers who have share-farmers working under them, or who cultivate large farms employing many laborers. These wealthy farmers are large landholders whose interests lie more with agricultural banks, stock agents, etc. They are violently opposed to anything which would improve the lot of the poorer farmers, as this would necessitate a reduction in their own profits. This class-cleavage is well shown by the sizes of holdings and number of landholders in N.S.W.

Size of Holding (Acres)	No. of Settlers	Total Area
Under 51	14,924	333,143
51-100	7,100	547,480
101-500	23,862	6,194,002
501-1,000	11,907	8,555,174
1,001-3,000	12,903	22,195,389
3,001-5,000	3,051	11,762,786
5,001-10,000	2,366	16,160,708
10,001-20,000	1,020	14,107,655
20,001-50,000	783	23,690,643
Over 50,000	464	69,290,730

To simplify these figures, it is seen that 57,793 holdings of 1,000 acres or less occupy only 15,629,799 acres. (As the majority are sheep farms, 1,000 acres is not a large farm.) In other words, 73.7 per cent. of the total number of farmers and pastoralists possess farms of 1,000 acres or less and occupy only 9.1 per cent. of the total land held. At the other end of the scale 464 holdings occupy 69,290,730 acres, i.e., 0.51 per cent. of holders own 40.1 per cent. of the total area held! Where is the basis for unity between such obviously diverse groups? It is obvious that these large landholders view the smaller farmers as their victims, to be driven

off the land or reduced to a dismal state of tenantry or share-farming. As regards implements of production the disproportion is just as marked. There are approximately 30,000 wheat farmers in N.S.W., but they possess only 6,400 tractors. In Victoria 23,000 wheat producers own 5,072 tractors. In each case less than one farmer in four can afford the most up-to-date implements, and is thus handicapped in the competition for cheap and efficient production. Of course, only the wealthier farmers can, in general, afford these tractors, for they require to be used on farms of 2,000 to 3,000 acres before they can be considered as fully efficient.

So there must be something sinister behind the proposals of such organisations as the Federation League, which claims to voice the needs of "all" farmers. Indeed, its pedigree is very bad, as its "big man" is not a farmer, but a city lawyer! Its whole programme displays its anxiety for the safety of the State, i.e., for the governments of the bankers and big companies, as well as their organised machinery of oppression. It claims to be "non-political," for it knows that its rank and file members would demand that the League should send candidates to the polls to oppose the recognised Country Party candidates, who have earned the dislike of many of the farmers. To do that would reveal that these same Country Party deceivers stand behind the leadership of the League, in order to use the League to bolster up their own shaky positions, and to mislead those who have lost all faith in the Country Party.

THE SORT OF ORGANISATION the poor and oppressed farmers need is one composed of poor farmers and controlled in their own interests. Such an organisation is the Farmers' Unity League, which is just beginning to appear in isolated areas of N.S.W. and Victoria. The F.U.L. is composed of working farmers and excludes self-seekers who are concerned only with the making of profits for themselves. It seeks to help and receive assistance from the agricultural laborers and the industrial workers of the big towns and cities, for it is these sections who must unite in a struggle against the common enemy who is exploiting them. Its immediate programme is briefly as follows:—

1. The revaluation of all holdings and cancellation of all arrears of debts due for all Closer Settlement areas.
2. No forced sales, foreclosures or evictions for arrears of debt.
3. Government aid, free of interest, for necessitous farmers, for superphosphates, seed, machinery, bags, and other essentials.
4. Railway freights to be reduced by 25 per cent., to be met by wiping off dead capital and not by wage reductions.

5. All shire rates and taxes to be spent in localities from which such are collected, for road repairs, etc.

6. A 50% reduction of agents' commission.

Of course, any other demand might arise during the daily struggle, such as free medical attention, better educational facilities, etc. The League has stated as its objects:—

(1) To aid each other in the day-to-day struggles with the banks, machinery trusts, agents, harsh creditors, Taxation departments, etc., and for security of tenure.

(2) The unity of all working farmers on the basis of struggle for the above day-to-day demands. For unity with the industrial wage-earners in our daily struggles, and theirs against the exploiters for a decent living.

This provides a sound basis for struggle which will lead to greater economic security. In the near future it is to be expected that the growing misery of the farmers will find an outlet in the formation of such Leagues in each locality and district. They should take care that their leadership is always kept under the control of the rank-and-file, otherwise it is possible for adventurers to betray them. In time it will be possible to have a State-wide, and later a Commonwealth-wide, organisation, which will be able to fight for the rights of the farmers on a national scale. In Canada recently a strike by the wheat farmers conducted under such leadership was able to force up the price of wheat by 5 cents a bushel. In the United States of America last season a wheat strike of large proportions helped materially in welding the solidarity of the farmers and city workers.

In every country to-day the wave of discontent among farmers is rising. In many of those countries a desperate struggle is going on for demands such as those outlined above. It must be realised that the farmers will never be in a satisfactory position till they smash the dominance of the big parasitic groups of exploiters. The farmers are seeking a solution for their problems, which are but a part of the general problem of the oppressed toilers of the whole world. Therefore the poor and middle farmers should see in the struggles of all the oppressed the hope for that powerful union of all toilers that can alone overcome the stranglehold of those big interests who govern only to secure their own supremacy. If their onslaughts are not checked the poorer farmers will find themselves in the ranks of the unemployed, completely dispossessed, and with every shadow of independence forcibly stripped from them.

Working farmers! Set up your F.U.L. committees and branches to fight for your everyday demands! Let your slogan be, "UNITY WITH ALL OPPRESSED TOILERS!"

IAN C. MACDONALD.

American Scenario

SCENE.

The United States of America is the Promised Land of capitalism. . . . Nowhere else does the desire for gain play so large a part. Every moment of life is filled with this striving, and death alone ends the insatiable pursuit. . . . The capitalist class furthers its interests unaffected by any scruples, even though its way lies over corpses. . . . Nowhere else are the absolute contrasts between the rich and the poor so sharp.

The life-ideal of the American is not found in the pleasurable development of self, nor in the beautiful harmony of a well-rounded life, but only in "getting ahead."

—Professor Werner Sombart, 1905.

UNEMPLOYMENT REACHES TEN MILLION MARK.

J. P. MORGAN LAUNCHES \$2,500,000 YACHT.
—Headlines, 1930.

SUB-TITLES.

my country 'tis of thee

"I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half."

—Millionaire Jay Gould.

sweet land of

"Men must be content to work for low wages. In this way the working-man will be nearer to that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him."

—New York "World."

life, liberty and

"To hell with *habeas corpus*; we'll give 'em *post mortems*."

—Gen. Bell, during Idaho strike.

the pursuit of happiness

"This man, although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him, is nevertheless morally culpable, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions."

—Judge Thayer, at the trial of Vanzetti.

of thee I sing . . .

"Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards?"

—Judge Thayer, after sentencing Sacco and Vanzetti.

THEME.

Society is rotten; the State is a pious criminal; the old truths are tawdry lies. The forces of re-creation are still too scattered and scantily munitioned. The artist is still alone: his voice has not reverberated far. The call of the revolutionist is muffled.

The message of the one and the message of the other do not yet converge on the same people.

The impulse of New America is unfused. Unfused it cannot prevail against the entrenchment of the Old. We must begin to generate within ourselves the energy which is love of life. . . . Its action is creation.

And in a dying world, creation is revolution.

—Waldo Frank, *The New America*, 1919.

CLOSE-UPS.

the message of the one

Big Bill Haywood was a son of the Rockies—he was born, he said, in the bowels of the earth. He saw men toiling blindly in the earth, saw them disinherited from the earth. He was a farm hand at eleven, a miner at fifteen, a class-conscious revolutionary before he ever heard the phrase. Years of bitter struggle, misery, boss-terrorism, injustice, were his text-books.

For twenty years he fought the fight of the working class. Western Federation of Miners, I.W.W., strikes, lock-outs, frame-ups, conferences, soap-box, Big Bill was always there, a mighty reservoir of energy, powerful, direct, primitive—a spokesman and symbol of revolutionary labor. He was in Patterson in 1913 when the striking textile workers were beaten up by cops. And in 1917, when the Morgan interests sold the war to the American grocery clerks, Haywood was rounded up with a hundred other wobblies for saying then what the grocery clerks have found out since—that it wasn't a war to end war, but a war to save Wall Street.

Haywood was sent to jail for twenty years. He served two, and was released on bail. He was a sick man—the capitalist prison had broken him, and he went to Russia and died.

They buried him in the Red Square, under the Kremlin wall, near Lenin's tomb.

and the message of the other

John Reed was the son of a comfortable Babbitt in Portland. He lived among smooth lawns and country clubs and golf and automobiles. He was sent to Harvard to learn good English and to become a Good American Citizen.

Reed learnt good English, he liked good living, and he might have become a Good American

Citizen, Rotarian, patriot, and popular writer. But he got a job reporting, and he was in Paterson in 1913 when the striking textile workers were beaten up by the cops. Reed was mistaken for a striker (it doesn't matter much who gets hit when they're swinging blackjacks) and bashed by an enthusiastic policeman. His editor wanted to bail him out, but Reed said he'd stay in jail and find out things. He was young and alive, and Harvard hadn't altogether killed his intellectual honesty.

In jail Reed learnt the meaning of the class-struggle. When he came out Marxism and revolution were no longer academic words like platonism and subjective idealism, to be discussed over cakes and wine in a cosy Harvard study. They stood for something real. He'd seen hungry fellows grubbing over rubbish tips for something to chew, but somehow he hadn't linked them up with society as an organic whole.

So Reed became a radical, studied things, wrote for *Masses*. He was a war correspondent in Petrograd in 1917, watched the birth of a new-world order, wrote *Ten Days that Shook the World*. He came back to America, was tried under the Espionage Act, returned to Russia, worked with Lenin for the Workers' Republic. In Russia he died.

They buried him in the Red Square, under the Kremlin wall, near Lenin's tomb.

in a dying world

John dos Passos wanted to create things. As a kid he used to paint and write, and because his people had money he was sent to Harvard to learn good English and respectability. He liked Harvard, the austerity and quiet beauty and scholastic twilight, but he liked life also, and he wanted to meet it first-hand and make books about it. So in 1917 he volunteered for ambulance service in Europe. He was twenty-three, and had some vague idealistic feeling about the war and American democracy. He served in France and Italy, and returned to America in 1919. It was a period of intense disillusion; the intelligensia had seen through the sham of the war business; the capitalists were introducing fascist terrorism to exclude workers from participation in the golden war-time harvest of profits. Wilson, the hope of the liberals, had sold himself to Big Business, and was sanctioning bloody repression of the working-class.

400,000 steel workers struck for union recognition, an eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven. United Steel Corporation, whose balance-sheet showed a profit of \$253,000,000, smashed the strike with clubs, machine guns, tear bombs, Cossacks, and gunmen. Labor organisations everywhere were raided, members beaten up, their possessions burned. In Centralia, after a

raid of incredible brutality on the local I.W.W., accompanied by bestial torturings, floggings, and lynchings, seven workers were framed on a murder charge and sent to jail for from 25 to 40 years. . . .

Young dos Passos knew of these things. For a while he tried to forget them. He could paint and write, and there was an easy path of escapism through art, that many of his brother writers were following. Cabell was at the height of his powers, "writing perfectly of beautiful things," making pretty word-patterns about lovely ladies and well-mannered knights. Hergesheimer, too, was lost in a nostalgic lubberland. Scott Fitzgerald, Van Vechten, and many others, surrendered to a complacent cynicism. They knew, of course, that a woman striker had been shot in the back in Pennsylvania, that thousands of workers were being starved and tortured in "bull pens." But these things were beyond the domain of art, so they represented the American scene in terms of petting-parties and jazz-babies, and cocktails.

Dos Passos was in a ferment. He wrote a book about the War called *Three Soldiers*, that appeared in 1921. It was a study of mental degradation under militarism, and because it was America's first war book it was generally denounced. Then he wrote another novel called *Streets of Night*, in which he finally purged himself of his sophomore soul-sickness. It is a story of Harvard, and three young people who turn away from life in despair. "We don't fit here," says one, "we are like beautiful lean-faced people of the Renaissance lost in a marsh, in a stagnant canal overhung by black walls and towering steel girders."

One of the trio finds release through suicide; the other two drift aimlessly into nowhere. From this mood of postwar weariness only two developments are possible. One is sterile reaction, the path that T. S. Eliot, another Harvard man, and Aldous Huxley, have chosen. The other is revolutionary consciousness, the perception of the implicit economic forces that render life barren, and the will to participate in the making of a new order. In this direction alone can art remain creative, drawing its vitality from the ferment of life rather than from the shadows of tradition. John dos Passos has set his face towards the future. With him in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement are Sherwood Anderson, Mike Gold, Charles Yale Harrison, the veteran Theodore Dreiser, one-time liberals like Edmund Wilson and Waldo Frank, and a host of young intellectuals.

Manhattan Transfer, published in 1925, shows dos Passos as a mature craftsman, though his social consciousness is still not fully developed. It is a cinographic presentation of New York life. Bootleggers, journalists, lawyers, business men, politicians, parasitical products of a decay-

ing society, pass across the scene in a bewildering kaleidoscope of booze, corruption and futility. In the next few years, dos Passos was increasingly active in the radical movement. He took part in a Sacco-Vanzetti protest, was arrested with Michael Gold. But his literary work over this period was unimportant: a fantastic play, *The Garbage Man*, and a travel book, *Orient Express*.

In 1929 appeared a remarkable play, *Airways*, in which American imperialism is dealt with; and in the following year another novel, *The Forty-second Parallel*. This, together with its sequel, 1919, published in 1931, is the most important of dos Passos' work. These two books present certain aspects of American life from the beginning of the century down to 1919. The method is that of *Manhattan Transfer*, multiple themes, each dealing with a particular character, shifting with cinema-like transitions from one to the other. But the episodes are integrated by the use of a *Newsreel* that flashes

before each one headlines, fragments of topical songs, political speeches, news items of the period. There are also interspersed biographies of typical Americans, millionaires, inventors, politicians, radicals. And a third device is the *Camera Eye*, a subjective stream of consciousness in the Joycean manner that presents the author's personal recollections over the entire period. Though much of the material in these two volumes is the unassimilated raw stuff of the novelist, dos Passos almost succeeds by sheer verbal brilliance in welding it into a significant whole. No one who reads these two books will fail to disengage some understanding of the upsurge of revolutionary consciousness that is the most important happening in American life to-day.

creation is revolution

—C. P.

The Crisis and Modern Science

THE PRESENT WORLD-WIDE economic depression has produced marked changes in every sphere of human activity. In the past scientists felt that they were immune from the daily economic struggles and difficulties of the world "without."

Science played a leading part in the revolution of productive forces, especially during the last hundred years. It is estimated, for example, that modern methods and machinery enable a farmer to do, in one hour, the work which would have taken 3,000 hours only a century ago. In 1929 (the peak period of capitalist production) the total employment in the steel industry was practically the same as in 1887, although the total output had expanded tenfold. Despite the extraordinary degree of mechanisation and automatization seen in modern textile mills, recent advances in technology (plus increased exploitation) have enabled 30 workers with the new machines to do work which required 220 men only a year or so before. In certain places two men now do the work formerly done by 128 in unloading pig-iron. These enormous strides were made by the exploitation both of human labour-power and scientific discoveries. By many it was believed that the Age of Reason had at last come and science was steadily overcoming all of the problems of the human race. To such the period of capitalist decline, starting in 1914 and enormously accentuated by the present depression, came as a rude shock and dispelled many naive ideas. But before examining the manner in which modern science attempts to smooth over the contradictions between the world's vast store of technical and scientific

knowledge and the present economic decay and catastrophic misery, it is essential to make some enquiry into the general history of science in the last 100 years, and more particularly its conflict with religion.

The industrial revolution compelled and enabled the bourgeoisie to exploit the knowledge of scientists, who thus became privileged servants of capitalism. They were given what was, apparently, a "free hand," but were encouraged by their early training, and by the crude sort of philosophy built up around them, to specialise, to concentrate on certain subjects only. They were led to believe that other branches of science, such as economics and sociology, were also the fields of specialists like themselves. Thus scientists were successfully split up by the bourgeoisie by a form of "division of labour" and were prevented from grasping the truly revolutionary character of the work they were doing. The bourgeoisie felt that it had docile servants. But the advent of Darwin and Marx shattered this pleasant state of affairs. Darwin was first to explain scientifically the origin of man and all other species. His theory was so revolutionary that it seemed that science was about to realise its position in the capitalist world as a really revolutionary force and join the ranks of the *conscious* revolutionaries. For a long period a bitter controversy with the church (another appendage of capitalism used to stupefy the masses) was carried on. From this struggle science emerged apparently victorious. In actual fact, the church had been compelled to compromise with the biologists and formally accepted many of Darwin's teachings.

Many churchmen based their beliefs on a more or less superficial acceptance of scientific theories. (In our day Dean Inge is a good example of this enforced "linking" of things which are really incompatible.) In Marx and Marxism the bourgeoisie met something that was more than a match for them. Here was a theory of human relationships which exposed in a scientific manner the class-origins of all the events of human history, and showed the transitory nature of all systems, each carrying within it the seeds of its decay. It explained that the capitalist system especially was one based on the exploitation of the great mass of people by a few exploiters or capitalists. It showed that religion was an instrument for stupefying and side-tracking the working-class from its urgent economic needs. Science was revealed as the leading force of future society, but bound down by the present system of profit-making, so that only a comparatively small proportion of its benefits were being utilised. The capitalist class endeavoured to kill Marxism by a conspiracy of silence. In this they failed.

This, then, was roughly the position with regard to science and religion in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Science had, so to speak, made a desperate attempt to escape from its capitalist fetters, but had been captured again by the clever manœuvring of the bourgeoisie. For a long time science played an increasingly important part. Commencing about 1880, capitalism began that period of overseas expansion and colonisation known as Imperialism. It grew prodigiously and scientists were kept busy finding new sources of energy, transport and production. It seemed as though science at last held the field against such reactionary forces as religion. But in a system which aims at profit-production only, there is necessarily a limit to such expansion when competitive forces clash in every productive sphere. The discoveries of science serve only to exaggerate the existing over-production. Thus during the last 20 or 30 years the utilisation of scientific discoveries has grown less and less in proportion to the extent of such discoveries. Certainly we have, for example, talking films. But should we not have had them 10 years ago? All the knowledge necessary was then in existence. But it was not an immediately good commercial proposition. Television, except for the privileged few, will be held up indefinitely for the same reason, although developed years ago. The same is true of all discoveries. Certainly marvellous technological advances have been made, yet it is estimated at present that they represent only about 10 per cent. of those at the disposal of humanity. Indeed, war industries, especially the chemical industries, are the only ones in which the bourgeoisie allows its scientists full freedom. Elsewhere, a cramping of supplies and non-utilisation of discoveries.

What is the attitude of scientists to this critical situation? An examination reveals a vast jumble of ideas and diversity of opinion. The most reactionary section shows a very sinister leaning toward religion and mysticism of all sorts. Such influential thinkers and writers as Sir James Jeans, Eddington, Whitehead and Planck are frank in their capitulations to the priests. They outspokenly deny materialism, which is necessarily the basis of all science, and substitute a peculiar form of philosophy which, as Gore Graham points out, is only a pitiful rehash of what Kant, Hegel and others said much better 100 or more years ago. These scientists, of course, show complete disregard for this fact. They feel at present a sense of the *futility* of much of their scientific knowledge, but do not realise that that feeling is due to the bonds imposed by capitalism on science. Instead, they say such things as this, quoted from the presidential speech of Sir Alfred Ewing to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (August, 1932):—

"The cornucopia of the engineer has been shaken all over the earth, scattering everywhere an endowment of previously unpossessed and unimagined capacities and powers. . . . Man was ethically unprepared for so great a bounty. In the slow evolution of morals he is still unfit for the tremendous responsibility it entails. The command of nature has been put in his hands before he knows how to command himself."

So, says one of Britain's most influential scientific thinkers, because the human race is "ethically unprepared" for all that science can give it, 50,000,000 workers throughout the world must live in unemployment and constantly under the threat of white terror if they dare to attempt an improvement of their wretched lot! The masses of China and India must writhe under the lash of Imperialist oppression, because God has played a joke and has put into the hands of the financier and industrialist the "command of Nature" before he knows how "to command himself." Thus is the crisis in modern science revealed in its clearest form. Jeans finds the universe "mysterious" and an "idea" in the mind of a "God" whom he imagines to be a "master mathematician." Eddington asserts that the human mind is the "first and most direct thing in our experience; all the rest is rash inference." And the reactionary churchmen drink this in with glee. The Bishop of Birmingham says, in essence, the same thing as these world-famed scientists when he writes thus:—

"The progressive development of thought emphasises the unity of plan and structure of the universe. The cosmos hangs together. The bundles of regular sequences in it which we have discovered indicate the existence of true cause, of purpose, expressed in a single ground plan. It seems to me that the existence of some sort of God to whose Intelligent Will the whole is due, has become an increasingly reasonable belief."

Truly, science has at last achieved the "impossible" and received the church's blessing!

SO MUCH FOR THE CRISIS in science as represented by the "latest" theories. We will now see that science in practice reveals itself to be just as reactionary.

The scientists quoted above have not been so much aware of the economic crisis as another more progressive group who are, perhaps, more directly connected with the process of production. One example will suffice here to show the connection between what is regarded as "pure" science and the demands of the bourgeoisie. It is recognised to-day among scientists that the major problem in economic production is production of *energy*. In the past decades a more or less separate science of Energetics has been built up. Why has this occurred? The answer is to be found in numerous factors peculiar to capitalism. The centralisation of production and accumulation of productive forces around certain gigantic centres has made it more and more necessary to centralise energy production and distribution. The best example of this centralisation in the capitalist world is in U.S.A., where all the principal electricity power stations situated between the Mississippi River in the west to the Atlantic ocean in the east and from the Gulf of Mexico in the south to the frontiers of Canada in the north, are able to exchange electrical energy. This territory covers about 800,000 square miles, or an area twice the size of England, Germany and France put together. In the Soviet Union, Dniepostrôl, which supplies 18,000,000 people, is the first link in a chain of even huger schemes which will ultimately bring about the electrification of the whole Union. In other words, centralised electrical energy will be the future method of supplying energy for all industrial and other needs. But capitalism limits the development of such schemes to their full extent, especially in such places as Europe, where national barriers are insuperable obstacles to scientific progress. Nevertheless, science still goes on finding out ways in which to produce energy. Great interest at present centres on the attempt being made at the Cavendish laboratory, Cambridge, to split the atom and produce the long-sought atomic energy. The whole bourgeois world is agog with excitement when even the smallest advances are made, and photographs of Lord Rutherford and others appear on front pages under streaming headlines. Capitalism wants the goods and Lord Rutherford is trying to oblige. Yet such an authority as Professor Andrade, as recently as 1929, declared that the release of atomic energy was more the talk of a romancer than a scientist. Certainly experience has shown that to break up atoms, of even the simplest atoms, requires the expenditure of huge amounts of energy, while the release of energy is so

infinitesimal as to be undetectable. Latest research indicates that in all probability energy will be released rather by building up atoms than by splitting them. And so far no indication has been obtained that this is possible. In this fashion "pure" science reveals its close association with the economic requirements of capitalism and its eagerness to "promise" results which are not really indicated by the facts of present-day knowledge.

It is such scientists as these who unconsciously reflect the crisis in science in a more practical form. Realising that something has gone astray and science is not being used to anything like its full extent, they attempt to find a way of improving matters within the framework of capitalism. It was, perhaps, H. G. Wells who first voiced the aspirations of this group of scientists in his work entitled "The Open Conspiracy," where he advocates an "open conspiracy of intellectuals" who would control the world with the assistance of such "generous" multi-millionaires as Rockefeller (whom, he says in a later work, "Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind," "grew and broadened at every stage of his career"). From the heights of his intellectual "superiority" Wells hates democracy. Indeed the theory has a very doubtful pedigree, coming as it does from one who describes himself as a "liberal fascist." His plea has found an echo among a large group of scientists, of whom the physicist, Prof. Frederick Soddy, is the chief. His group advocates what is described as the "revolutionary doctrine" of "technocracy," which is much the same as the "open conspiracy." These scientists realise perfectly well that science has been distorted and emasculated by the latest developments of capitalism, and this is their solution. It is indistinguishable from the aims of fascism, as it apparently desires the creation of "scientific Mussolinis" who will control the whole earth. It is obvious that such a theory entirely avoids the root of the trouble, which lies in the capitalist mode of production. This same fascist attitude of many scientists is shown by medical men, especially in "social service" and public health schemes. In England these schemes have been developed to a very high degree, and Sir George Newman, chief medical officer of the Board of Education, says that one of the objects of medical inspections of school children is to

"fit the child in the way of health, that it may grow into a healthy, strong, capable, happy workman, physically and mentally."

In other words, in this period of unemployment and general physical degradation the job of the medical profession is to patch up the working class and attempt to keep it as healthy as possible, especially "mentally." Anyone who knows anything of our Melbourne public hospitals has had practical experience of this same



attitude of compulsion in matters of health. Alas, the State is rapidly erecting a vast bureaucratic apparatus to deal with ill-health among the working class. Capitalism is finding the old, inefficient method of private practice incapable of dealing with the problem. The hospitals are more crowded and many more medical men are spending an ever-increasing part of their time in public hospitals. At present approximately two-thirds of Melbourne's doctors spend part of their time in public hospitals. The bourgeoisie call this the "spirit of service," but actually it is a compulsory act forced on the doctors by that same bourgeoisie. The depression is rapidly dispelling the illusion that the doctor is one of the capitalist class and is revealing him as one of the exploited specialists. "More work for less pay" is demanded from him, just as from the factory worker. This creation of a bureaucratic health apparatus has resulted in patients being treated in the mass, instead of as individuals, a thing which is always essential in treating sick people. And, of course, no attention is paid to what is the correct sphere of medical activity in the light of present knowledge. Doctors should now be able to devote most of their attention to studying the conditions for health, and not the conditions of disease already existent. But such an approach is not possible under capitalism.

Space will not permit a further analysis of the crisis in modern science. It has been pointed out that science is the slave of capitalism. With the decline of capitalism a crisis has occurred in the scientific world owing to the clash between existing scientific knowledge and its restrictions under that system. The manner in which scientists have responded has been analysed. This analysis may be summarised as follows: *In the period of Capitalist decline the crisis in modern science is reflected, theoretically, by the self-abasement of science and a return to idealism, reactionary mysticism,*

and even to a compromise with religion. Practically Science attempts to organise itself along lines compatible only with Fascism.

Of course, many scientists, especially the younger, are turning away from this reaction. They have become conscious of the cause of the crisis in science and are striving for a solution of their problems. No solution is provided in the Soviet Union, where science is not hampered by private ownership and the desire for profit. Julian Huxley, the well-known English biologist, visited the U.S.S.R. and found there that science was at last really free. It seemed to him that the Russian proletariat were determined to release science from the chains which bind it in capitalist countries. While scientists in capitalist countries are beginning to doubt their science and turn back to religion or to unreliable schemes of "technocracies," he finds that in the Soviet Union

"they are aiming at a practical application of science on a larger scale than any other country; they are of fixed purpose, setting out to base their agriculture, their industry, their mining, the health of their people and their whole national life upon science. And accordingly they feel that in this process so many fundamental questions will crop up, that to answer them they will need, not less pure science, but more. And therefore, as fast as resources permit, they are preparing to increase expenditure on pure scientific research to a scale far beyond that attempted in any capitalist country."

This message of Professor Huxley is of profound importance to all scientists who are convinced that science is grievously crippled under the existing system. In the near future the scientists will be compelled to declare themselves openly, to be on one side or the other—on the side of decay, brutality and reaction, or on the side of real scientific advancement. The scientist who wishes to see science reach its full fruition must throw in his lot with the revolutionary working class.

IAN C. MACDONALD.

PUBLIC OPINION—cont. from page 12.

the Roman Catholic Church became the centralized citadel of feudalism. We may certainly add "faith" as inculcated by many religions to our list of the virtues of class societies.

If then, as we have here argued, public opinion has its origin primarily in the economic structure of society, there are important conclusions to be drawn with regard to the revolutionary attitude in the present capitalist order. For we now know the reason why one socialist party after another has drifted into an innocuous reformism. The revolutionary attitude has often survived the fear of economic

destitution and political punishment, but only to succumb to the pervasive influence of class-controlled ideas, which slowly draw it back to partake of their own harmlessness. And so we conclude that the mark of the effective revolutionary is the realisation on his part of the class-controlled nature of the prevailing ideas in society. Without this, despite strong determination to alter the underlying economic and social structure and a scientific knowledge of the means, there is the constant danger of being drafted off into harmless channels; while with it, the working-class movement comes to light as the first revolutionary movement in history which is fully conscious of the role it has to fill.

Q. B. GIBSON.

"All Quiet on the Soviet Border"

A GLANCE AT THE MAP of the world reveals that the frontier of the Soviet Union stretches right across the middle of two great continents, and is flanked by a great variety of "border states," resembling each other only in their common subjection to imperialist tyranny. To appreciate fully the danger of war on the Soviet Union one needs to examine the feverish armament preparations now in progress in these "border states." These preparations afford the clearest possible proof of the great central fact of the world situation—that just as the fulfilment of the Second Five Year Plan demands *peace*, so the capitalist "solution" of the crisis demands *war*.

The first sector of the capitalist chain of armaments is provided by the five border states of the west—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania. These are all Fascist or semi-Fascist states, with a strong infusion of Russian "White Guard" refugees. The standing armies of these states (with a population of 65 million) total about 560,000 men, and are thus equal in size to the standing army of the Soviet Union (which has a population of 160 million). Armaments are thus two and a half times as great on the capitalist side of the frontier as on the Soviet side. The war budgets of these states rose from 121 million dollars in 1923 to 177 million dollars in 1930. On the admission of the French Finance Minister last year, Poland and Rumania have borrowed from the French Government since 1919 for military purposes 2,000,000,000 francs each. (In the great invasion plot of 1930 it was from these two countries that the attack on the Soviet Union was to commence.) Constanza, the Rumanian port strategically placed by the mouth of the Danube just opposite the rich wheat-lands of the Ukraine, has just been provided by British capital with a brand new munition works (Vickers) and a brand new naval base (built under the superintendence of a British admiral). The whole recent history of these states has focussed on gigantic anti-Soviet war preparations inspired, planned and financed by the great capitalist interests of Western Europe.

Behind these states lies Germany, with its plans for "re-armament." As the Berlin correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" informed us last June, "Captain von Papen last year visited Paris and discussed with French clericals an economic alliance against the Soviet's Five Year Plan and the re-arming of Germany," and "it was agreed . . . that nothing should interfere in the fight against Bolshevism." This menace, which increased still further under the government of Von Schleicher, has under Hitler become a matter of first mo-

ment. For Hitler may shortly have occasion to transform his bellicose speeches into action. Having promised the German masses everything, and (under capitalism) being able to grant them nothing, he may well embark on some desperate act of aggression if only to draw attention away from failures that would otherwise utterly discredit him. What could be better for this purpose than "the fight against Bolshevism"? The next few months may well reveal to us the extraordinary spectacle of Hitler as generalissimo of a new German army, the successor of the Kaiser's army of 1914-1918, born of French Imperialism and baptised by French priests. The plotters of intervention, who on previous occasions (as in 1930) found in the attitude of the German capitalists a stumbling-block to a capitalist united front, will now feel a new sense of security.

NEXT WE COME to that remarkable unofficial British Empire, stretching for thousands of miles along or near the southern borders of the Soviet Union and embracing Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. These territories, though not marked "British" on the map, are the happiest of happy hunting-grounds for British capital. Mesopotamia and Persia are dominated by Shell and Anglo-Persian oil, while Afghanistan and Tibet, for economic and strategic reasons, are kept under strict watch and care by the British Indian Government. What part are these territories to play in the Armageddon of capitalism? The Macdonald "Labor" Government built new air-bases in Persia and in Iraq (Mesopotamia), each within flying distance of the "stolen" oil-wells of Baku. The same Government, in christening Iraq an "independent" state, provided for the practically complete British control of the armed forces and the handing over of the entire country "in the event of war or of threat of war." Next to this region lies the enormous territory of Persia, whose value as a military base against the Soviet Republics both of Europe and Asia was conclusively proved in the last counter-revolutionary invasions. Persia is under the domination of the same oil interests as Iraq, and will be used as the vehicle of the same policy. But what about the Afghans, those whom Lenin congratulated in 1919 as "the independent Afghan people heroically defending itself against foreign oppressors"? Amanullah, the champion of this independence, has been dethroned in favor of the Imperialist puppet, Nadir Shah, who has made the fortune of British and French armament-firms. The Soviet-Afghan Treaty of friendship, signed in 1921, has been annulled. Captain Duncan, of the Indian Army, as early

as July, 1931, explained at a speech at the Legacy Club in Sydney the plans of the British Army for pushing forward roads, railways and forts in Afghanistan in case "we have to fight Russia." The Afridis, the border tribes in whom the spirit of independence is strongest, have been punished by the permanent British occupation of their territories. Afghanistan promises to become the spearhead, no longer of the Moslem revolutionary struggle for independence, but of a capitalist attack on the Soviet Union. And Tibet? Tibet has been virtually a British protectorate since 1912. The "New York Times" of August 21st, 1932, tells us that a treaty has just been signed securing the rights of British capital in this region and providing that British instead of Chinese troops should be responsible for its defence. The ruler of Tibet had already received from British Army Headquarters 40 pieces of field artillery, a large number of shells, 2,000 service rifles and two million rounds of ammunition!

Finally, we arrive at the eastern end of the cordon, where the dominant Imperialism is not British, but Japanese. Here is first of all the great desert-land of Mongolia. "Outer Mongolia," near the Soviet Border, has been for many years a "People's Republic," standing in close friendship with the Soviet Union—not a "Soviet Republic," for it is under the leadership of the peasantry rather than of an industrial proletariat—but still a "people's republic," not capitalist and not permitting the growth of capitalism. The "North China Daily News," leading organ on British Imperialism in the Far East, states that "a group of prominent Manchus and Mongols, many of whom hold high administrative and political positions in Manchukuo," have formed an association one of whose main objects is to win back Outer Mongolia (for capitalism); and that a force of 50,000 Mongols, under officers with foreign military training, is now at work for that purpose.

Meanwhile Manchuria, to the eastward, is already a conquered territory under permanent military occupation. Japanese armies have recently been approaching the Soviet frontier along three lines—the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Sungari River and the Korean border. That is to say, they are on the straight road to Chita, to Khabarovsk and to Vladivostok—three vital points on the Trans-Siberian railway commanding the Soviet outlet to the Pacific Ocean. The Soviet Union could not allow these points to be seized. "We don't want a single foot of foreign territory," said Stalin, "but we shall not give up a single inch of our own." And what have the Imperialists of the "Lytton Commission" to say on this matter? Only the cynical and superfluous statement that "a mere restoration of the status quo would be no solu-

tion, since the present conflict arose out of the conditions prevailing before last September, and to restore these conditions would merely be to invite the repetition of the trouble." These Imperialist humbugs know well enough that the "restoration of the status quo" is not a concrete issue at all. The concrete issue is not whether Japanese Imperialism will gracefully bow and retire from Manchuria, but whether it will move forward from the occupation of Manchuria to an open attack on the Soviet Union. This question the Lytton Commissioners are too polite to discuss. They want "international co-operation" to cope with the danger of the "disintegration of China," with special reference to communism, which "has become an actual rival of the national government"—in other words, they want common capitalist action to smash the Chinese Soviets. But that is as far as they are prepared to express themselves openly—yet. For further information we have to go to other capitalist organs which maintain a less elaborate smoke-screen. The Memorandum of Prime Minister Tanaka in 1927 speaks of "the inevitability of crossing swords with Russia"; the Memorandum of General Honjo, in 1931, speaks of "occupying the Far Eastern region of the Soviet Union." A well-known Japanese journalist, in the columns of "Nichon," announces that "if Japan obtains Siberia, it will be able to forget unemployment and economic crisis for ever." The Paris Press, with open bravado, tells us that "if Europe performs its duty towards civilisation, the endless steppes of Siberia may become in the near future the battlefield on which Bolshevism perishes." The financial editor of the "New York Telegram," more businesslike in tone, quotes with approval the remark of a Wall Street king that "Japan's action in Manchuria will undoubtedly give security to foreign investments," and observes that "if Russia is drawn into the war, even to a slight degree, it will be forced to abandon the Five Year Plan, which is causing such anxiety to the United States." "Primarily aimed against the Soviet Union," is the verdict on the Japanese invasion of the Harbin correspondent of the "New York Times"; while the "Manchester Guardian" declares that "if the Soviets can be goaded into any kind of active support of the Chinese armies, the French, British and American Governments will immediately take the Japanese side." Thus the anti-Soviet character of the Japanese onslaught is admitted again and again even in the Capitalist Press.

It is true that Manchuria also provides us with a picture of fierce family quarrels within the capitalist camp. But these family quarrels cannot be trusted to prevent common action against the common enemy. Can we forget that early in 1918, when the fiercest of all these family quarrels was absolutely at its height, the troops of both contending forces—Allied

and German—were pitted against the Soviet Union at one and the same time? To-day we find that the same world crisis which, by diminishing markets and profits, has made the competition between the capitalist powers more bitter, has also made their common antagonism to the Soviet Union more bitter. As markets contract the struggle for what is left of them becomes more intense—hence a sharpening of the antagonism between the capitalist groups; but as these same markets contract the tremendous expansion of the Soviet Union becomes more impressive by comparison—hence the need for a combination of all capitalist groups against the challenger of them all. Thus the danger of a war of rival imperialisms and the danger of a general counter-revolutionary war of intervention go hand in hand.

In the mighty chain of capitalist armaments round the Soviet Union there is, however, one weak link. That is that these frontier states, heavily-armed and Fascised as they may be, are the scene of some of the strongest revolutionary movements in the world. Poland is on the verge of a working-class revolution, aided by peasants and by national minorities. Early in 1932, Polish dock-workers at Gnydia refused to load munitions for Japan and Polish soldiers and sailors disobeyed orders to fire on them. Germany, just behind the frontier states, with its huge army of Communist supporters, reinforced daily by disgusted Social Democrats and (we may now expect) by large numbers of "Nazi" workers and petty bourgeois disillusioned by the practical bankruptcy of Hitlerism in

power, is to-day a terrible menace to capitalism. China, with its hundred million Soviet citizens, is a more terrible menace still. Just as Fascism in the frontier states is strong, so the revolutionary workers and peasants' movement is also strong. The men who form the armies in these states may have strange ways of answering the call to battle! If the working-class movement can fulfil its role in the present situation, the very magnitude of the capitalist armament preparations will serve to render the workers invincible to capitalist attack.

Some final reference is required to the states that do not lie near the Soviet border, and especially to Australia. Why is Darwin being fortified? Why does Lyons, in uttering a caution against disarmament, utter the preposterous lie that "Russia has made no secret of her determination ultimately to overthrow by force those other nations which are pursuing different political and economic ideals"? Why must Latham, in answer to a statement in the House of Representatives that Australia is short of munitions, reply mysteriously, "I could show you something that would make you change your mind"? Why, except that the powers of capitalism are preparing once again to call for "the last man and the last shilling," this time for the purpose of a "war to end socialism"? It is the sacred task of the Australian proletariat to see that this war is interrupted by, or if possible anticipated by, a "war to end capitalism," such as will be, in reality and not in sham, a "war to end war."

RALPH GIBSON.

Prosperity Around The Corner

- Mr. J. H. Thomas: "I think the bottom has been reached."—Feb., 1930.
- Lord Melchett: "There is an upward trend."—June, 1930.
- "Daily Express": "By the immutable laws of economics, it cannot go on for ever."—July, 1930.
- Sir Arthur Dorman: "We have seen the worst."—August, 1930.
- Federation of British Industries: "We have reached the bottom of the trough."—Nov., 1930.
- Sir Herbert Austin: "I am confident that 1931 will see an improvement."—Dec., 1930.
- Sir William Morris: "We shall have a renewal of trade within six months."—Jan., 1931.
- Federation of British Industries: "The worst of the slump is over."—May, 1931.
- "Morning Post": "More signs of trade boom."—Sept., 1931.
- Sir Harry McGowan: "The dawn is breaking."—Feb., 1932.
- "Daily Mail": "The dark cloud has passed."—March, 1932.
- Sir Henry Batterton: "We have turned the corner."—March, 1932.
- Mr. L. S. Amery: "We are beginning to get out of the wood."—June, 1932.
- Sir William Morris: "I see prosperity right ahead."—Aug., 1932.
- Sir Robert Horne: "Our noses are round the corner."—Sept., 1932.
- In Britain there were 2,969,806 unemployed at the end of 1932.—"New Leader," Dec. 23, 1932.



OXFORD undergraduates marching with the hunger-marchers in England. Since that time many undergraduates have had their names and addresses taken by "bull-dogs" while participating in working-class demonstrations.

International Unemployed Day, February 27.

THE INTERNATIONAL organisation of workers has proceeded rapidly under the oppression of the present crisis. So advanced is this organisation that on February 27 demonstrations of the unemployed and their fellow-workers will take place in all capitalist countries. This is a direct outcome of the suffering and privation which is forced on the workers until they realise their position as being worse than mere pawns in the game of capital, and re-act, first in isolated fashion, later with unity.

The process of building up an international solidarity continues. The forces against it are many and strong. Among them, and very potent, is the effort of the "Labour Leaders" throughout the capitalist world to delude the masses into supporting narrow national schemes, thus obscuring the fact that the problems of the workers are universally the same, except in U.S.S.R.

This thorn in the capitalist side has withstood armed intervention by many nations, including Poland, France, Britain, America and Japan. It has withstood economic war, and it stands as a refutation in fact of the many varied lies and mis-representations with which the capitalists have attempted to deceive the masses of their own depressed countries. The successful growth of socialist construction in Russia is a fact which stands beyond challenge. The socialisation of the means of production has led to an absolute absence of unemployment. While such people as Bernard Shaw and Julian Huxley attest to the fact that there is no sign of unemployment or oppression in Russia, Riga sends forth its atrocious lies. There is no unemploy-

ment in the country of socialist production. Nor can there be.

But in America official figures put the unemployed at 12 millions; in England, 3 millions; in Germany, over 9 millions; in France, 2 millions; and in Australia, half a million. These official figures are invariably much lower than reality. So that, while capitalism's unemployed are numbered in tens of millions, it seeks to deceive its oppressed masses by lying to them about Russia.

What are the prospects of the workers in these capitalist countries? Further unemployment, wars looming dark in the near future, further reductions in their standards of living, further oppression to keep down organised struggle, further lies about prosperity round the corner, further lies to discredit the U.S.S.R., which stands as an example to all toilers, and as such must be discredited or destroyed.

In Australia many struggles have been fought for food and clothing and for shelter. These mass actions have demonstrated that here, as in other countries, the proletariat is prepared to fight to defend its class interests. The struggles against legal and extra-legal (Fascist—New Guard) forces are becoming more intense. The workers are no longer willing to bear the burden of subjection.

On February 27 the workers of Australia will demonstrate that they will not tolerate evictions, work for dole, that is forced labour, the atrocious questionnaire, and every kind of economic and legal restriction. And in so doing they will be joining in a world-wide demonstration of the awakening working class.

ALICE S. STEWART.

IS BRITAIN DIFFERENT?

Palme Dutt on "TERRORISM, MASS STRUGGLE & MILITANT UNITY"

ALL THE LIBERAL Socialist applauders of the present constructive achievements in the Soviet Union endeavor to bury or deny the universal application of the Bolshevic Revolution. The Five Year Plan—this they consider universal, and long to transfer it to Western Europe and America. But the revolution they endeavor to minimise and explain away as only local in its significance, a product of special circumstances, a Russian phenomenon. They try to leave out of account or to bury out of mind one fact about the whole achievement, the biggest and simplest fact, and the most important to all of us in the rest of the world. That fact is that this achievement is built on a single definite base—the base of a revolution, of a workers' revolution.

The boasted "superiorities" and "differences" dwindle more and more; the basic issues stand out ever more bare, as the present crisis extends. Where now are the "democratic" institutions in Germany for the sake of which the Second International leaders bade the millions of German workers and soldiers, when they held power in their hands in 1918, sacrifice the social revolution that was within their grasp? The mass of workers are faced with the barest struggle for bread, and in this struggle are confronted with the apparatus of capitalist violence. In the streets of Belfast the masses of workers demonstrate, crying, "We want bread," and are met with bullets. Is all this so different from Czarism?

TAKE BIRKENHEAD. Before the present crisis had taken effect, in 1930, 28.1 per cent. of the insured workers were unemployed. Unemployed single men were to exist on 12 shillings a week. Driven by need, ten thousand unemployed workers in Birkenhead demonstrate to present their demands; a deputation puts their demands before the Public Assistance Committee—the barest demands for existence—for an increased rate for coals, for boots, for clothes. What is the result? The police are set upon them. All the witnesses agree as to the fully peaceful character of the demonstration until the police attack began; only in the face of actual attack the workers were driven to resist, and by their resistance showed their solidarity and determination, and extracted the concessions that were won. On peaceful demonstrations of unarmed workers, without defence and under-nourished, hordes of armed police, specially drafted in, are let loose to make their baton charges, until the scene is a "battlefield."* Then follows the vengeance of the successive nights, the "night of terror" in the working-class quarters.

The Labour Party "raises" the question in Parliament. Deputy-Leader Sir Stafford Cripps says:—

"What were they to say to the unemployed of Bristol who pointed to Birkenhead? When they told the unemployed of Bristol that they could achieve nothing by rioting, they were met at once by the argument of what happened at Birkenhead and Belfast. If only the Prime Minister would give some expression of his intentions, it would assist those people who were trying to preserve law and order in the country."

Mr. Macdonald lost no time to respond:—

"He recognised fully that Sir S. Cripps and his immediate associates held precisely the same views as he did on the question." —"Times" Report, October 20, 1932.

The Labour Party and the National Government will help one another to try to keep the unemployed in hand, to prevent concessions being made to "rioting," and to keep down Communist, i.e., revolutionary, influence.

Only the strengthening of the workers' united front can defeat the Capitalist offensive.

Such a united front must be built up in the first place locally. Ultimately it must lead to a wide national movement, a mass revolutionary opposition, strongly based on the unions and in the factories, and among the unemployed, and conducting a common struggle.—LABOR MONTHLY, NOVEMBER, 1932.

*We witnessed similar baton charges against peaceful demonstrations in Melbourne in connection with the November 7th Celebrations.—(Ed. "Proletariat.")