

# PROLETARIAT

ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB.

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A Minority Group Within the University.

Volume IV., No. 3.

OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1935.

## FAREWELL



**T**HIS IS THE LAST ISSUE OF "PROLETARIAT"!

Read it through with more than usual reverence, for you will never see another. Never more will you be delighted by the scintillating wit, the graceful turn of phrase, and withal, the inspired grasp of student needs, which have endeared "Proletariat" to every student in Australia. But despair not, dear reader, for we die in giving birth to a far, far, better thing. But enough—the occasion is too solemn for flippancy. Let us explain ourselves.

During the four brief years of our existence we have striven to point out to students the salient features of a decisive period in history; on the one hand, the rapid disintegration of Capitalist economy resulting in cultural decay, Fascist repression, and the drive to war; and on the other hand, the rising struggle of all progressive forces against attacks on liberty, against war and for the ultimate goal of Socialism.

At the present time these conflicting forces are moving rapidly towards a climax. Italian Capitalism, on the verge of collapse, has launched a brutal war of colonial aggression, a war which may yet be stopped by international action, but which may also lead to an inter-imperialist war, or to a last desperate throw, the alignment of the forces of Capitalism against the Soviet Union.

Australian Capitalism, to meet the situation, moves rapidly towards Fascism, endeavoring first to destroy the spear-head of the forces against war and against Capitalism itself.

Of the ultimate outcome of the world situation there can be no doubt—the international working class has never been stronger—Capitalism has never been weaker.

But our task at the moment is to prevent Australia taking part in the imminent imperialist war, and to defeat any attempt to introduce Fascism in our country. It is vitally necessary to mobilise all progressive forces, regardless of political theories, behind the slogan: "For Peace, Freedom, and Progress."

**I**N the last issue of "Proletariat," the Labor Club called for the formation of an Australian Student League. Originally we conceived of the League as an organisation embracing those societies in each University having Socialism as their aim. Our conception has since broadened considerably, two main factors being responsible for the change. Firstly, our realisation of the urgent necessity for the broadest unity of all progressive students; and secondly, the rather unexpected response of progressive student bodies such as the Student Christian Movement, to the idea of an Australian Student League, based on a broad programme such as that summed up in the slogan: "For Peace, Freedom, and Progress." The Labor Club is prepared to devote all its energies to the formation of such a League.

**T**HE movement must be extended, not only into the Universities, but also into the public schools, high schools, technical schools, business colleges, agricultural colleges, forestry schools, wherever students are gathered together with common interests. The tasks of the League will extend beyond the immediate struggle for the defence of democratic rights and against the war danger. It will be necessary for the League to conduct extensive research into the economic conditions of students and graduates, and to devise forms of propaganda and of struggle for improving those conditions; to examine the cultural problems of students, to work for a closer welding of theory and practice, closer linking of isolated subjects with social problems, and to demand that the talents and training of students be used for progressive purposes.

The most potent instrument in carrying out these tasks will be a student newspaper—widely circulated and appearing regularly. It will be impossible for the Labor Club to continue the publication of "Proletariat" while at the same time assisting in the heavy tasks of organising the Student League and publishing the proposed newspaper. The Labor Club has therefore decided to hand over the machinery of production and distribution of "Proletariat" to the Student League. It seems certain that our offer will be accepted; whether this happens or not, our decision will remain.

"Proletariat" is dead—long live the Student League newspaper.

FORWARD TO AN AUSTRALIAN STUDENT LEAGUE.



# The War Situation

**AUGUST, 1914,** took the world by surprise. It is true that, in the writings of a few of the more sensitive pre-war novelists, there is a recognition of the hollowness of the pre-war world, of the threatening doom towards which a world of illusions is heading. It is true that many critics foresaw the conflict many years ahead.

"England—and Germany—compete in every corner of the globe. In the Transvaal, at the Cape, in Central Africa, in India, and the East, in the islands of the Southern Sea, and in the far Northwest, wherever—and where has it not?—the flag has followed the Bible, and trade has followed the flag; there the German bagman is struggling with the English pedlar. Is there a mine to exploit, a railway to build, a nation to convert from breadfruit to tinned meat, from temperance to trade gin, the German and the Englishman are struggling to be first. A million petty disputes build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen. . . . Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession. Must they not fight for two million pounds of commerce?"

The above extract, which gives a far better analysis of the underlying causes of the first world war than the average present day British school book, appeared in the English "Saturday Review" of September 11th, 1897.

But while there were several such forecasts, the prophets were in a powerless minority. The people generally before 1914, were blind to the fact that the end of the road of capitalist civilisation, the goal towards which life was moving, was August, 1914, and the World War.

## A Second World War?

**BUT** since those four tragic years it has been different. A large section of mankind was certainly lulled to sleep by the flowery talk of the League of Nations and Disarmament, and large sections are still asleep to this very day. But it is only those who have been deliberately shutting their eyes, or who have been asleep without being aware of it, who have not known during the past few years that the world has been hurtling towards another Armageddon.

Not only in political treatises, but in the novel and the poem, throughout the whole field of literature, there looms the foreboding of the gathering storm. Celine's "Journey to the End of the Night" is in the front ranks of post-war bourgeois literature only because it expresses more powerfully and honestly what its fellow-books have portrayed less clearly. Celine paints only one side of post-war life, but he paints that side with the deadly accuracy of a mad caricaturist, and it is a life that cannot be described better than by the title of his book.

And we would have to admit that Celine is right—that life is a meaningless journey into

ever deeper darkness and death—if we could not recognise the propelling forces that are driving us onward, and the means of controlling these forces.

## The Propelling Forces.

**THAT** the capitalist system itself—a system that has increased the productive forces but is unable to distribute its products—a system that destroys wheat and coffee and cotton while millions are cold and starving—a system that involves a struggle for overseas markets and spheres of influence for the profitable investment of capital—a system that is a war of trade which is ever developing rapidly into the trade of war—that the profit motive which is the driving force of this system is also the propelling force driving the world to war, is clear to any scientific analysis and is confirmed by all the historical facts.

Never has this been so clear as in the Abyssinian war. It is plain to all that it is no mad whim of Mussolini, but the desperate condition of Italian capitalism, that demands this grabbing of a country where unexploited raw materials and unexploited cheap labor may be used to resuscitate the failing god of Italian capitalism—the rate of profit.

## The Role of Fascism.

**ITALY'S** aggression has given the final touch of historical proof needed to confirm the analysis of fascism as "a direct part of capitalist war preparation" (Palme Dutt), as a weapon by which the drive to war, inherent in capitalism, is accelerated both through the inculcation of an insane nationalism and by the ruthless crushing of all opposition. Fascist Italy takes its place with Fascist Germany and semi-Fascist Japan in the front ranks of the powers that are leading the drive to war.

Those who have been trying to pretend that Italian Fascism, unlike its German brother, is "respectable" and "moderate" can do so no longer. Less than three years ago the "Times," the mouthpiece of British imperialism, was declaring that: "The present greatness of Mussolini is shown in the increased moderation which has followed the increase of his power. . . . Abroad he has shown that even his eager nationalism understands the need of international collaboration, and that Fascism is always ready to fall in with the plans of other Powers if they are calculated to promote the common good." (October 18th, 1932.) But the myth of the respectability of Italian Fascism has been exploded by the Italian Fascists themselves.

Behind Fascist Italy, making war in Africa, stands Fascist Germany, threatening war in Europe. The designs on Austria, France, and the Soviet Union expressed by Hitler in "Mein Kampf" have never been denied by the Nazis, and one of the gravest dangers of the Abyssinian



situation is that Italy's preoccupation with war in Africa may encourage the Nazis to make a desperate step eastward. The rapidly worsening internal situation ("Germans must temporarily tighten their belts"—Dr. Goebbels) increases the danger of such a desperate step being taken. Hitler's scarcely veiled threats at Memel indicate that the seizure of this small portion of Lithuanian territory may be attempted first, as a preliminary to further moves.

Japan has also been lying low for some time, but reports indicate that a seizure of Mongolia is likely at any time. Since this would place a barrier between the Chinese Soviet areas and the U.S.S.R., it would be in accord with British policy; this explains (partly) the fact that, despite the harmful effects of Japanese competition on British trade, the British ruling class as a whole extends a friendly hand to Japanese imperialism. Sir Samuel Hoare declares that "Anglo-Japanese collaboration is essential not only to the stability of Asia, but to the prosperity of the world" ("Argus," June 21st, 1935), while Sir Arthur Balfour actually agrees that "Japanese competition in world markets promoted the general wealth" ("Argus," June 26th, 1935).

Sir Frank Clarke (President of the Victorian Legislative Assembly) spoke even more honestly: "Now we see that you are expanding to the north and the west, and not to the south. So in Australia, although our first loyalty is to the British Empire, our second thought is that we wish Japan well in her expansion. We realise that she must expand, and, as long as she expands along the lines on which she is expanding, we wish her well. That, of course, is an indiscretion, but I hope you will realise that it is a plain truth" ("Argus," September 7th, 1935).

## The Attack on the Soviet Union.

THE British "Observer" pointed out on February 17th last, that: "The relations between Germany, Poland, and Japan, become closer everyday. In an emergency they would amount to an anti-Russian alliance." A semi-official book, published some months ago in Poland, openly advocates a German-Polish-Japanese war on the Soviet Union for the seizure of large portions of Soviet territory.

Such an attack is hardly likely without the support of other capitalist powers. The prospects of a capitalist bloc against the Soviet Union appear to have been lessened by the deepening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers themselves. But it should be remembered that the deeper the antagonisms among the imperialist powers, and the more desperate their position, then the greater is the temptation to attempt to solve all their difficulties at the expense of the Soviet Union, to take the final desperate gamble of a combined capitalist war on the land of socialism.

So that while on the surface the possibility of a capitalist attack on the Soviet Union appears to be more remote than ever, it would be unwise

to assume that this is not still a very real possibility. It is the growing strength and prestige of the Soviet Union (its peace policy has now been widely recognised even by enemies of communism), and the growing strength of the militant opposition to war among the people of the capitalist countries, rather than the disagreements among the imperialist powers, that are the real obstacles standing in the way of a repetition of the war of intervention of 1918-1922.

In considering this possibility of an anti-Soviet bloc, it will be readily seen that the attitudes of Britain and France are of the greatest importance. British encouragement of Japan has already been referred to. Her encouragement of Germany has been evidenced by the Anglo-German Naval Pact, the conversations between Dr. Schacht and Mr. Montagu Norman, the visits of ex-service men, and the British help in the financing of German re-armament (admitted in the London "Financial News" of May 15th).

British policy, while it has, in the main, made for peace in Western Europe, has thus tended to increase the war danger in Eastern Europe. But the fear that the Nazi guns after all may explode in the wrong direction, has caused much manoeuvring in British policy, and it seems clear that there are conflicting groups among the British ruling class. As well as a warlike section (Rothermere, Mosley, etc.) openly advocating British support for a German war on the Soviet Union, there are saner, more moderate groups who realise the dangers involved for the British Empire in any war, and who are satisfied with attempts to preserve the *status quo*. British policy is therefore complex and even self-contradictory.

French policy has also for some time been liable to fluctuations. The signing of the Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance on May 2 was a natural result of French fear of Germany's military preparations. The refusal of Germany to sign this Pact was in itself a proof of the aggressive designs of Nazism, which aim to isolate Germany's victims for separate attack; the Pact (if carried out) renders this impossible. There are still powerful groups in France which would like nothing better than to see this Pact smashed, and a Franco-German anti-Soviet alliance substituted. The will for peace of the French workers not only helped to persuade the French Government to sign the Pact, it is also a powerful factor in preserving the Pact.

## The Struggle of the French Peoples.

THE development of the people's struggle in France is of the utmost interest. The United Front against war and fascism between the Socialist and Communist parties was achieved early last year. The Communist proposals, after continual refusals by the Socialist leadership, were accepted in practice by the Socialist rank and file, who took part in demonstrations with the Communists. The Socialist leaders were thus forced, unwillingly, to acknowledge formally the "fait accompli."



What is interesting is that this working class unity, so far from frightening away the middle class people from the Socialist movement, has succeeded in sweeping in large sections of them. The United Front of Socialist and Communist workers has been broadened into a People's Front embracing sections of the middle-class Radical Party, and the enormous mass demonstrations throughout France on July 14 expressed the will of the people in the finest and highest wave of enthusiasm for peace that any peace-time capitalist country has ever seen.

The People's Front in France is broadening still further and moving on to further victories.

### 1935—A Comparison with 1914.

**T**HERE are four main factors distinguishing the present situation from that in 1914:—

(a) The unequal distribution of colonies is more marked than in 1914, resulting in a more clearly marked division of the imperialist powers into "more warlike" (urgently needing colonies) and "less warlike" (comparatively rich in colonies).

(b) The greater intensity of the economic struggle.

(c) The existence of the Soviet Union.

(d) The higher militancy of the working class movement against war.

The first two factors explain the greater intensity of the drive to war, and the latter two the greater strength of the resistance to the war. But the first factor can also be used as a factor of resistance to war. The less warlike imperialist powers can, under certain circumstances, act as a check on the more warlike powers. This, in itself, would be a dangerous and unreliable force, but by assisting the other, more reliable, forces against war, it can be of decisive importance in the struggle for peace. This force can be used, and by international agreement is bound to be used, through the enforcement of sanctions (penalties) against an aggressor nation violating the League of Nations Covenant.

### The Demand for Sanctions.

**W**HEN Japan violated the Covenant by her attack on Manchuria in 1931, there never appeared to be a great likelihood of active opposition from the other League members. In the present crisis the position has been different. There are many reasons why British imperialism, because of its own selfish interests, has been opposed to this war. An Italian victory would threaten British control of the Blue Nile and the irrigation of British cotton in the Sudan and Egypt; it would threaten British dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Suez; moreover it would mean the collapse of the collective security system on which Britain depends for the maintenance of her present world dominance. Conversely, an Abyssinian victory would shake Italian capitalism, and therefore world capitalism, very severely, and might result in an enormous revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed native races of the British Empire.

France, having promised support to Mussolini last January, has not such a definite policy, but her dependence on the collective security system is a strong reason why she does not want to see the League Covenant broken. Most of the smaller powers in the League want peace for obvious reasons; the Soviet Union has time and again shown its willingness to co-operate in all efforts for the maintenance of peace.

Although the League of Nations meetings have been marked throughout by continual postponements and evasions, there are commonsense reasons why the League members should impose sanctions; their representatives have admitted the need for these sanctions, and the press points out that Italy's plight is such that the application of sanctions would bring Mussolini to his knees.

Naturally, therefore, there has risen a storm of demands from the peoples of all countries that sanctions should be applied against Italy. In Australia, it is true, the working-class movement presents a picture of disunity on this point, but taking a world view, what is remarkable is the general unity of the working-class movement in the demand for sanctions. The Communist and Socialist parties and the trades unions of both trends in practically every country are uniting in demanding League action against Italy.

### The Issues Involved.

**L**EAQUE action is not the only force against war; it is not even a reliable force. The real and finally reliable force is the active resistance of the toiling peoples themselves, and the final victory over war will be achieved only by the overthrow of the system in which it is rooted, and the building of socialism. But at the present critical moment, the question of League action is a momentous one. If League action is added to the other forces opposing this war—to the smouldering resistance of the Italian anti-Fascist workers and peasants, to the growing opposition of workers in other countries, expressing itself by refusals to handle Italian war materials, and to the stubborn fight of the poorly-armed Abyssinians, an enormous victory will have been won by the forces which are battling on a world scale against imperialism. On the other hand, the failure of the League to act decisively will accelerate the already insanely rapid world drive to war. "It must mean the end of the League. It must also mean the end of the Kellogg and Locarno Pacts, and with their disappearance a rearrangement of the entire European situation. . . . Who can say what will follow?" ("Argus," September 14).

What is taking place is an attempt by the Soviet Union and the working-class movements of other countries to breathe life into the failing body of the League, to make of the paper League a real League, to capture it and use it as it should be used—as a weapon for peace.

It should also be noted that successful League action is likely to give a powerful impetus to the



other forces opposed to Italian aggression. The internal situation in Italy has tremendous possibilities, particularly in view of the reports of the rapid worsening of the already desperate economic situation. In fact, so far from it being true that the imperialist powers are hesitating to apply sanctions because they are afraid of Italy's strength, rather does it seem to be the case that they are afraid of Italy's weakness. They are evidently not so afraid that sanctions will be unsuccessful as they are that they will be too successful, that they will strike such a blow at the Italian Fascist regime that it will be overthrown by the Italian workers. It may, therefore, be expected that Britain will attempt to have sanctions applied gradually to force Mussolini to a compromise rather than to a defeat. It is possible that before long we may find Britain attempting to use the League, not to check Italian Fascism, but to grant it concessions to save it from the threat of overthrow.

If the League attempt to check Italy fails, world war is so much the closer. Even if to a large extent it succeeds, the struggle against war of the Italian people, of the Soviet Union, and of the workers of other countries, will need to rise to higher and ever more militant levels.

### Isolation—or United Struggle?

**F**INALLY, the Abyssinian crisis has again brought to light the difference between

negative and positive opposition to war. Many sincere opponents of war are adopting an attitude which, however it appears to themselves subjectively, amounts objectively to an abandonment of the struggle against Italian imperialism, which is acting as the spearhead of the drive to world war. This attitude, which describes itself as one of "hoping that Britain will not be involved," of "seeking to localise the conflict," is dangerous just because a negative attitude will not succeed in localising the conflict. 1914 proved that.

Turning our backs on war, and hoping that we will not be involved is not a real form of opposition to war. Opposition to war demands struggle. It also demands unity—unity with the international working class that leads the struggle. It demands of the Australian people a greater sense of unity with those of all races who are carrying on the struggle overseas, and a greater unity among themselves in the struggle against the very real threat of Fascism and war at home.

The disunity of the German workers, or the broad unity of the French peoples? Which path will the Australian workers follow? It is a question that is of vital importance to us all, whatever section of the community we belong to, whether we are workers or students, whatever our religion, class or creed.—L.F.

## NEW ZEALAND STUDENTS

**W**ELCOME news is to hand of the increasing activity of radical students in the four colleges which make up the University system of New Zealand, around the questions—Peace or War? Socialism or Fascism?

On September 12th the Anti-War Questionnaire conducted by the Students' Association for a ballot throughout the students of the four colleges was published. The Secretary of the Students' Association referred to Mr. Forbes' statement that New Zealand was bound to support Great Britain in the event of war, as one of the main reasons for the Questionnaire:

"If the New Zealand student agrees the knowledge will be of value to the Prime Minister in such an eventuality. If he does not agree it is his duty to hasten to correct a wrong impression which bristles with dangerous implications."

Dr. Beeby, in launching the campaign at Victoria College, on September 13th, said: "You are the people who, if there is war, are going to be concerned. You are going to be shot long before any member of Parliament. . . . Everybody but the shareholder in an armament firm who supports war is a damn fool, but whether they will take certain steps to oppose war in certain circumstances is a different matter."

It is significant that the Questionnaire includes as one of the items the question:

"Do you think the overthrow of Capitalism offers hope of permanent peace?"

A news item dated September 11th, announced the formation of a Labor Club at Auckland University College, with five members of the teaching staff connected with the Committee. The draft constitution sets out the club's objects:

"The Labor Club works for Socialism because it believes that only communal control of the means of production will permit the full use of the labor of all for the welfare of all.

"It considers that an earnest attempt is being made to lay the foundation of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and it is resolved to do everything in its power to learn and spread the truth about that attempt.

"It sees in Fascism an attempt to maintain the present economic system by means of deception and violence, and it regards Fascism, therefore, as an open enemy of Socialism.

"The Labor Club recognises that the workers are the decisive force in the struggle for Socialism, and that it is only through unity of action that the workers can be successful. It therefore supports the working class movement, not only by organisation within the college, but also by co-operation outside."

Victoria College already possesses a Labor Club and a Student Anti-War Movement. In Canterbury College, there is considerable support for the Friends of the Soviet Union. The next steps of the radical students are to link up their movement nationally, and to secure an overwhelming anti-war majority in the Peace Ballot.



# Defend Democratic Rights

ON August 22nd, a brief announcement appeared in the daily papers that the Communist party of Australia, and the Friends of the Soviet Union, Australian Section, had been summonsed to send representatives to the High Court, on October 2nd, there to disprove that they aimed at the overthrow of the Constitution and Commonwealth by revolution and sabotage, and at the destruction and injury of property. If they could not disprove these charges, then, said the Federal Government, they would be declared unlawful associations according to Part IIa. of the Crimes' Act. From then on, any person charged with belonging to either of these associations could be tried without jury and without a single witness being called to give evidence against him, and sentenced to a heavy term of imprisonment.

On October 2nd, two other brief announcements appeared in the daily press. First, that the court case against the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union had been adjourned for a brief period; second, without warning, that a bill, making further changes and additions to the political sections of the Crimes' Act, was on its way to a second reading in the Federal House. Anyone suspected of having information about "unlawful associations" and not divulging it when called upon, could be sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Anyone convicted of carrying on activity that could have the effect of weakening the armed forces of the country could be sentenced to heavy imprisonment.

AN analysis of the Crimes' Act Amendments and their possible application is made elsewhere in "Proletariat"; the aim of this article is to try to show why the Federal Government's attack should be directed against the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union, and at this particular time; also, to estimate the significance of the wide-spread protest movement that the attack has provoked.

What political perspectives are these moves and counter-moves opening up before the people of Australia? Does the present attack indicate a new political line on the part of the ruling class of Australia, or is it merely one step further along the old line? Has the attack on the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union come like a bolt from the blue, or is it merely the latest and most serious of a series of attacks? Why have the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union been singled out for attack when the Amendments to the Crimes' Act are so widely framed as to be applicable to a hundred and one different organisations in Australia at the present time?

Considering that the Amendments in their perfected form have been on the statute books since 1932, why is it that it is not till now, October, 1935, that this direct attack has been made on the Communist party?

Is this attack a private matter between the Federal Government and the 2,500-odd mem-

bers of the Communist party of Australia, or is it your concern, you the Socialist, and you the Liberal, who support the right of every man to speak his mind; is it the concern of all the hundreds of thousands of Australians who want a better life for themselves and their children than they can get by the present order? How will it affect these hundreds of thousands if the attack is successful, and what perspectives will it open up before them if it is defeated? How can it be defeated? These are questions we must answer if we are to make the correct moves at the present time.

**IS the attack a bolt from the blue? Why have the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union been singled out for attack? Why has the attack been made NOW?**

The attack is not a bolt from the blue. From the beginning, the Communist party has been attacked by the ruling class. During the years of the crisis the attacks were violent with panic; known Communists were singled out by the police in demonstrations, batoned, arrested, and imprisoned. Communist headquarters were raided and wrecked, police-protected New Guards were organised to molest Communist party members, and so on.

The result of these tactics, and the struggle against them, was that increasing sympathy was won for the Communist party, and the ruling class was compelled to give more attention to other methods. While not giving up the baton and the prison, it began to put more emphasis on quieter, more harassing tactics, in every way interfering in the day to day work of the Communist party, instituting frequent proceedings against the publishers of the party press, for instance, banning the transport by train or post of the central party organ, the "Workers' Weekly," putting pressure on lessees of halls to prevent their being let to the Communist party, banning the entry into Australia of publications of leading Communists overseas, utilising A.L.P. careerists to slander the Communist party to the workers, isolating unemployed party members by drafting them to small relief camps, or setting them to work on one-man jobs, making wholesale use of economic intimidation, etc.

But despite these harassing tactics, the ruling class has been compelled to recognise that the Communist party has grown tremendously in strength, during the past two years in particular developing from a propaganda sect into a political force.

THE ruling class is being compelled to see that the Communist party is an organisation which is firmly entrenched in the Trade Unions, and is rapidly converting them into organs of militant struggle for working class rights. It is being



compelled to see that during the past two years the Communist party has been able to provide the workers with valuable object lessons to prove the correctness of its leadership; having been able to show, for example, that struggles that have followed its tactic (Wonthaggi miners' strike, Kalgoorlie foundry workers' strike, etc.) have been successful, whereas other struggles (e.g. Melbourne trams' strike and Sydney seamen's strike) have been weakened and lost as soon as they have been sidetracked off the Communist party line.

The ruling class is compelled to see that, side by side with the strengthening of the Communist party, has come the weakening of the Labor party, Capitalism's greatest safety valve among the workers. The split in the Labor party has reached the point in Victoria where a left-wing section, under the leadership of Maurice Blackburn, has openly declared its hostility to the line of the executive on the war question, and has openly affirmed its determination to fight on the issues of war and fascism, side by side with the Communist party.

Despite all the obstacles it has put in its way, the ruling class of Australia is compelled to see that, during the past few years, the Communist party has hammered itself into an organisation, imperfect still, but swelling in numbers, hardening in discipline, irreconcilable and uncorruptible in its antagonism to the ruling class, and rapidly bringing under its leadership tremendous numbers of workers.

In addition to this, the ruling class is compelled to see that the struggles of the workers show signs, not of decreasing, but of increasing in the near future. There is already evidence that the brief period of improvement in the economic situation in Australia is coming to an end, and is sinking into a fresh decline. In order to squeeze more profits from the workers, nerve breaking speed-up has been introduced in the majority of industries, and there are indications that, even if conditions are made no worse than they are at present, the protests of the workers are about to break out openly in strike struggles. But, with a fresh decline in the economic situation of Australian capitalism, the ruling class will attempt fresh attacks against the workers.

Consequently, even apart from the war crisis confronting them, the perspectives opening up before the capitalists of Australia have made the time ripe for them to attack the Communist party more directly than they have done up to date, this time openly aiming at smashing the party and imprisoning anyone carrying on Communist activities.

Similarly, the attack against the Friends of the Soviet Union is the culmination of a series of attacks which, up to date, have taken the form of police violence, of attempts to have workers who have been sent by their unions as delegates to the Soviet Union dismissed from the jobs, of a recently imposed ban on the transport by train or post of "Soviets To-day," and so on. It is not surprising that, at the same time as the attack against the legality of the Communist party

there should be an attack against the legality of the Friends of the Soviet Union, an organisation which has as its object the truthful description of conditions in the only country (with the exception of Soviet China) where the Communist party has so far led the workers to power.

**T**O summarise: The present attack on the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union, indicates no new political line on the part of the Federal Government; it is only the latest of a whole series of attacks. At the same time it is far more direct and far more serious than any attack that has been made hitherto. The Communist party has been singled out as the first organisation to be attacked under the Crimes' Act Amendments because in it are the best organised, most advanced, most uncompromising enemies of the Capitalist class. In order further to attack the living conditions of the whole of the Australian workers and lead them into another war, their own leaders must be cut off and struck down. The attack is being made NOW because the Communist party is becoming the recognised leader of large sections of organised labor, and the ruling class fears that if it delays much longer, the Communist party will become too strong for an attack against it to be successful; the attack is being made NOW because the illegality of the Communist party is a necessary war precaution for the rulers of Australia.

**H**OW does the attack affect the majority of Australian people? What will its success mean to them? What perspectives will its defeat open up before them? How can it be defeated?

Despite the rapidly growing influence of the Communist party of Australia, the majority of the workers and the majority of the professional and other middle class people do not yet accept its policy, and would do nothing to support its policy in full. Nevertheless, there is already evidence that the majority of the workers and middle class people do support the right of the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union to freedom of speech and assembly. They remember how the illegality of the Communist party of Germany was followed rapidly by the illegality of the Social Democratic party, the smashing of the trade unions, the dismissal and imprisonment of all teachers, lawyers, ministers, writers, professors, who dared to criticise the Government. They see how the Crimes' Act Amendments are so widely framed as to be applicable to any critic of the Government's policy, or any worker struggling for better living conditions. And they are determined that the attack on democratic rights shall not be allowed to develop. Already organised labor has swung to the defence of the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union. The leaders and the rank and file of the mighty trade union movement have pledged their support. Well-known citizens in Sydney and Melbourne have formed Democratic Defence Leagues with the



object of protecting organisations attacked under the Crimes' Act Amendments. The attack on the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union has aroused a storm of protest from the legal profession. To dispense with jury and witnesses, to place the onus of proof on the accused instead of on the accuser, this cuts right across the accepted traditions of the legal profession. The Crimes' Act Amendments are a menace to the freedom of the Australian people and should be wiped off the statute books by a wave of protest—this is the view that lawyers are being compelled to adopt.

What is the significance of the wide-spread protest movement that the attack of the Federal Government has provoked? The significance is this, that slowly and unwillingly, but nevertheless inevitably, the majority of workers and middle class people of Australia are being forced by the sheer weight of facts to realise that it is not the Communist Bogey that is menacing their freedom, but the Federal Government itself. The Federal Government is attacking the democratic rights which Australians have won after generations of struggle. Australians are being forced to see that every successful blow struck against the Communist party and the Friends of the Soviet Union will in the future become a direct blow against them.

More and more sharply the alternatives are opening up before the people of Australia, a slavish existence in which one thinks, speaks, and acts only as one is told, or else the defence of democracy against the attacks of the Australian ruling class, Labor party worker, non-party worker, Communist party worker, middle class liberal and intellectual, standing shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

In this struggle there is within sight, not only the United Front of Labor party and Communist party workers, but the People's Front, the unity of the working class and the middle class for the preservation of democratic rights.

**We are fighting for the right to speak and organise, not only those of us who are members of the Communist Party or the Friends of the Soviet Union, but the whole working class and liberal movement of Australia.** —J. M. MANTON, B.A. (hons.).

[Joyce Manton is a prominent member of the Communist Party. She occupied the position of tutor in Philosophy in Melbourne University until she left to undertake political work outside the University. She has held various offices in the Labour Club, including those of vice-president and co-editor of "Proletariat."]

## The Crimes Act

**T**HE impending action of the Commonwealth Government in having the Communist Party of Australia and the Friends of the Soviet Union declared unlawful pursuant to the provisions of the Crimes Act 1914-1932 directs attention to the most obnoxious and tyrannical piece of legislation that has ever been placed on the Statute book.

### Provisions of the Act.

**I**T has been said that "law is a political measure, law is politics." The Crimes Act proves this to the hilt. Through it, the forces of reaction have made a savage attempt to suppress all opposition to the status quo. The provisions of Part II. of the Act were inserted in 1926. "Their general aim," said Mr. Justice Evatt in the High Court, "is the suppression of associations which advocate or encourage doctrines considered as dangerous to 'constitutional' government, including the form of government which is expressed in the Commonwealth Constitution." More specifically 'any body of persons which advocates or encourages the overthrow of the constitution of the Commonwealth or of ordered government by revolution or sabotage or by force or violence or the destruction of state property is declared unlawful. Any such body of persons having as its object the carrying out of a seditious intention is likewise unlawful. Seditious intention is defined in such wide terms as to

include almost any opponent of the established order. Branches and committees of such an unlawful association and institutions or schools carried on under its authority or apparent authority are expressly brought within the provisions of the Act. No donation of money or goods, in fact, no donation of any kind, may be made to an unlawful association under pain of imprisonment for six months. Both donor and donee are subject to this provision. Nor is there to be any solicitation of goods or money for an unlawful association. And the printer and publisher of a publication which contains any solicitation of contributions of goods or money for an unlawful association is deemed to solicit such contributions, for the purposes of the Act. This is so whether or not the unfortunate printer knows anything about the solicitation. He may be the most staunch reactionary, and still be guilty of the offence. If the unlawful association in spite of these prohibitions, is fortunate enough to acquire any property at all, then it shall be forfeited to the King. But this is not all—if any person holds any goods or chattels for, or on behalf of, an unlawful association they are likewise forfeit.

### Penalties.

**T**HE consequences which follow from being a member of an unlawful association or even of taking any part whatsoever in its activities reveal the ferocity of the whole measure. Im-



prisonment for one year is the penalty. But it is not even necessary to be a member of an unlawful association to render oneself liable to even more dire penalties. Any person, irrespective of his membership of such association who, by speech or writing, advocates revolutionary doctrines, is guilty of an offence, and is liable to two years' imprisonment, or, in the case of a non-Australian, to deportation. One may be excused for wondering why burning at the stake was not included as a possible punishment.

The framers of the Act, realising to the full the power of the press in any community, set themselves out to ensure that no opportunity should be left for the rise of an allegedly revolutionary press. No book, newspaper or any other printed matter issued by, or on behalf of, an unlawful association shall be transmitted through the post; and, in the case of a newspaper, such shall not be registered for transmission as a newspaper, and any such newspaper which is so registered shall be deregistered. If such printed matter is unwittingly posted, then it will be forfeited to the King—who, it will be noticed, is making rather a neat collection as the Act proceeds—and destroyed by the competent authorities. It is interesting to note that the ban on "Soviets Today" is taken under these provisions. The solicitation provision has been noted above. Not only is a person who prints such literature liable to six months' imprisonment, but anyone is likewise so liable for selling it, or exposing it for sale, and, since 1932, for circulating or distributing it.

Traditionally the strike has been the workers' most powerful weapon against their oppressors. Through it the whole of capitalist society can be paralysed. The capitalists have recognised this, and also that the strike is capable of becoming more and more menacing to their security. They have, therefore, empowered the Governor-General to make a proclamation declaring that there is a serious industrial disturbance. During the continuance in force of that proclamation, any person who takes any part in such strike, "prejudicing trade or commerce" of the capitalist class is guilty of an offence, and liable to 12 months' imprisonment on conviction. Thus is the worker deprived of his most effective weapon.

## Presumption of Guilt.

HAD the framers of the Act left it at that, one might have thought that they had done their work very satisfactorily. But they were not so content. The most remarkable provision is yet to come. The whole trend of English law has been that the allegation of any criminal illegality must be proved before a jury by him alleging it. In other words, a man accused of a crime is presumed innocent until the contrary is proved beyond any reasonable doubt. The Crimes Act very carefully turns the tables, and provides that when once a charge under it has been made against a man, he shall bear the onus of proving its untruth. Virtually it means that he is presumed guilty until the contrary is shown. On a

prosecution, then the position briefly is this—the offence is treated as proved, but the accused is given a remote chance of leading evidence in the strict sense in order to rebut the allegations in the prosecution which are not evidence at all. The audacity of the whole thing may be realised when this section, after carefully pushing the onus of disproof on to the unfortunate defendant goes on to say—

"This section shall not lessen or affect any onus of proof otherwise falling on the defendant."

The whole scheme of the Act is not only to reverse the onus of proof which "British justice" has always thrown on the prosecution, but to render the prosecutor's task as simple as possible. Anything and everything is made evidence—it is, for instance, sufficient evidence of membership of an unlawful association that a person attended a meeting of such association—and the necessity for making it common law evidence is dispensed with. Trial by jury is rendered unnecessary. Fascism is terribly thorough.

## "Workers' Weekly" Case.

SO much for the provisions of this Act: its actual operation was seen in the prosecution in 1932 against F. H. Devanny—the publisher of the "Workers' Weekly." To-day this prosecution is of peculiar interest. It arose out of the anti-war demonstration held in Sydney on August 1, 1932. The "Workers' Weekly" for July 1, 1932, contained in an article the following words: "All working class organisations are requested to appoint two delegates to a conference, and individual workers are requested to attend and help build a mighty mass demonstration against imperialist war. Funds are urgently needed for the above task. Rush them in immediately.—W. H. Nugent." Devanny was prosecuted for being the publisher of a newspaper which contained solicitations of money for a unlawful association, namely the Communist Party of Australia. Any doubt as to the use that was to be made of this Act was soon dispelled. Full advantage of all its provisions was taken. Relevant and irrelevant matter, mostly the latter, was put in as evidence. The charge itself was a masterpiece, it contained 68 type-written pages of foolscap taking three hours to read—an absolute monstrosity. The prosecution relying on the Act, by reading this compendious document had established its case. No evidence had been given. Its only task now, was to wait for disproof from the other side. The magistrate convicted Devanny and sentenced him to six months' imprisonment with hard labor; in default of his paying the informant's costs, to a further 14 days imprisonment with hard labour. Devanny summed the whole matter up in saying: "A new principle of justice is introduced whereby the accused is deemed guilty beforehand, and has the onus of proving his innocence."

The stark reality of this prosecution cannot be ignored, nor can the savage punishment inflicted. So much for capitalist justice.



It is true that the High Court reversed this decision on technical grounds. Indeed two of the judges referred to the information as an "amazing document well calculated to embarrass the proper trial of the accused." The majority of the court regarded the averment as an abuse of process and also found that there was no solicitation for the Communist Party. It is worthy of note that one of the judges was quite prepared to endorse the action of the Commonwealth Government and accept every averment. This decision must prove of particular importance in the action now being taken by the Commonwealth Government.

### 1932 Amendments.

**R**EACTION is yet unsatisfied. In 1932 the Crimes Act was amended. The provisions outlined above were continued in force, but the Attorney-General was empowered to apply to the High Court or the Supreme Court of a State to have an association expressly declared unlawful. All the burden of bringing evidence is lifted from his shoulders. It is under this section, and on the grounds set out above that the Commonwealth Government proposes to declare the Communist Party and the Friends of the Soviet Union unlawful and then to purge all working class activity. Any person whom the Attorney-General "reasonably" considers knows anything about an unlawful association must give information when requested so to do, or suffer a fine of £100, or imprisonment for six months. And this merely on the Attorney-General's declaration. Tomorrow the Attorney-General says to A: "You know something about the Communist Party; tell me all you know." A really knows nothing about it, but the Attorney-General persists in his "reasonable" belief. A is liable to be fined £100 or imprisoned for six months. Further simplification of the method of proving offences against printers is provided. Wireless licences may be cancelled if stations are being used for allegedly unlawful propaganda. And the right of assembly is completely denied to unlawful associations by the imposition on the proprietor of any building or place who permits the assembling of an unlawful association on his premises, of a penalty of £100 or imprisonment for six months. Members of the committee of an unlawful association are disfranchised for a period of seven years. And this 1932 amendment concludes with stringent provisions as to the deportation of persons not born in Australia.

In this article an attempt has been made to indicate the general trend of the state system, to demonstrate that the Crimes Act is a manifestation of that trend in Australia, and then to throw into clear relief the venom of that measure. With the provisions of the Act summarised before us, we may consider their effect. As a general attack on the worker and his activities, their strength leaves nothing to be desired: freedom of speech is denied him, freedom of the press is denied him, freedom of assembly is denied him, the strike is denied him: the exercise of any of these "liberties" is converted into a statutory

crime the commission of which is visited with dire punishments. Dicey's classical rule of law falls to the ground. The ordinary law of the realm is no longer capable of maintaining capitalist law and order. The State is now very truly a "particular power of suppression."

### The Present Attack.

**B**UT full advantage has not yet been taken of the Crimes Act: that is proposed to be taken in December. And there are several difficulties before the forces of reaction. The constitutional competence of the Federal Parliament to enact the Crimes Act may well be questioned. Further, apart from the all-embracing scope of the seditious intention section which is not now in question, it is very doubtful whether the Communist Party is within the provisions of the Act. If it is, so also is the Australian Labor Party and Trade Union Movement, each having policies which, if carried out, would be ultimately revolutionary in character, and which would require the use of more or less force to put into effect. The Friends of the Soviet Union is, in this respect, in an even stronger position. The action taken against it may well be explained on a consideration of the doubtful legality of the Commonwealth Government's action in refusing to transmit "Soviets To-day" on the alleged ground that it is published for or on behalf of an unlawful association, and the desire of the authorities to smash their opponents.

The Labor Party leadership must not pass without very strong condemnation. The substantive provisions of this Act were passed in 1926. During the years 1929, 1930 and 1931 a Labor Government was in power: no attempt whatever was made to expunge this measure from the Statute book. Therefore, little weight can be attached to the promises of the Labor politicians that they will take the first opportunity to wipe the 1932 Act out. The sincerity of the rank and file of the Australian Labor Party cannot be doubted. Their leadership, in this, as in other matters, stands condemned.

And this leads to the next point: the difficulties confronting the Commonwealth Government are only in a small measure the legal difficulties, of which some indication has been given here. The ban on Kisch and Griffin, taken under Acts, the material provisions of which are similar to those of the Crimes Act, called forth a storm of protest from all sections of the community. Kisch and Griffin were set free by the mass action of people of various political beliefs who looked with disgust on the autocratic action taken by the Commonwealth authorities. In this more far-reaching matter mass action will secure the repeal of this measure, attacking as it does not only working class activities, but also that freedom of political action hitherto regarded as characteristic of English-speaking countries.

—E. F. HILL.

[Ted Hill is doing the third year of an Articled Clerks' Course at Melbourne University.]



# THE GOLDEN BOOK ON THE NEW LAND

(Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Execution of Sir Thomas More.)

AFTER Christopher Columbus had discovered that new and wonderful land over beyond the ocean; and, after him, Amerigo Vespucci, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, and other travellers and adventurers had told the world of their remarkable discoveries—frequently elaborating truth with copious fantasy—the literate public flung itself greedily upon all books written about these new lands.

That which constituted the chief charm of such works was the description of the new wealth of the new countries, the opportunity of rapidly and easily becoming rich in a land where there were as yet no restricting laws, which was sparsely populated by an artless and feeble people. It was a period in which the world was breaking loose from the formerly firm foundations of centuries, in which the old system of patriarchal economy, and the whole life based upon it, was cracking and failing, and in which the desire for wealth had not only seized upon the ruling class, but had penetrated deep into the masses.

Much later, this epoch was referred to as the "Period of primitive capital accumulation." The first deep fissures were becoming manifest in the moss-grown structure of feudalism. Until this period, only the property of the church, of kings and of barons was considered sacred. But during the predatory wealth-accumulation overseas, in the tumultuous and rapacious trading and smuggling, in the course of the ruination of the peasantry—who were driven from their fields so that the latter might be used as pasture—and in the development of the woollen industry, there arose a new conception of the sacredness of property—the private property of the bourgeoisie. Passions were inflamed. Upon one side, ferocious robbery; upon the other, peasant uprisings. The ancient epoch of fixed immobility was followed by a period of breakdown, rupture and negation. In the course of the embittered class struggle, strongly marked characters emerged; those historical figures, the condottiere, the adventurers and robbers, on the one hand; and the great thinkers, inventors, artists and humanists, upon the other. The newly developing bourgeoisie needed the one as much as the other.

The reading public devoured books dealing with the marvellous discoveries and inventions of the age. In 1516 there appeared, in Louvain, a book, written in the Latin language, which at once attracted general attention. The book was widely discussed and frequently republished. The introduction was by the great humanist, Erasmus of Rotterdam.

This work, of modest size, was entitled "*De Optimo Reipublicae Statu deque Nova Insula Utopia.*"

Its author was Sir Thomas More, a highly esteemed lawyer and statesman in London, who, by his bold speeches against the king in Parliament, had drawn much attention to himself.

THIS book was written in the style then popular in histories of adventure. Raphael Hythlodæ, a Portuguese seaman, in the course of a conversation therein relates his experiences on a new island, near to the coasts of the New World, and unknown to all other men. The sensational novelty for the reader of the period lay in the fact that, upon this island, it was not Nature—not its animals, its flora, or its mineral wealth—which was so wonderful, but its society, the amazing customs of its people. Raphael met people upon this island whom no one could describe as savage. On the contrary, it was Raphael who appeared savage in comparison with them. The most astounding and incredible thing of all was that there was no such thing as private property upon the island! Meanwhile, its economy was flourishing, its people happy, knowing neither want nor enforced labor, enjoying contentment and health, and possessing a high culture.

During his stay upon the island, Utopia, Raphael came to the conclusion that the fundamental basis of all social privation in Europe was private property.

"But so long as it (private property) shall continue, so long shall remain among the most and best part of men the heavy and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchedness."

Raphael asks his companion the direct question: Can one call a society happy in which the social income represents the plunder amassed by a small section, while the masses die of hunger? And the seaman, who has been to Utopia, replies:—

"When I compare the Utopian institutions with those of other countries I cannot help wondering at the wisdom and humanity of the one and the stupidity and barbarism of the other."

The first aspect which surprised Raphael was the labor in the fields. This was carried out in common by the settlers, or "agricultural families," who composed the "Philarchy." To-day we would term these collective farms. A portion of the agricultural workers would be relieved each year, and would emigrate to the town, while their places were taken by city workers. In this manner, the division between agricultural and industrial labor was abolished in Utopia.

In the cities, each person was obliged to work and to master a trade. There were no idlers. The working day lasted six hours. "How," asks Raphael's companion, "can society satisfy all social requirements with six hours' work a day?"

But it can do so, and this more than suffices. The economy of Utopia was on planned lines. The wisest men of the island were called together annually in order to work out the plan of production. The population was supplied with all that it needed, and there remained a surplus with which Utopia carried on trade with neighboring



countries. With the gold gained by this trade, Utopia purchased those goods from abroad which it needed, but in Utopia itself gold had practically no value.

"Of gold and silver they make commonly chamber pots, and other vessels that serve for most vile uses, not only in their common halls, but in every man's private house."

Besides this, gold tassels were sewn on the collars, or gold threads sewn into the clothing, of offenders who had lost their honor, as a badge of shame. Once an embassy arrived in Utopia, the members of which were loaded down with gold and jewels. The children of Utopia exclaimed, in amazement: "Look, mother, how great a lubber doth yet wear pearls and precious stones, as though he were a little child still." But their mothers replied in good earnest: "Peace, son; I think he be one of the ambassador's fools."

During their free hours, the majority of the population, and all the youth, would visit the great public buildings for studying and reading. There was a minority which showed a disposition for the abstract sciences. These were the learned ones. But they enjoyed no special privileges. There existed no division between mental and physical labors. All the inhabitants of Utopia were educated persons.

In Utopia, personal interests were completely fused with social interests. Everyone was certain of his own prosperity, and also of that of his neighbors. For this reason, there was no unrest. "The Utopians," states Raphael, "judge all acts and even virtue according to whether it serves happiness, our highest and final aim."

One remarkable characteristic of Utopia was its invulnerability. The neighboring peoples at first derided the new society and regarded it as an undertaking which could not be realised. When, however, this society was happily established, there was no limit to the admiration and fear of its neighbors. But Utopia proved itself to be the strongest power. The inner unity of the population manifested itself in a strength which was unknown to the other countries. Utopia introduced universal military service, and organised a powerful army for the defence of its frontiers. Raphael tells us that the Utopians looked upon war as a survival of savagery. But they were compelled to defend themselves. They never entered upon a war without compelling reasons.

"They never go to battle, but either in defence of their own country, or to drive out of their friend's land the enemies that have invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yoke and bondage of tyranny some people that be therewith oppressed."

**T**HE tale of Utopia made an extraordinary impression upon its readers of the period. Numerous enquiries came as to where this wonderful land was situated. Thousands wanted to emigrate to Utopia. Only a few, who knew the Greek language, realised that it had no definite location, and that the word "Utopia" was

composed of the two Greek words: "U" (no) and "topos" (place). So Utopia also means a land which existed nowhere, a "Nowhere." And Raphael Hythloday had never lived. The "Golden Book" of the new island was a story of fantasy, Thomas More's golden dream of the future of mankind.

The educated readers of his time understood the book in this manner. The term "Utopia" came to imply the impossible, the imaginary. The narrative of Thomas More was but an extraordinary creation of the imagination, and the denial of private property, as foreseen in the book, in no wise damaged his reputation as a responsible statesman. The rulers saw in "Utopia" merely a game, the leisure pastime of a serious person. Bourgeois private property was not yet deeply rooted, the halo of divinity did not yet shine so radiantly about the heads of bandits, thieves and extortioners; and the world of the old aristocracy allowed itself some criticism of the new order.

Upon yet one more occasion did Sir Thomas More draw to himself universal attention. Four hundred years ago, on July 6, 1535, he ascended the scaffold in London. He, the former Lord Chancellor, was sentenced to torture and death for treason against King Henry VIII. He was to have his hands and legs chopped off, his belly cut open and his entrails burnt. Only after this was he to be beheaded. But the king showed mercy to More, and, instead of the torture, he was only beheaded. Just as they do nowadays in Germany to those who dare to disseminate the ideas of Thomas More.

Thomas More was 57 years old when he was executed. He retained his sense of humor until the last moment. He wished to speak to the people from the scaffold, but this was not permitted to him. So he remarked to the executioner: "My neck is short—aim straight, so that you be not punished." As More refused to swear allegiance to the king, who had broken with the Roman Catholic church, the Pope raised him, the creator of "Utopia," to the rank of martyr and saint of the Catholic church. In the lengthy papal document the "Golden Book" is not given a mention. This is not ignorance, but fear. In effect, Thomas More is a somewhat disconcerting saint. One cannot compare the pornographic visions which troubled various saints with the golden dream of Thomas More. And this dream to-day disturbs not only the Romish Pope.

**"UTOPIA"** has long survived its author, and has made his name immortal. In the countless works of Utopian Socialism his vision of the future man returned again and again in ever-renewed forms. His genius enabled Thomas More to raise himself high above his class and the age in which he lived, but naturally he could not break away from them. He was no more able to overcome the historical limitations of his class position than could the other Utopian Socialists. For example, there are slaves in his Utopia. The sole object of their existence was to keep the latrines clean, for, under the circumstances of



technical development of the period, Thomas More could not burden the inhabitants of Utopia with this unclean labor. And there are other usages and customs in Utopia which seem to us ridiculous and anachronistic.

But that is not the question. That which was fantastic in Utopia proceeded solely from the fantastic conception of a man of the Middle Ages of historical processes and the motive forces of these processes. The wonderful island had no location, no place upon the world's chart, only because that social class was not present which, upon the basis of modern technique, would be able to realise in fact this plan of social transformation. But when, through the development of productive forces, this class came into being, when fantasy in historical conceptions was replaced by scientific knowledge of the laws of evolution, Utopia ceased to exist "nowhere," and assumed a respected place upon the chart of mankind. And it ceased to be "Utopia." "The Development of Socialism, From Utopian to Scientific"—thus did one of the great masters of revolutionary Marxism entitle his work. No imaginary Raphael Hythloday, but genuine

travellers from other lands gaze with astonishment upon those scenes which four hundred years ago appeared as fantastic visions, and who sometimes give evidence of archaic habits of thought when they see in the Soviet Union a "Utopian experiment." In the four hundred years which have elapsed since Thomas More lived, bourgeois literature has not become more intelligent.

But the Soviet reader will still to-day read the "Golden Book" of the great humanist with interest and curiosity. In the naive lines of this small volume he will find much which is known to him, much which to-day appears to us as simple and familiar, but which once appeared—and, to many, still appears—as a picture of the imagination.

—D. SASSLAWSKI.

[D. Sasslawski is a well-known Soviet writer. This article is reprinted from "International Press Correspondence," for July 20. "Inprecor" is a revolutionary weekly magazine published in several languages, and giving an extremely detailed, accurate, and comprehensive survey of the political situation throughout the world. It is, of course, subject to the Book Censorship Ban.]

## FOR PEACE, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

A COMMITTEE has been set up in Melbourne University, consisting of representatives of the Labour Club, Council Against War and Fascism, and the Student Christian Movement, to discuss proposals for the formation of the Victorian Branch of an Australian Student League.

It has been decided that a conference lasting one or two days should take place in Melbourne at the end of January, 1936. It is proposed that this conference, representative of all Victorian students, should initiate a Student League and draw up a programme and constitution. Students of public schools, high schools, technical schools, agricultural colleges, business colleges, forestry schools, etc.—all who are interested in student problems and wish to serve the ends of Peace, Freedom and Progress—are urged to appoint delegates to the conference.

Individual students are also urged to attend; and delegates from other States will be welcomed.

Come prepared with constructive proposals and the determination to make students a powerful factor in the fight for PEACE, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS.

THE committee is arranging a holiday camp to take place in the middle of January, before the Conference, in order to provide all those interested in the League with an opportunity for discussion.

The camp will be mainly recreational, allowing recuperation for examination-racked brains, but there is certain to be lively discussion on the urgent questions of war and restrictions on liberty, and also on cultural problems.

Shoreham, Western Port, is the probable location of the camp, which will last ten days, and cost about 30/- per person. Present indications are that there will be a large and representative attendance of students from all parts of Victoria.

If you are interested in the Student League, and if you want an enjoyable holiday, then you should attend this camp, no matter what your age, sex, school, or political views may be.

For further details, write to W. Secomb, Clubhouse, University, Melbourne, N.3.



# The Chemistry School

**T**HE state of the School of Chemistry in Melbourne University has long been such as to render impossible any adequate training of chemistry students.

The heterogeneous medley of buildings that constitutes the Chemistry School is merely a rather exaggerated example of the lack of plan that exists throughout the whole University; it is typical of the wasteful chaos of capitalist society itself.

Most of the building is extremely antiquated; and cracked and stained walls, wooden benches scarred by acids and heat, corroded metal work, inefficient gas and water services, and dangerous electrical installation are depressing common-places.

The lighting in each laboratory is extremely bad. For any delicate work it is necessary to seek out one or two favored spots in the laboratory.

Ventilation and heating arrangements are almost non-existent, so that the building is subject to great extremes of temperature; the heat in summer makes the annual exams. an even more nerve-wracking experience than would otherwise be the case.

**B**UT the ludicrous inefficiency and depressing environment of the Chemistry School are the least of the handicaps imposed on students of chemistry. The lack of accommodation and equipment curtails seriously the practical training available to students.

In the elementary lab., the maximum number of students which can be taken is 359. At present there are 350 students working in the elementary lab. There are only 193 cramped spaces for these 350 students to work. This necessitates very awkward "double-banking," and means also that 157 students are not accommodated with lockers. Benches are cluttered with boxes of equipment of assorted shapes and sizes, and from the tops of the reagent shelves springs a forest of burettes exposed to dust and breakage.

Part I. students are deprived of all work with the balance, the instrument on which the science of chemistry is based. First year work is hence confined mainly to elementary analysis, but even this is of the most rudimentary kind, since such necessities as a supply of hydrogen sulphide gas are lacking. To those students who have done Leaving Chemistry at school, Part I. Chem. means a year wasted.

The lack of accommodation and equipment gives rise to the extraordinary position that no practical work in Physical Chemistry is provided throughout the three-year course. Moreover, practical work in Organic Chemistry is provided only for half of the third year of the course. This, in spite of the enormous and increasing importance of this branch of Chemistry, both

from the theoretical and the practical point of view.

The position of the staff and research workers is as bad as that of the students as a whole. Research work has to be carried on wherever space can be found—in corners of the junior labs., in workshops and storerooms.

**P**ROFESSOR HARTUNG has voiced several protests about the present conditions, pointing out the urgent need for a new Chemistry School. He has stated that it may be necessary to restrict the numbers of students taking chemistry.

Although the members of the State Legislative Assembly were induced to undertake a grand tour of the Chemistry School (preceded by a full dress rehearsal by the Professor and staff), and although the Government has admitted the inadequacy of the present school, it has refused to make any grant for the construction of a new building.

This, although Prof. Hartung has pointed out that Chemistry is one of the key sciences: "Efficient training of chemists and the active prosecution of chemical research are of vital importance to industry and agriculture, and to medicine and engineering. They are essential to prosperity, and vital in times of national emergency."

"**N**ATIONAL emergency"—yes, the chemist is essential to imperialist war preparations; the main outlets for chemists at the present time lie in the munitions factories and the allied war industries. The profits of the chemical industries and war industries in general are soaring under the influence of increasing war preparations.

For instance, the net profits of Broken Hill Pty. Ltd. for the years ending May 31 were, in 1933, £314,000; in 1934, £428,000; and in 1935, £670,000.

Part II. Chemistry students are being urged to accept positions during the vacation at the Pt. Kembla, N.S.W., works of Australian Iron and Steel Ltd., now a subsidiary of B.H.P. On the pretext that they will gain valuable experience, they are expected to work for meagre remuneration in furthering war preparations.

Thus, on the one hand Chemical Science is throttled by lack of funds, and on the other hand capitalism bloats itself on the misuse of chemistry for war preparations; on the one hand Chemistry students are deprived of adequate scientific training, and on the other hand their talents are distorted to destructive purposes.

Chemistry students organised in a powerful Student League can demand and get a new School of Chemistry, they can demand that their talents and training be used only for progressive purposes.

—Pt. III. CHEMISTRY STUDENT.



# Australian Youth Congress

ON September 1, 1915, an International Congress of Youth assembled at Berne, Switzerland. The world was at that time in the grip of a devastating imperialist war, all intellectual freedom was being crushed by the military machine, culture was being distorted to serve the ends of the rival monopolist groups, and the material conditions of the exploited classes were being ruthlessly attacked in order to continue the destructive orgy.

It was to combat these conditions and to organise to stop the war that delegates came from fifteen countries, many of them at the risk of their lives. It was the first attempt by youth to solve its problems on an international scale. The movement initiated then has grown, and September the First has since become International Youth Day.

Twenty years after the Berne Conference, the greater part of the world is affected by an economic crisis of unprecedented duration and severity, the exploited classes are suffering severe attacks on their conditions in consequence, attempts are being made in many countries to organise the people on the basis of wartime repression, while these countries are still at peace, and over all hangs the threatening shadow of another world war more terrible than the last.

It was in these circumstances that the National Committee of the Young Communist League of Australia took the initiative in calling the first All-Australian Youth Conference in Sydney on September 1, 1935.

The response was remarkable, the work done in organising for the conference by progressive youth associations of all shades of political opinion being as significant as the conference itself. Representative Preparations Committees were set up in each of the three Eastern States in order to popularise the conference, to explain its objectives, to appoint delegates, and to raise funds. Public meetings and socials were held and bulletins were issued. In Melbourne the preparations culminated in a Youth Rally on July 21 in Unity Hall, at which about two hundred young people were present.

Professor Woodruff was in the chair, and the delegates spoke from the Douglas Credit Movement, Student Christian Movement, Clerks' Union, University Council Against War, Youth Section of the Movement Against War and Fascism, University Labour Club, and Young Communist League.

**T**HE National Youth Congress took place at Transport House in Sydney on Sunday, September 1.

Seventy-one delegates, representing 39 organisations and 12,000 youth, were present. Six student organisations were represented, namely, the Australian Student Christian Movement, the Evangelical Union, Socialist Club and the League of Nations Union of Sydney University, the Labour Club of Melbourne University, and the Radical Club of the University of Queensland.

A Declaration of Rights of Australian Youth was adopted, and resolutions against war, and the curtailment of liberties were passed without dissent. The slogan **For Peace, Freedom, and Progress** carried the day; student, religious, working class and farming youth were united for the first time with similar aims.

Working youth told us of long hours, speed-ups and low wages, ending usually with the sack at 21.

Unemployed youth told us of the infamous Permissible Incomes Regulations, whereby a girl or boy may have to support a whole family on a miserable wage; of the Apprenticeship Act, whereby an adult can now become apprenticed and receive the same wage as a youth, and of the Young Citizens' League in which unemployed have to register their children in order to train them for industry. Just as soon as they are drafted into industry the father is struck off sustenance under the P.I.R. A fine state of affairs for Australia with all her natural resources—starvation wages, slave camps, and hungry children.

A young striker from West Wallsend told us how the relief workers there were fighting and beating the government's attacks on their conditions. The delegate from the Clerks' Union, Melbourne, gave a report of the World Youth Conference in Paris sent by the Australian delegate, Mr. Fisher. The World Youth Committee called on Australia to send a mass delegation to the world conference next year, and also a contingent of athletes and teams to take part in the International Games being held to offset the Berlin Olympic Games, with their Nazi background.

Alec Jolly, the delegate from the Melbourne University Labour Club, told of the economic difficulties of students, of how they had often to borrow money at high rates of interest to carry on, and how when graduating many were faced with unemployment or miserable salaries.

He then exposed the reactionary nature of capitalist culture, and showed how it reflected the present crisis and the drive towards fascism and war. Finally appealing for unity of students to solve their problems, he urged the formation of an Australian Student League to work, as this present youth conference, for Peace, Freedom, and Progress.

Miss Scott, the proxy delegate of the Melbourne Branch of the Student Christian Movement, then spoke. She agreed that the criticism directed by an unemployed delegate against the Church, when he said that he had lost faith in Christianity, was justified. But she pointed out that there was a great difference between the Church, and the system of ethics proposed by Christ. She said that sincere Christians should join in any organisation for peace and progress, and that she supported the idea of an Australian Student League. She also urged all school teachers to aid in the League's formation.

J. Small, the delegate from Sydney University Socialist Club, warned us of the approach of



fascism in this country. He said that the Crimes Act, at present being invoked against the Communist Party and the Friends of the Soviet Union, gave the government powers no less comprehensive than those of Hitler and Mussolini.

A delegate from the Youth Section Against War showed us clearly that the present Italo-Abyssinian dispute might involve the world in a war more terrible and devastating than the last. He called on all youth to rally to the banner of Peace, Freedom, and Progress, and show the warmongers that they were finished with war, once and for all.

The delegate and National Secretary of the Young Communist League (Patrica Devanny) called on all youth to carry on the task of expanding and broadening the movement, and as-

ured the conference that the Young Communist League would throw all its weight into the job.

Mr. Bennett then read the declaration of rights.

The declaration was adopted unanimously with prolonged applause. A National Continuations Committee of twenty-two delegates was then set up, including four student delegates; three states, N.S.W., Victoria, and Queensland, being represented.

When finally the conference closed, groups of delegates engaged in eager discussion before departing, and it was obvious from their conversation that all were determined to broaden and build our newly-formed movement. We students must not be left behind.

—A. JOLLY.

## Our Deputy Chancellor

MELBOURNE University has reason to be proud that our Deputy Chancellor, Sir John Latham has been appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia. Doubly proud, in that this signal honor follows closely on the recognition of Sir John's services to King and Empire, when he received the highest order of Knighthood bestowed on Dominion citizens in the Jubilee honors list.

Congratulations on his new appointment were showered on our Deputy Chancellor.

The Commonwealth Attorney-General, Mr. R. G. Menzies, K.C., said that the Commonwealth was very fortunate in securing Sir John, and that he was sure that "in his new office, Sir John Latham's services to the nation will be marked by the same dignity, industry, dispassionate judgment and intellectual power which he has displayed in the past."

In the words of the "Star," Sir John has "won his way . . . to honours academic, political, and judicial, to the favour of the King and the affection of the people."

The "Age" speaks of Sir John's political career: "From the beginning of his ministerial career, he was a powerful force in the Government on questions of politics as well as in matters of law. The Crimes Act and other important legislation designed to meet the serious industrial problems which arose through the shipping and other strikes were mainly his own works. On industrial affairs, it was said, he settled government policy."

IT was Sir John Latham who, as Attorney-General in 1926, introduced the Crimes Act amendments to meet the "serious industrial problems" of the time. During the debate in the House, he referred to the Communists: "I hope that some of them will get into gaol, and that some will get out of Australia."

It was Sir John, who, in 1932, acted as prosecutor for the Government in the High Court case against the "Worker's Weekly," under the terms of the Crimes Act.

It was Sir John again who, in 1932, introduced further amendments to the Crimes Act empower-

ing the Attorney-General to apply to the High Court or the Supreme Court of a State to have an association expressly declared unlawful. It is by virtue of these provisions that the present action is being taken against the Communist Party and the Friends of the Soviet Union.

And now, in 1935, Sir John has been made Chief Justice of the High Court on the eve of the hearing of the case against these noxious organisations.

Certain alien elements, who, under the guise of champions of the working class, are seeking to subject our fair country to a ruthless Communist dictatorship, have used these facts to cast doubts on Sir John's honor and integrity; such papers as the "Worker's Voice" and "Workers' Weekly" have even gone so far as to declare that he is "a bitter enemy of the working class," and, moreover, a proponent of Fascism.

Such mischievous statements are manifestly absurd.

For, in addition to the distinguished testimony quoted above, we have the statements of Sir John himself.

In 1926, in the Crimes Act debate, he said: "Here we have the full government of the people, and the fullest and freest democracy the world has ever known."

In a recent broadcast address: "We still believe in freedom, and that belief must continue, for every slave country has experienced a revolt."

When being sworn in as Chief Justice, Sir John declared: ". . . the effective protection of the rights of the citizen against infringement by a government depends upon the impartiality and integrity, the capacity and efficiency of the courts in which the King's Justice is administered."

We feel sure, therefore, that students will indignantly cast aside the slanders of hiring agitators, and join with us in our wholehearted respect and admiration for our versatile Deputy-Chancellor—

—LEGISLATOR.  
PROSECUTOR  
and JUDGE.



# Declaration of Rights of Australian Youth

**T**O-DAY our lives are threatened by war, our liberties are menaced by fascist legislation, and our right to progress, happiness, and prosperity remain illusory in a world of economic insecurity.

Therefore, on this day, September 1st, 1935, we, the young generation of Australia, in Conference assembled, announce our "Declaration of the Rights of Australian Youth."

We declare that our generation is rightfully entitled to a useful, creative, and happy life, the guarantees of which are . . . full educational and sporting facilities, steady employment at adequate wages, security in time of need, and Peace.  
**WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE.**

Yet we are threatened by war, that is even now being prepared by those who benefit by destruction of life, war which means to us misery, and death. We oppose this war, and the threat of Compulsory Military Training, which hangs over us, and assert our right to Peace. We do not want to die. We will maintain Peace.  
**WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIBERTY.**

Australia is exalted as the land of the "Young and Free," yet on every hand we see this freedom being destroyed. Legislation is introduced curtailing our freedom of speech, press, and assemblage. Workers who strike for a living wage are met with persecution. These we affirm are evidences of tyranny, which are opposed to the traditions of Australian freedom. We are determined to realise in actuality the ideals of a Free Australia. We demand the right, not only of the maintenance, but of an extension in our freedom of speech, press, and assemblage. We strongly oppose Fascism as a negation of our rights of liberty.  
**WE HAVE A RIGHT TO HAPPINESS.**

Australia, with its vast natural resources and industries, with only a small population, can more than supply a life of comfort and security for all. But we are denied this comfort and security. We want to work, to produce, to create, but thousands of us are denied this right, and forced to be idle.

You can find us roaming the streets, the country, in unemployed camps, destitute, **BUT WE REFUSE TO BE THE LOST GENERATION.** We urge an adequate Government maintenance for the unemployed youth. We demand the right to work on all relief projects at Award Wages and Conditions. Further, we affirm our opposition to Unemployed Camps, as destroyers of home life, and emphatically demand their abolition.

We, who are employed, express our dissatisfaction at the prevailing low wages, long hours, and intense speed up, which destroy our health. We insist upon the right to higher wages and shorter hours. For youth on the farms the right to work in security in the possession of their farms, free from the fear of eviction, and a burden of debts. We stand opposed to the confiscation of farms for inability to pay debts.

While we proclaim the right to work for ourselves, we also proclaim the right of freedom from work for all children for whom work can only mean physical and mental harm. We, therefore, demand the abolition of child labor, with full Government maintenance for all needy children.

We recognise that the right to work demands a proper preparation for work. Educational facilities must be made available to all. We demand the abolition of compulsory fees in all schools, universities, and colleges. We demand that the school leaving age be raised to 16 years, with Government maintenance for all students between the ages of 14 to 16 years.

We demand that adequate sporting facilities be made available, at a rate accessible to all youths, employed and unemployed. We affirm that sport is necessary to the building of a healthy, vigorous race.

We declare that the workers of hand and brain, the producers of our wealth, the builders of our country are the decisive force with which the supporters of Peace, Freedom, and Progress must ally themselves. We recognise that the problems of youth are bound inseparably with the problems of all the people, and are prepared to assist in overcoming our common difficulties.

This country of ours, its mountains, lakes, and splendid scenery, we love it dearly. We have roamed its roads, tended its fields, toiled in it. Because we love it, we treasure its future, realise its prospects; we demand that it be used in the interests of all. Therefore, we, the young people of Australia, reaffirm our rights to life, liberty, and happiness. With confidence we look forward to a better life, a brighter future, to freedom, and prosperity. To these ends we dedicate our lives, our intelligences, and our united efforts.



# An Australian Student

**T**HE proposal for an Australian Student League, first broached with light-hearted enthusiasm in the last issue of "Proletariat," has opened up unforeseen possibilities.

The League was conceived of originally as an organisation which would have, as one of the principal points of its policy, the participation of the student in the working class struggle for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. Such a policy would have limited the League to a few radical societies in the Universities.

The rapid development of events, however, is bringing home more and more clearly the urgent necessity for the broadest possible unity of all students. The question of war can no longer be lightly dismissed. The attack of Italian Fascism on Abyssinia is revealing with startling clarity the danger of a complete crack-up of the shaky international structure. Either the present war is stopped by concerted international action, or it spreads into a world war of frightful destructiveness. Arising directly out of the war situation, there is the present attack of the Federal Government on working class organisations, an attack which strikes at the basis of democratic rights, an attack which is the culmination of ever increasing restrictions on liberty.

Students of all political and religious beliefs must unite against war and in defence of freedom. It was with this conviction that the Labor Club delegate set off for Sydney to take part in the National Youth Congress. He was able to further the proposals, not only at the Congress, but also in conversations with various student delegates. The idea of a broadly based student league was enthusiastically received by delegates for the Student Christian Movement, Queensland Radical Club, Sydney Socialist Club, and so on.

The Student League is now past the stage of conjecture. In Sydney a provisional committee has been set up, and similar committees are being formed in Newcastle and Broken Hill. Students of N.S.W. are preparing for a state-wide conference, to be held in January next year, at which a State League will be formed, eventually to become part of the Australian League. In Brisbane a similar committee is likely to be set up. In Melbourne University a provisional committee, consisting of representatives of the Council against War and Fascism, Student Christian Movement, and Labor Club, has held discussions on the scope of the League, and has decided on a State conference of all student bodies, to take place in the long vacation, at which the Victorian branch of the League will be set up.

Students from Universities, high schools, and technical schools in the three Eastern States, have expressed their approval, and many teachers have also offered their support.

It is the purpose of this article to outline, in the light of discussions which have already taken place, the scope and functions of the League; to indicate how far it is possible for students of differing opinions to agree on a basis for action.

It is agreed by all that the League should include students from all kinds of educational establishments, and that, in addition to the immediate struggle for peace and the defence of democratic liberties, an extremely important part of its activities will be the endeavor to solve the vital cultural and economic problems confronting all students. "For Peace, Freedom, and Progress" is the slogan that has gained universal acceptance. Our analysis of the tasks of the Student League can best be made on the basis of this slogan.

## For Peace.

**W**E may take it for granted that all students realise that another world war, such as that of 1914-18, will mean unparalleled brutality and destruction, and that they wish to do all in their power to avert such a set-back to culture and economic progress.

We may assume also that most students realise that imperialist wars, such as the Great War, are fought by the many in the interests of the few (whether that few be the Capitalist class as a whole, or a section of that class, such as the armaments manufacturers, or a militarist junta, or a group of ambition-crazed politicians), and that students also realise that the war mongers will use every weapon in their power—press, radio, cinema, school, and university, even the pulpit—to convert legitimate love of country into blind fear and hatred of the "enemy" country.

This realisation of the character of imperialist wars has been shown conclusively in many ways. The famous Oxford Resolution, declaring: "That this House will under no circumstances fight for its King and Country," has now been passed in the majority of English Universities.

This antagonism to war has, moreover, been consolidated by the English Student Movement for Peace, Freedom, and Cultural Progress, an organisation which should supply us with many valuable object lessons.

In America, student opposition to war was expressed magnificently by the strike of 150,000 students against war and Fascism, which took place on April 12th this year. This strike was due to the united activity of the two great American student organisations, the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, which fight vigorously against all manifestations of militarism on the campus, such as the R.O.T.C. Other countries present similar evidence of anti-war feeling and activity on the part of students.

In Australia, the Sydney Peace Ballot provides conclusive proof that most Australian students realise the nature of war and are steadfastly



# League—Its Scope and Aims

opposed to it. The anti-war activity of Australian students, however, must be raised to far higher levels. In order effectively to oppose war we must examine the part that educational institutions play in war, realising that the schools and universities not only furnish the soil for the propaganda of the war-mongers, but they also supply the scientists and technicians necessary for the prosecution of war.

A HIGHLY instructive account of the part by the schools in aiding and abetting the last great slaughter, is furnished by the Victorian Education Department's Record of War Service, published in 1921.

Listen to Mr. Frank Tate, then Director of Education, in the foreword to the volume:

"In the heady, exciting weeks of August, 1914, when extra-military organisations for war service were on all sides springing into existence, our organisation was one of the first to be perfected and to produce results. . . .

"No one was too old to serve in some capacity; no one was too young. Women were serving as well as men; why not girls as well as boys? . . .

"The world tragedy was, in a sense, the teachers' opportunity."

Gleefully we are shown how the centralised system of State education was used to mobilise teachers, students, and parents into support for the war. We are told how the Government utilised patriotic feeling to force a population, already impoverished by war expenditure, to contribute directly to the funds for the noble work of destruction. In addition to contributing food and clothing, students of Victorian schools raised £444,000 for the Department's War Relief Fund.

And how does Mr. Frank Tate regard this support for a brutal inter-imperialist orgy of destruction?

"It was an exhibition, on the grand scale, of practical citizenship and practical Christianity."

THE University allowed itself to be submerged in a flood of war hysteria. There was no clear conception of the nature of the war on the part of most members of the University. There were, however, some opponents of war among the students and staff, one of whom was thrown in the lake as a result of speaking against the war. But such opposition as existed was pacifist, and ineffective against the mighty war machine.

Instead of giving a lead to the rest of the community in defence of culture, the University willingly prostituted itself in worship of a predatory imperialist war.

The war memorial number of "M.U.M." (1920), and the official volume of "University War Lectures" give an instructive account of the way in which the University flung itself blindly into the work of destruction.

The attitude of Ormond College is typical.

"The doors of the college were definitely shut to every applicant who was in any way out of tune with the great record of war service of the college."

The reaction of the staff should be familiar to everyone by now. We read in the "University War Lectures" of the solemn decision to abstain from the use of alcohol during the continuance of the war, of the offer "to aid or supplement wherever possible the work of the scientific, technical, or professional branches of the Government departments during the war, on any matters connected with imperial defence, on which their assistance may be useful." As a result of a decision of the staff, the Melbourne University Rifles, superintended by Major (now Professor) Osborne, was formed. The M.U.R. acted nobly as a recruiting and training ground for student volunteers.

Twenty-eight past students of the chemistry department were engaged by the British or the Commonwealth Government in the manufacture of explosives and poison gas. Amongst them are familiar names. Dr. A. C. D. Rivett was engaged in England as process manager in the manufacture of ammonium nitrate, at Swindon works. Mr. G. A. Ampt, B.Sc., was chemist to the Defence Department, Melbourne.

Professors Laby, Masson, and Osborne were responsible for the design of a gas mask.

The staff of the engineering school offered their services as "a free gift to the Empire." Members of the staff sat on war committees, and gave free consultation on technical matters connected with war appliances. The staff and students gave assistance in airplane design and carried out tests on steel and timber for airplane construction. The department manufactured hand grenades, tested explosives in a bomb-proof shelter in the University grounds, designed a fuse setter and an 18 inch shell, repaired radio apparatus and constructed furnaces for ferro-alloys.

Physicists engaged in the calibration of munition gauges. The Bacteriology department supplied vaccines; Chemistry, Anaesthetics; Medicine, supplied men and materials to the Army Medical Corps, largely organised base hospitals, instituted a six-months' course of training in massage for war purposes, etc.

In the Law School, Professor W. Harrison Moore advised the Government on International Law. In the Arts faculty, Dr. A. Lodewyckx assisted in the translation of documents for the Defence Department. The women of the University were mobilised for Red Cross work.

So, the cultural equipment of the University was despoiled; so, the talents of students were used to destroy; and so it will be again unless students are organised to resist the war machine.

Already, this year, addresses have been given by officers of the Defence Department to Metallurgy and Engineering students on the manufacture and testing of shells and munitions, to



the Chemical Society on protective measures against toxic dust and gases, and to the Science Club on protection of the civil population against gas attack.

The Student League must vigilantly expose and protest against any misuse of science for war preparations. It must also oppose all tendencies in teaching methods making for war-mindedness in students, such as the jingoistic interpretation of history, etc. It must oppose the nauseating displays of militarism and cheap emotionalism which characterise the celebration of Anzac Day and Armistice Day in the schools. It must also oppose military training in the schools and Universities.

However, it would be a great mistake to adopt an antagonistic attitude to members of cadet corps or the M.U.R. Many of these are found to be quite sincere opponents of war. Some, apparently, are deceived by the glamor of uniforms and military paraphernalia, or the attraction of camp life. Many members of the militia express their determination not to fight in an overseas war; they are prepared only to "defend" Australia. We must show them that "defence of Australia" means defence of the profits of a few, and that the best way to defend Australia is to prevent our Government from taking part in a war of an imperialistic character.

## Freedom.

THE past few years have seen an increasing restriction of liberties that some had thought to be inviolable. The economic crisis and the rapidly intensifying war situation are causing the Government to adopt ever more drastic measures, not only against militant working-class organisations, but also against all forms of criticism of the existing social order, and all forms of opposition to war.

The rigid censorship of political literature is one example of the general trend. Up to December, 1933, 66 books were placed on a consolidated list of prohibited "seditious" works; between December, 1933 and January, 1935, another 91 books and publications were added. The political censorship has evoked widespread indignation amongst all classes, as is evidenced by protests by the Science Congress, leaders of University life, trade unions, and all forms of political organisations. Book censorship is a question which affects students very closely, quite apart from the general political aspects of the matter. The attitude of students is shown by the overwhelming vote against political censorship recorded in the Sydney Peace Ballot. The hostility to censorship has already induced the Government to make considerable concessions, and the Student League must strive by meetings, demonstrations, petitions and through the League newspaper, to secure the complete abolition of political censorship of books. It must also direct itself to the censorship of films, which is far more drastic than that of books.

Allied to book censorship is the matter of post and railways bans imposed on all sorts of pro-

gressive publications. Even such magazines as "Soviets To-day," which consists solely of accounts of industry and culture in the Soviet Union to-day, and "War, What For?" the organ of the National Council Against War and Fascism, are subject to the arbitrary ban of the Government.

Then there have been increasing restrictions on freedom of speech. Public meetings have been banned, and the use of halls has been refused to various organisations. There was the spectacular case of Kisch and Griffin, when the attempts of the Federal Government to imprison and deport these anti-war speakers were triumphantly defeated by the widespread opposition of the Australian people.

But now, far more drastic than any previous move, comes the sudden attempt to smash working-class organisations by means of the Crimes Act.

To those who have said that Fascism is impossible in Australia, the Crimes Act provides a startling answer. The astonishing provisions of the Act are awakening thousands of intellectuals to the danger of the situation.

Obviously the danger of Fascism is an imminent one, and the State system is rapidly moving towards that of Fascist Germany and Italy, with their racial chauvinism, degradation of science and art, anti-working-class terrorism, and militarisation of the whole population. We students must resist to the utmost all restrictions on liberty, remembering that too many students in countries where Fascism has attained power, allowed themselves to be deceived by Fascist demagoguery.

FREEDOM of discussion is one of the University's proudest boasts. And it is true that there is probably no other institution in the society in which we live which provides so many opportunities for free discussion. It is our task to preserve this freedom against attacks from above or from within the student body.

That we may expect attacks from above should be clear when it is remembered that on the University Council there are such men as Sir John Latham, the chief instrument of the Government in the Crimes Act case.

Past issues of "Proletariat" have recounted a series of attacks on liberty in the University, such as the censorship of "Farrago" and "M.U.M.," and the repeated attacks on the Council Against War, by the press and University authorities last year. This year there have been continual outbreaks of hooliganism very reminiscent of incidents associated with the growth of Fascism in German universities, for example. The academic attitude towards these attacks was that "students should refrain from making provocative statements," i.e., that they should refrain from making statements with any significance at all. In Sydney University, a meeting of the Evangelical Union was broken up by a gang of hooligans, while in Queensland students were hampered in their attempt to form a Radical Club.



The Student League must preserve freedom of discussion in the University, and must work for the fullest participation of students in the management and organisation of their own affairs on the broadest possible democratic lines.

It must also work to extend freedom of expression to the schools. In many schools, the student is prevented from adopting any independent attitude towards political and cultural problems; his mind virtually stagnates until he leaves school for the University or for employment. A powerful Student League would protect students from victimisation for advancing progressive views.

## And Progress.

UNDER this head we include the attempt to solve the very pressing economic and cultural problems which confront all students.

The economic crisis has involved students in serious financial difficulties; it has resulted in serious restrictions on the training given to students, and has greatly curtailed the opportunities for graduates.

State expenditure on education fell from £3,347,000 in 1929-30 to £2,376,000 in 1934-35. The expenditure per head of population was £1/17/8 and £1/8/2 for the respective financial years.

Expenditure on buildings and equipment was cut drastically from £400,000 to £99,000 in the same period, while expenditure on the training of teachers fell from £66,000 to £20,000.

These figures illustrate forcefully the serious decline in the cultural equipment provided for students.

The keen competition, not only for the better jobs, but for any job at all, is reflected in the striking rise in the number of candidates for public exams. This is shown in Table I., giving the sum of passes in the annual and supplementary exams. for intermediate and leaving certificates.

Year.	Inter.	Leaving.	Total.
1926-27 . . . . .	1998	1248	3246
1927-28 . . . . .	2284	1360	3644
1928-29 . . . . .	2457	1317	3774
1929-30 . . . . .	3071	1538	4609
1930-31 . . . . .	3337	1657	4994
1931-32 . . . . .	3425	1877	5302
1932-33 . . . . .	3302	1779	5081
1933-34 . . . . .	2900	1619	4519

Note that the great increase in numbers up to 1931-32 occurred at a time when wages and salaries had been cut by about 25%; judge then of the intolerable burden on parents.

However, in 1932 the State Government decided to increase the burden still further. Fees for high school students had been £6 per annum for those over fourteen; while those under 14 had been exempt from fees. Now students had to pay £3 per annum for forms E and F, £9 per annum for forms C and D, and £12 per annum for A and B forms.

The effect of this drastic action was immediately seen in the sudden drop in the number of candidates for the public exams.

In addition to these tuition fees, and expenditure on books and equipment, secondary school students are forced to pay absurdly high fees to the University for the privilege of entering for the public examinations. These entrance fees have evoked much criticism, and the only answer of the University authorities has been a plea of expediency.

The serious reductions in scholarships and grants have also greatly restricted the opportunities for students.

NOW examine the position in the University. Table II. supplies some valuable data.

Year.	No. of Students.	Total Govt. Grant.	Grant per Student.
1927 . . . . .	2,985	£76,941	£25.8
1928 . . . . .	2,991	£65,598	£22.2
1929 . . . . .	3,119	£66,716	£21.4
1930 . . . . .	3,256	£68,458	£21.0
1931 . . . . .	3,319	£69,376	£20.9
1932 . . . . .	3,424	£55,600	£16.2
1933 . . . . .	3,333	£51,966	£15.6

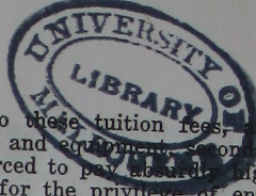
During the post-war boom from 1921-24, the number of University students steadily decreased due chiefly to the lessened competition for jobs. Prior to the crisis, the numbers began to grow again, but the crisis caused an accelerated rate of growth. The fiercer struggle for positions forced many students into the University, in spite of their precarious financial situation, and in spite of the raising of lecture fees in 1928. Many of these students were forced to earn a living while doing a course. For instance, the number of evening students rose from 545 in 1928 to 862 in 1933, and the number of students taking courses by correspondence increased. The percentage of free students fell steadily from 9.7 per cent. in 1927 to 7.8 per cent. in 1933.

The difficulties of students are accentuated by such factors as the high cost of books, due to customs duty, primage, etc., and probably to profiteering by booksellers as well. Students doing courses such as science and medicine, requiring laboratory work, are burdened with very heavy expenditure on laboratory equipment, increased by the fact that the supply is monopolised by two city firms. This, in addition to the fact that much higher fees are exacted for these courses than for courses such as arts, education, law, commerce, etc.

Students are hindered in their work by constant worry about financial matters, and every year scores of students are forced to give up their courses before completing them.

In spite of the economic insecurity of students, and the increase in the numbers at the University, the Government grant to the University has been repeatedly and drastically reduced, until, in 1933, the Government grant per student was only 60 per cent. of that in 1927.

There has been a spectacular fall also in the amount of bequests and donations, from a maximum of £93,364 in 1927, to a minimum of £7,592 in 1932. The average over the past five years has been about £20,000.





Owing to the limited funds made available, the University is finding it almost impossible to obtain essential requirements, such as the new clubhouse, chemistry school, and library. Equipment is lacking, the training of students is hampered, research work is restricted, and the staff is subject to retrenchment and dismissals.

**M**ANY graduates have to accept salaries and positions quite incommensurate with the expenditure and long years of training involved in their courses. It is common knowledge that many have ill-paid jobs as office clerks, car salesmen, insurance canvassers, and so on. Owing to the heavy cut in education expenditure, there are only very restricted opportunities for teachers. Most doctors are glad to accept positions as residents at £2 a week. Such examples could be multiplied.

An examination of the Loan Fund gives an indication of the position of graduates. Students of high ability in difficult circumstances are, in some cases, able to borrow money from the Students' Loan Fund to enable them to carry on with their courses. During the years of the crisis, the amount owed by students and graduates increased by about £4000, although repayments have exceeded new loans by about £1300. Bad debts to the extent of about £130 are written off yearly. Thus, many graduates are finding it impossible to repay even the interest on their loans in spite of the fact that these graduates, being considerably above the average, should get the best positions.

There is evidently tremendous scope for a Student League to work for economic security for students and graduates.

The League should conduct intensive research into the economic conditions of students and graduates, it should give assistance to students during their courses, and obtain suitable employment for them after graduation; through propaganda, and the strength of organised numbers, it must demand increased expenditure on education, more scholarships, lower fees, more money for research, more employment for teachers, and so on.

**T**HE demand for cultural progress is very wide in its implications.

It includes, for instance, a searching examination of present curricula. The Student League should initiate discussions amongst students, lecturers, and societies interested in a particular subject, in order to evolve better methods of study. It should work for closer connection between different subjects of a given course, closer welding of theory and practice, and the linking of isolated subjects with practical social problems. The faculty of Arts should deal with the past in such a way as to throw light on the problems of the present; scientific study should be directed to the mastery by humanity of the forces of nature; and, in general, increased efficiency and purpose should be given to the work of all students and research workers.

The League should make up for inadequacies in a course by instituting special study classes, and it should endeavor to devise improvements in present methods of examination. It should demand

more opportunities for relaxation, through the provision of decent student club rooms, and making available sporting facilities to all and not only to a privileged few.

In its examination of cultural problems, the League must see how they are connected with the general structure of society. It will be necessary, for example, to seek the causes of the symptoms of decay in much modern art, and the distortions of science in many directions.

It will become obvious that economic decay is seriously limiting cultural progress.

It is impossible for engineers to extend the boundaries of their knowledge when they are deprived of opportunities to apply their skill.

Progress in music is restricted so long as funds are lacking for regular production of symphonies and music-drama.

Doctors cannot extend the theory and practice of preventive medicine while thousands are on the very border line of existence.

Chemists cannot achieve progress in their science by manufacturing poison gas and explosives.

Cultural progress is impossible if freedom of expression is crushed by fascism, if internationalism is replaced by race-chauvinism, and if science and art are enchained to the war machine.

We see that the demands for Peace, Freedom, and Progress are inseparably linked; any successful action on one front is reflected in all.

## Unity in Action.

**W**E believe that in this article we have shown that there is a basis for all progressive students to form an agreement for common action. It matters little if there are some statements here which cause disagreement; the actual programme for the Student League must be determined in democratic fashion by a conference of students of all political views.

What are the fundamental causes, if any, of economic insecurity, cultural retrogression, restriction of liberties, and the drive to war? Can these problems be finally solved by any form of society? How is such a society to be obtained?

We may expect violent disagreement between Christians, Communists, Socialists, Liberals, etc., over questions such as these.

It is vital that conclusions should be reached on these questions, but it must be stressed emphatically that the Student League should not be a medium for controversy on such theoretical matters, but a basis for UNITED ACTION.

For, in spite of disagreement about ultimate political objectives, all students can agree to strive for the immediate aims summed up in the words of our slogan.

**IF STUDENTS WILL LOOK AT THE MATTER IN THIS LIGHT, THEN, INDEED, THE AUSTRALIAN STUDENT LEAGUE WILL ACHIEVE A LEADING PLACE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, FREEDOM, AND PROGRESS.**

A. JOLLY.  
K. J. COLDICUTT.



# Student Notes

## Melbourne

### S.R.C. Parries Attacks.

THE last issue of "Proletariat" dutifully chronicled a general meeting of the S.R.C., on May 17th, at which a committee of four students, including the Labor Club treasurer, was appointed to probe into the murky financial position of "Farrago." As a result of the very emphatic demand of the students, a belated issue of our "weekly" paper, "Farrago," appeared on July 4th, containing a Union balance sheet, but no record of the investigations of the S.R.C., if any; no explanation of the tottery financial position of "Farrago." A very short communication from the student committee to "Farrago" unfortunately had to be omitted from this issue, yielding place to several columns of eulogy on the exploits of the S.R.C. in the realms of sanitary plumbing. (It has been appropriately suggested that the members of the S.R.C. executive be elevated to the rank of privy councillor for their services in this direction.)

The S.R.C.-controlled "Farrago" did not consider a committee democratically elected by a general meeting of students worthy of consideration. It became necessary to emphasise that the students were not content to be ignored by their "representative" council.

### The Faculty Committees "Racket."

A NUMBER of students drew up a petition, which was signed by 100 students, demanding that the S.R.C. should call a general meeting of students to receive the respective reports of the S.R.C. and of the committee elected on May 17th on "Farrago" finances and related questions, and to consider the possibility of better student representation on the S.R.C.

The Labor Club issued two free numbers of "Student Affairs," putting forward a scheme of faculty committees. It was pointed out that it was impossible for one person, however active and however well-known, to keep in touch with the members of a faculty such as Arts, with its 1300 students, engaged in very heterogeneous studies and interests. Or, again, the Science faculty with its half dozen schools scattered about the University grounds.

We also stressed the injustice of the present method of representation, whereby the huge Arts faculty, and the faculty of Agriculture, for example, with its 50 members, have each one representative. Obviously, under the present system of representation, effective representation of students is rendered impossible. It is because of this that the S.R.C. or the S.R.C. executive have often failed to grasp student needs and have, on occasion, acted in opposition to student interests. The S.R.C. has too often allowed itself to be dominated by the University Union or the Council, the question of "Farrago" finances being a case in point.

The criticism of the present method of election is twofold. For it means not only inadequate representation, but also an inefficient organisational basis for drawing students into activity about their special needs. The initial lack of response from students to the club house appeal demonstrated this very clearly.

The Labor Club, therefore, put forward a scheme for faculty committees, the size to depend on the number of students in each faculty. But, in order to avoid an unwieldy S.R.C., and to ensure that the interests of the smaller faculties should not be overlooked, we proposed that each faculty committee should appoint one representative to the S.R.C. We declared that this would be an efficient system, enabling students to be mobilised around problems affecting a given faculty, or the University as a whole. In addition to the proposal for faculty committees, the Labor Club opposed the system of general representatives, pointing out that it was quite superfluous and, in addition, left the way open for racketeering such as occurred in last year's elections, when three meds. captured a block vote and secured the positions of general representatives, and, in consequence, the three executive positions on the S.R.C. Finally, in response to the petition, the S.R.C. called a general meeting on Friday, July 26th.

### Meds. and Reds.

UNFORTUNATELY, we have no space to give a bullet for bullet description, but must content ourselves with a few of the high-lights. The public lecture theatre was packed. The atmosphere was heavy with foreboding. Conversation surged and fell like the distant mutter of guns. The smoke of battle drifted slowly over the serried ranks of fatheads, co-eds., reds, and meds. Yes, the meds. had responded nobly to the appeal of their gallant Colonel (S.A. man) to preserve their 100 per cent. general representation from the revolutionary machinations of the Labor Club.

Only over the prostrate cadavers of the meds. would the Labour Club advance to the seizure of S.R.C. power. So long, however, were Parry and Co. in arriving that it began to appear that they had shirked the fray. But no, we must hand it to Mr. Parry for his rare courage. In due course, the S.R.C. swept in, headed by Mr. Parry, bestowing favours right and left, debonair as usual, the golden moustache as sprightly as ever, in spite of the fact that his sole protection was an assortment of mallets. Faithful Johnston followed dourly in his footsteps. But, to the surprise of the S.R.C., hostilities still held off, no rattle of machine-gun fire broke the stillness, no salvos greeted Colonel Knight. . . .

Mr. Parry bravely took the initiative by announcing that the first two points on the petition, concerning finances, could be dealt with at a Union meeting on the following Friday. Meekly the



gathering agreed to pass on to the third point, the question of better student representation.

After a couple of previous false starts, Mr. Agar now sprang from his seat to move a motion of confidence in the S.R.C. Although Comrade Egal and another speaker pointed out that the motion was entirely irrelevant, it was allowed to stand by the president, and was passed without dissent (at which a halleluiah was heard to escape from a fervent pair of lips).

Now, at last, came the anxiously awaited attack. Comrade Legge strode purposefully down to the front. The situation was tense to breaking-point. But, to the surprise of all, no attempt was made to assassinate our beloved Parry with a concealed dagger. The audience was manifestly disconcerted at the absence of a bomb or even a beard. (On the contrary, Jack Legge has been described as possessing an "innocent little face.") Instead of calling for the revolutionary overthrow of the S.R.C., Legge put a matter-of-fact resolution calling on the S.R.C. to hold a referendum so that students could express their opinions on the proposed abolition of general representatives and institution of faculty committees.

Comrade Jolly supported the proposal, pointing out how such a faculty committee could be used to obtain better accommodation for med. students in the hospitals.

But Wilks and Liston, with characteristic insight, were not to be deceived by Legge's lamb-like exterior or Jolly's jolly countenance.

"Communist racket," sneered our wild and woolly Wilks. "Soviets," said Mr. Liston with a sinister snarl. And here the Arts building clock boomed 2 o'clock. Mr. Parry, in fear of losing his medical henchmen, made haste to clinch the issue. In spite of objections from the Labour Club's expert on parliamentary procedure, the motion was rushed through without discussion. A dazed verdict against it was given.

But now the audience was making a gradual return to sanity. We must congratulate the von Ingwersen faction on their astuteness in taking advantage of the departure of the meds. to put an alternative motion in favour of a referendum to amend the S.R.C. constitution, abolishing general reps., and in their place providing for the election of two representatives for each faculty.

Mr. Agar objected that such a motion was out of order, Mr. Johnston supporting him (we have not yet discovered why the secretary of the S.R.C. should give a ruling on a point of order!). Bedlam broke out, many speakers indignantly protesting against this attempt to prevent students gaining control of their "representative" council. Mr. Parry, after a private confabulation with Mr. Liston and others, was at length forced to allow the motion.

Will Secomb supported the motion on behalf of the Labour Club, pointing out that the scheme would be a big step forward, although the election of two reps. for each faculty would mean little better representation. He declared that the plan of faculty committees would ultimately be adopted.

The motion, backed on the one hand by the bluest baronial blood of the Continent, and on the other hand by the red proletarian blood of Australia, was passed by a big majority. . . .

Mr. Parry thankfully declared the meeting closed. Probably no other S.R.C. general meeting for years has provided so much entertainment. We desire to thank all concerned for a very enjoyable show.

Nevertheless, there is an element of pathos in the thought that there still exist students in whom a "red" scare can develop an attack of the jitters.

## After the Battle.

AT the general Union meeting on the following Friday, the annual financial report was adopted without much discussion, although no interpretation was given to such intriguing items as "£200 petty cash" in the balance sheet. When students asked for the reports of the S.R.C., and of the student committee on the "Farrago" investigations, the president, Professor Paton, ruled quite correctly that such reports could not be received at a Union meeting. Apparently students were deliberately hoaxed by Parry and Co. at the S.R.C. general meeting. So the year has passed without students receiving any adequate explanation of the "Farrago" trouble.

The plebiscite took place on October 7th. "Student Affairs" advised students to vote "yes" to the proposal to abolish general representatives, and "no" to the plan for two representatives to each faculty. The voting was 406 to 256 against the first proposal, and 539 to 123 against the second. The vote was not a vindication of the present method of election. It was due partly to reluctance to sanction a drastic change in the constitution. Examination worries, presumably, prevented more than one-fifth of the students from voting. We may assume that most of the votes for general representatives came from the well-organised med. bloc.

However, the present system has been given a reprieve, so that once again we have had the annual S.R.C. election ritual outside the Nat. Phil. school, with the usual wisecracks about the ducks in the lake, law students and co-eds in the car park, free beer, etc., etc. The demand for improvement of the electoral system is shown by the fact that each of the new general representatives supports a plan for proportional representation. Another important fact is that the voting was on strictly faculty lines, which illustrates that the present system is causing unnecessary inter-faculty rivalry, and also that the interests of students centre primarily around their faculties, which enhances the demand for abolition of general representatives, and the institution of faculty committees.

## The Affair of the Clubbus.

AT last, this year, a move was made by Dr. Priestley, and the S.R.C., to put into effect a time-honored plank of S.R.C. election speeches. The ancient town museum, with its mouldering stone, wooden partitions, brown paint, and dust that, since time immemorial has served as a clubhouse, and the huge wood and iron structure, formerly a recruiting shed, that does duty as a cafeteria, were at last to be replaced.



But, owing to the S.R.C.'s lack of contact with the students, the latter at first made little active response to the campaign. Therefore, on the very day of the S.R.C. general meeting described above, J. Legge and Q. B. Gibson, for the Labor Club, put before Dr. Wood and Professor Paton a scheme of faculty committees to organise the clubhouse campaign. Faculty representatives were also interviewed, and the clubhouse appeal was popularised in "Student Affairs."

In consequence, general meetings were summoned in the faculties of Arts, Law, Science, and Engineering, at each of which a committee was elected. Note that the Med. faculty, with its four S.R.C. representatives, was the only large faculty in which no meeting was held to consider the clubhouse appeal. In spite of threatening examinations, much good work was done by the committees; the Engineers held a dance, the Arts students organised a bowdy bazaar, and the Law students arranged a debate on the Crimes' Act.

It is rather amusing that the students who had rejected the scheme for faculty committees in panic, later accepted it as the perfectly obvious solution of a specific problem. It is certain that faculty committees will yet be incorporated into the S.R.C. electoral system.

## Against War.

ON August 1st, thousands marched in a torch-light procession through the rain-wet streets of Melbourne, and took part in a stirring anti-war rally in Wirth's Olympia.

Anti-war Day was marked by the unconventional but splendid action of Newell, a sincere liberal who had that day joined the C.A.W.F. At midday he attracted attention in the Men's cafeteria by banging on a tin tray, and then went on to stress the extreme urgency of the war situation. He loathed the methods of communism, he said, but he was prepared to join the communists in opposing war, and he called on all students to do likewise.

His speech was repeated in the Women's Buffet.

This year, 55 students marched, as compared with 65 last year. The decrease was due to a number of factors, some of them the fault of the C.A.W. Torrential rain fell right up to the beginning of the march. The teachers this year formed a separate group of 48. A series of circumstances prevented the C.A.W. from holding a meeting for three weeks before the march. The issue of "Students Against War," advertising the march, was technically bad, and not many more than the usual number of 200 were run off. The march was very badly advertised in the University, and many minor details were not attended to. The laxity shown by the C.A.W. in this case was also evidenced in third term, half of which had passed before a meeting was held, although war had actually broken out.

On October 9th, Will. Secomb gave a remarkably clear exposition of the reasons for the present support of sanctions by the M.A.W.F. On the following Wednesday the C.A.W. was responsible for a symposium on Sanctions, addressed

by Alexander, for the S.C.M.; Leo Ingwersen against sanctions, and M. Crowe for the C.A.W. The speeches and the subsequent discussion revealed a disconcerting confusion about the issues involved, a confusion shared even by some C.A.W. members. Such confusion is dangerous in the present situation, and it is vital that a clear line of action should be evolved at the meeting of students summoned by the C.A.W. after the examinations, to discuss the war situation.

## Beers and Tears.

STIRRING drama, in which the chief actors were a few studious members of the C.A.W., some well sozzled adolescents from the M.U.R., and a small globe of tear gas. You've read too much about it already in the capitalist and working class press.

## Against the Crimes Act.

ON the first Wednesday of third term, Geoff. Sawyer, a former secretary of the Labor Club, and a brilliant graduate in Law, addressed 70 students at a Labor Club meeting, on the legal aspects of the Crimes Act.

On the following Wednesday, 150 students at another Labor Club meeting were addressed by Geoff. Leeper, Jack Mitchell of the F.O.S.U., and Ralph Gibson of the Communist Party.

Leeper pointed out some amusing inconsistencies in the Government attitude. Although he disagreed with the Communists on several points, he felt that all liberal minded people should resist the Government's attack.

Mitchell outlined the work of the F.O.S.U., and contrasted the ever-broadening democracy of the U.S.S.R. with the increasingly reactionary policy of the Australian Government.

Ralph Gibson, in a powerful indictment, said that a far bigger crime than any with which the Communist Party was charged under the Crimes Act, was the vicious system which the Act was designed to protect. However, the Government had gone too far. So flagrantly unjust was the attack, that it was arousing the hostility, not only of the whole of the working class, but also of thousands of liberals who would not normally support the Communist Party.

In supporting the protest resolution, Alexander, secretary of the S.C.M., agreed with this remark. Although the S.C.M. was not in accord with the tactics of Communism, and although, much as it would like to, it could not believe all glowing reports of conditions in the Soviet Union, the S.C.M. felt justified in opposing the present attack.

The resolution condemning the attack on the Communist Party and the F.O.S.U., and demanding the abolition of the political sections of the Crimes Act, was carried with only five dissenting.

The same night, a debate between leading barristers on the Crimes Act took place in the Public Lecture Theatre, before an audience of about 200. This was organised by the Law students, in aid of the Clubhouse Fund. A resolu-



tion condemning the Crimes Act was passed with only four opposing.

Large sums have been collected for the Democratic Defence League, and also for the Communist Party, from staff and students, and by house-parties.

**UNFORTUNATELY**, we cannot do more than mention briefly such subjects as the pre-

mature birth and death of the Conservative Club, the sad decline of the Radical Club, the memorable C.A.W. meeting addressed by Ralph Gibson on "The Defence of Australia," the Labor Club debate between Ralph Gibson and Maurice Blackburn (attended by 600 people), study circles (including the perennial Saturday night class), and so on.

## Brisbane

**STUDENTS** of the University of Queensland are to-day faced with the same problems as students of all other Australian Universities. The same economic difficulties, the same lack of relation of work in certain faculties to the conditions of modern life, and the same very dubious future are questions which daily become more intense.

In comparison with the larger Southern Universities, however, three main differences become apparent:—

- (a) The small number of students;
- (b) The comparatively large proportion of evening and external students;
- (c) The small number of faculties, causing many students to go south in order to complete their professional education.

This year the State Government has granted £500,000 (with a tentative offer of a further £300,000) for the building of a new University on land already held, and a decision has been made to establish Chairs of Law, Medicine and Dentistry.

Put into operation, these plans will provide the basis for enormous growth, but still fail to solve the basic problems of University students with which we are here concerned.

**LET** us consider these in some detail, together with their resultant effects on student activities.

Scholarships to the University are few, and the monetary allowance attached to them meagre. They are given on a competitive, not a qualifying basis. This is possibly the chief reason for the small number of day students.

A great number of matriculated students (if fortunate enough to obtain jobs), are therefore forced to study at evening classes, or by correspondence. It is obvious that these students are unable to give their best attention to University work at the end of a working day.

Moreover, this large body of students is, by virtue of its peculiar position, precluded in great measure from participation in student activities. The Evening and External Students' Association, though a constituent body of the Union, is at present impotent, performing no useful function other than the holding of an annual ball.

The Union is a student-elected body which controls student activities. It is also responsible for the publication of a weekly newspaper, "Semper Floreat," and of an annual magazine, "Galmahra." Membership is compulsory for day students, but optional for evening and external students. Sporting activities are controlled by the Sports Union.

Nominally, these bodies are autonomous, but the extent of that autonomy may be gauged from one or two instances: When "Semper Floreat" first appeared, an article criticising organised religion was refused by the editors on the ground that its publication might lead to the suppression of the paper by the Senate!

When this year a group of students interested in the formation of a club for investigation of modern political trends applied for permission to hold a meeting in the Men's Common Room, they were refused by the Union President, who stated that he had been guided in his decision by the President of the Board of Faculties! (As the Union Executive meets only once a month, power is meantime vested in the President.) We shall consider presently the formation and significance of this Club.

Within the Union there are various bodies, such as the Debating Society, Musical Society, Dramatic Society, Wider Education Society, and International Relations Club. Though their titles sound impressive, these clubs are very weak in membership and activity, and as the two last-mentioned meet during lunch hours, evening students have no opportunity of obtaining such benefits as they may be able to offer.

The editors of "Semper Floreat" find it difficult to arouse interest in their paper. When it does appear, it is, with rare exceptions, a mass of drivel containing an uncritical, unintelligent survey of events of the week, with the occasional "intellectual" variation of an adolescent poem or two. This year the editors of "Galmahra" found it almost impossible to obtain sufficient material for publication, though once this magazine appeared each term, and occasionally contained subject-matter of real value.

Now, what is the significance of this apathy of students to the Union and its affairs? It means only one thing: Students, bewildered by the chaotic conditions of modern society, faced with the contradictions of their own position, and striving to find a way out, see no hope in the Union as it functions at present. Lacking the knowledge and experience to turn the Union into a powerful organisation which they can use to attain their ends, they tend to become indifferent, or else to seek elsewhere.

**THIS** year a group of those determined not to submit blindly to the forces whose action they felt, but whose nature they realised only in part, banded together with the intention of studying the causes of modern chaos, and considering the various solutions offered. This is the group referred to above.



Met with the refusal of the Union President, they held a meeting in the University grounds, passed a motion of protest against the President's action, and forwarded this protest to the Union Council, which engaged in heated debate in which individuals condemned the President, yet finally ratified his decision.

Subjected to continual pressure, the President finally allowed the use of the Common Room, but the first meeting was poorly attended, and it was decided to hold future weekly meetings in a city coffee-shop at which papers should be read by members and discussed by the club.

This programme has been adhered to. Valuable lectures and discussions have taken place, and the club's membership has grown considerably. The title of "Radical Club" has been proposed and accepted, and members are confident of establishing the club on a firm basis within the University next year. Members are entitled to voice

whatever opinions they may hold, and to criticise freely. It is hoped that the decisions reached through open discussion may have value to the student body, and supply the leadership which the Union has proved itself incapable of giving.

The proposed formation of an Australian Student League is regarded by members of the Radical Club as of vital importance.

Here, it is felt, will be an organisation where-in Australian students of all shades of opinion may unite in an active body which will be instrumental in securing the rights of students and removing many of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles now in existence.

To this League, therefore, the Radical Club gives its wholehearted support, and calls on all Queensland student organisations of whatever nature to join with it in membership of the League.

## Sydney

THIS year there has been very little activity on the part of the Socialist Club in Sydney University. This is accounted for partly by the facts that the active membership of the club is still very small, and most members are engaged in work outside the University. There has, however, been some activity. Of main interest are:

1. The revolt against the S.R.C.
2. The peace ballot and the founding of the Joint Committee for Peace.

1. During the year great discontent has been manifested against the S.R.C. by reason of the fact that, instead of acting as the mouth-piece of the students within the University as it was originally planned, the S.R.C. has become merely an instrument for conveying the decisions of the Senate to the Student Body, and for the aggrandisement of ambitious undergraduates. The club has put forward a concrete plan for a democratically elected S.R.C. composed of year representatives.

A petition was circulated by certain individual undergraduates calling for a special meeting to discuss the reconstitution of the S.R.C., and was duly complied with. Our representative at the meeting moved two resolutions that were carried, viz.:-

1. That no compulsory sports fee be imposed, and that sport should be free for all students, the cost to be defrayed by a Government grant.
2. That the Government be approached to consider the restoration of the £21,000 grant that was deducted as an economy measure.

Very little further was done in regard to these resolutions last term, but the club, in view of a recent public statement of the Vice Chancellor referring to the deduction of the grant referred to above, has had a petition drawn up requiring the calling of a further meeting of the Student Body to discuss the question of the restoration of the grant and to protest against any attempt to meet the withdrawal of the grant by imposing

increased fees, as was hinted at by the Vice Chancellor. The recently formed Graduates' Association, which has concerned itself with this very problem, will be invited to have representatives present at this meeting.

2. The most important activity has been the participation in the Joint Committee for Peace. This was a body composed of representatives of the League of Nations Union, Socialist Club, Student Christian Movement, Freethought Society, Public Questions Society, and Fellowship of International Pacifists, under the chairmanship of Dr. Ronald Walker, who were called together on the initiative of the L.N.U. At the first meeting it was decided that the best activity in which all could participate was the holding of a Peace Ballot in the second term, after the ground had been prepared by a series of lectures and discussions during the first term.

Mid-day meetings were held in the Union Hall at which the representatives of the various societies propounded their own particular views on the question of Peace. The result of the Ballot was a surprise to those responsible for it. About 42 per cent. of the students voted, and the result will be seen on the enclosed result form. The problem for the club now is to endeavor to mobilise the very strong anti-war sentiments shown, into channels where they are likely to be an effective force.

Despite the evidence of strong anti-war sentiment, little has as yet been done to organise it, with the result that less than a dozen students participated in the August 4th demonstration. However, that progress has begun is reflected in the backing of the demonstration by the Joint Committee, which sent along a speaker.

After the Ballot a move was made to dissolve the Committee on the ground that it was only set up for the purpose of the Ballot, but it was decided, after very little discussion, that it would be very much better to continue the Committee and press on to further anti-war work. The



club will propose that the next activity be a Christmas Conference, under the auspices of the Committee, to discuss the problems of anti-war work. This will probably be approved, as on several occasions members of the Committee have hinted that such a conference would be very valuable.

—SECRETARY, SYDNEY SOCIALIST CLUB.

THE extremely satisfactory response to the Peace Ballot is a tribute to the work of the Joint Committee, and also a very fine example of the scope which exists for united action in the proposed Student League. A further account of the organisational tasks of the Committee would have been valuable in this respect.

The questionnaire itself is somewhat ambiguous; e.g., it does not discriminate between inter-imperialist war and war by a socialist or a colonial country against an imperialist aggressor. However, we may assume that students, in defining their attitude to war, were concerned with the participation of Australia as an imperialist country in an imperialist war. Again, on the

questions relating to the League and sanctions, we may suppose that students were concerned with the present Italo-Abyssinian case, where the League does happen to be a force against war.

The salient features of the Ballot are the overwhelming votes in opposition to war, compulsory military training, and political censorship; and rather surprisingly, a decisive declaration that war is inevitable under Capitalism.

An interesting point emerges from a consideration of the answers to 8a and 8d. From these it would at first sight appear that about 200 students were prepared to enlist for the purpose of opposing war, thus postulating an extremely high level of political development amongst Sydney University students. But this is rather belied by the answers to some other questions such as No. 5. Apparently, then, most of these 200 students are in a muddled state of mind in that they imagine that opposition to imperialist war is compatible with "defence" of one's "own" imperialist government.

—THE EDITORS.

## SYDNEY PEACE BALLOT.

QUESTION.	ANSWER.		
	Yes.	No.	Query.
1.—Is war inevitable—			
(a) Under capitalism? . . . . .	750	523	82
(b) Under any system? . . . . .	512	752	91
2.—Do you consider that if one nation attacks another, other nations should combine to resist it by—			
(a) Economic and non-military measures? . . . . .	1088	205	62
(b) Military measures where it appears non-military measures will be ineffective? . . . . .	865	380	110
(c) Military measures in any case? . . . . .	187	1086	82
3.—Do you regard the League of Nations as an obstacle to war? . . . . .	768	502	85
4.—Do you regard an all-round reduction of armaments as—			
(a) Possible? . . . . .	826	473	56
(b) An obstacle to war? . . . . .	835	471	49
5.—Do you regard British and Australian re-armament as a safeguard against war? . . . . .	593	692	70
6.—Do you regard the prohibition of the private manufacture of armaments as—			
(a) Feasible? . . . . .	1088	304	43
(b) An obstacle to war? . . . . .	909	413	33
7.—Are you in favor of—			
(a) Democratic control of foreign policy (by publication of treaties, and the holding of referenda)?	724	537	94
(b) Political censorship? . . . . .	329	886	140
(c) Restoration of compulsory military training as an anti-war measure? . . . . .	338	963	54
8.—In the event of war to-morrow, would you—			
(a) Enlist (or urge your friends to enlist)? . . . . .	559	589	207
(b) Undertake other war work? . . . . .	643	479	223
(c) Do nothing? . . . . .	216	947	192
(d) Oppose war? . . . . .	786	370	199



# Paris Congress In Defence of Culture



PARIS, June 21st. At nine in the evening the Salle de la Mutualite is filled with an eager crowd—some 2,500 workers, writers and students—gathered to hear the opening session of an International Congress of Writers. For the defence of Culture! That is the appeal that has brought leading writers from twenty-eight countries—some from remote places such as China, the Argentine, Australia, as well as from U.S.S.R., England, Scandinavia, the U.S.A., and a notable assemblage of German emigrant writers.

How, then, do they consider culture is menaced? Andre Gide, the most influential French writer of the epoch, states in his short opening address to the Congress:

"Literature was never more living than it is to-day. Never has so much been written and printed in France and in all civilised countries. Why is it, then, that culture is in danger? . . . That culture is threatened, the intellectual impoverishment of certain countries makes us unfortunately aware . . . I think we should start from this idea, that the culture we want to defend is the sum of the particular cultures of each country, that this culture is our common heritage, is common to all of us, and is international . . . And it is what is most individual in the reaction of each people and in each representative of the peoples, to the great common question that brings us here to-day, that we will find the most profitable and general instruction, because it will be the most simply and profoundly human."

Gide, together with the much younger but already famous novelist, Malraux, presides at the first session, which is devoted to the subject of the Cultural Heritage. Chief speakers are the English novelist E. M. Forster, the French critic Julien Benda, and the famous German reporter Egon Erwin Kisch.

FORSTER (whose most important novel "A Passage to India" is a keen criticism of India's white "benefactors"), is as honest as a liberal can be, and full of middle-aged benevolence. . . . "As for me, I am what my age and my education have made me—a bourgeois, adhering to the British constitution; adhering to it, rather than supporting it, and unconcerned by the lack of dignity in this position. I believe in the past. I believe in the conservation and extension of the liberties we have acquired . . ."

Tradition and liberty, he tells us, are two terms which in the English mind are closely allied. For centuries, liberty has been the object of all praise. But he admits the limits of this liberty; that it does not extend to the colored peoples under British dominion, and that it is really a privilege of the well-to-do classes. But for all that, he continues to believe in liberty.

"As for politics, you have guessed that I am not a fascist—fascism commits evil, that evil may come of it. You have also guessed that I am not a communist; though perhaps I would be if I were younger and braver, for in communism I see hope . . ."

Of course, Mr. Forster adds, if war breaks out—and he is haunted by the thought of a war—anything may happen, and writers of the liberal and individualist type, such as Mr. Aldous Huxley and himself, will be simply swept aside . . .

THE next speaker is the idealist critic, M. Julien Benda. His best-known works, "Belphegor" and "La Trahison des Clercs" (The Treachery of the Intellectuals), deal with the decadence of western literature, and the way the writers of our time have betrayed their role of independent thinkers to become the hired servants of nation or class. But it is not of the nationalisation or fascisation of literature, or of literary decadence in western Europe, that M. Benda speaks to-day. The notion of literary art, he says, will be treated at this Congress on the one hand from the "western," and on the other, from the "communist" standpoint. He wishes to clarify these two outlooks and their mutual relationships; their essential difference consisting, according to him, in the idea which the "communist" and the "westerner" form of intellectual activity in its bearing on economic activity.

The "western" notion, says M. Benda, has always been that intellectual activity is fundamentally independent of economic, that it is superior to and transcends the latter; that intellectual activity is alone worthy of respect. Or rather, this is what the western intellectual wishes to believe. The westerners and communists, he declares, "are persons who contrapose two distinct wills to believe concerning a problem our knowledge of which is not derived from experience . . ." The contrast between the positions being metaphysical, it is unbridgeable.

"We are at war," he adds, "and in that war you will come out the victors. I do not regret this, being thereby distinguished from my bourgeois congeners, inasmuch as I hold that the object of mankind is to satisfy its own ends, and not to satisfy my own personal prejudices."

M. JEAN GUEHENNO is the first to protest that the history of mankind is complex, and cannot be traced (as M. Benda has tried to do) along a single line, the platonician line. The materialist movement numbers no fewer ancestors than the idealist movement . . .

Speakers in other sessions refer back to Benda's speech, explaining that marxism is not a complete break with tradition, something completely opposed, "the negation of it," as Benda



has claimed, but that it offers, in socialist realism, a synthesis of past literatures, a continuation—in fact, the only possible continuation. John Strachey, a member of the English delegation, explains:

“Some writers think that we cannot do much to defend culture. I do not agree with them, but I allow that we cannot do much without understanding the nature of the dangers which menace culture to-day. Is there an explanation of the fact that the cultural life is menaced or attacked, in a greater or less degree, in every capitalist country? Marxism gives an explanation. **Capitalism has become incompatible with cultural life; it has become too irrational to admit the interference of human reason . . .**”

Bert Brecht, one of the German writers, speaks on the same lines, telling us that it is no use urging mankind, irrespective of the conditions in which he lives, to be civilised, not to be brutal. “I, myself, do not believe that men are violent for violence’ sake. We must defend mankind against the accusation that it would be violent if this were not good business . . . Violence does not spring from violence, but from the businesses that without it could not be continued. There it is! In most countries to-day the trade conditions are such that crimes are highly paid and virtues cost us dear. The system of private ownership defends itself through violence . . .”

**M**ANY eminent writers are here who are victims of the Nazi régime: Lion Feuchtwanger, the historical novelist, author of “Jew Suss,” “Success,” etc., has a price set on his head in Germany; there are also Heinrich Mann, Klaus Mann, Alfred Kerr, Egon Kisch, and many others, either living in exile or going back secretly to work at the dissemination of opposition literature. Some of them tell how this is done; how paper is secretly bought in small quantities at many different places, lest anyone should be seen carrying large quantities of it about; how hidden printing presses are set moving; how eagerly the forbidden literature is received, re-copied when possible, passed from hand to hand.

Kisch is received by the Congress with thundering applause. At the beginning of Heinrich Mann’s address—Mann is the leader of the German delegation—the whole audience rises to its feet as a demonstration of sympathy for the great emigrant writers. “All is not desolation in emigration,” Mann declares.

Germany, where we have seen all the progressive elements in the literary world—in fact, the whole literary world—uprooted and expelled, offers the most spectacular example of cultural re-action to-day. But other writers tell of fascist repression in smaller, less known countries. Lilika Nacos vividly describes the misery and oppression under which writers suffer in Greece—a country where students have struck in large numbers against the suspension of radical lecturers, and where the very lack of elementary freedom makes all intellectual activity essentially revolutionary. The Australian delegation—Christina Stead (author of “Seven Poor Men of

Sydney”), Nettie Palmer and John Fisher—presents a protest concerning the increasing censorship in Australia, where open tyranny (the attempted exclusion of Kisch and Griffin) has been successfully combated by a united front of workers and intellectuals, and where the Government seeks for underground, less spectacular methods of securing Australia’s isolation from contemporary thought. Australia’s geographical position favors those forces which, in every country to-day, are seeking to erect barriers of nationalism through which ideas cannot pass.

**T**HE relation of nation and culture is one of the principal problems of the agenda of the Congress. Nation, Vaterland, Patrie—no words have in recent times been more abused by demagogues, the appeal for loyalty to the state is the strongest ideological weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. And it must not be left in their hands. We must disarm them, declares Barbusse, by proving that we, and we alone, who work for the freeing of all men, and of all classes, are in favor of the freeing of all subject peoples, each national minority. Andre Gide begins his speech on the Individual by saying that he wants to clear certain possible misunderstandings out of the way:

“ . . . The first of these misunderstandings is that nationalists are prone to confound internationalism with disaffection towards, disavowal and disintegration of one’s own country. They use the word ‘patriot’ in so narrow, so tendentious, so malevolent a way, that it is in bad odor! Some of us find it impossible to admit that a primary constituent of love of one’s own country must be hatred of other lands. For my part, I claim to be strongly internationalist while remaining intensely French. In like manner. I am a fervent individualist, though I am in full agreement with the communist outlook, and am actually helped in my individualism by communism . . .”

“Among all the qualities I admire in Soviet Russia,” he continues, “I admire more than all else the respect shown to the peculiarities of each people, of each little State in the great Union; respect for its language, its manners and customs, its culture, its particular characteristics. The respect thus exhibited nullifies the reproach often uttered against the U.S.S.R., that it tries to equalise, to level, and to unify the whole population of its vast territory—as preliminary to playing the same game with the entire world . . .”

Representatives of these minorities are at the Congress who can tell us of their now flourishing literatures that czarism tried to stamp out; Kolas, from soviet White Russia; Lahuti, a poet from central Asia, who tells us:

“The policy of the czars consisted in inspiring among its subjects a hatred for the national minorities, and among the minorities, a hatred for one another. In this, czarism was a precursor of racism. To this end, czarism paid no attention to culture, but on the contrary fostered illiteracy. Thus the literature, the poetry of the



minorities was marked by a feeling of indescribable sadness, and sometimes, secretly, by rage and indignation. The prison of peoples that was Czarist Russia exists no longer. And to the inhabitant of the Pamir, that was once inaccessible even to imperialist conquerors, culture arrives in a Soviet aeroplane!"

AT a Congress called in defence of culture by writers who are well aware from what quarter it is threatened—who are opposed in particular to fascism and to war—it is not surprising to find so many representatives of the Soviet Union. Gorki, who was to have led the Soviet delegation, would be here, if he had not become ill just the day before intending to leave Russia; his message of greetings to the Congress is read out at one of the sessions. Ilya Ehrenburg is here—he makes an important speech on the role of the writer in society: "In bourgeois society," he tells us, "the poet has no appointed place. Reading must have no effect on one's daily life . . ." Pasternak, the lyric poet, is here, and Alexei Tolstoy, and a number of younger men whose names are just becoming known to English readers. It is not surprising to see well-known anti-fascists like Lion Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Mann, Egon Kisch; nor men like Gide, Barbusse, Malraux, Aragon—figures who dominate the intellectual world of Paris, that, since the uprooting of culture in Germany, has become the chief centre of advanced thought in Western Europe. From England there are, of course, John Strachey and Ralph Fox and a group mainly of young writers; from America, Waldo Frank and Michael Gold (author of "Jews Without Money," and known to all readers of "New Masses"). More surprising is it, though, to see men like the veteran idealist, Julien Benda, or E. M. Forster, or the clever, cynical young Englishman, Aldous Huxley, now resident in the south of France, and who perhaps, in the next few years, under the influence of still cleverer and more mature young Frenchmen like Andre Malraux, may abandon his cynicism for something more positive.

DIFFERENCES of opinion and point of view in such a gathering there are, of course, many. But all these writers have a basis for common action in that they realise the imminence of the fascist menace and also that of war, when, even in those countries which still seem to have a measure of freedom, writers of the liberal-individualist type, as Mr. Forster has said, would be simply swept aside. Thus the need for solidarity among writers becomes increasingly clear, as also the need for waging the ideological conflict against fascism. Klaus Mann, who comes straight from anti-fascist work in Germany, speaks particularly of the need for winning the youth. "Fascism," he tells us, "does not only co-erce, it attracts, too. It attracts the youth whose longings and impulses are naturally revolutionary. These longings and impulses are misused by fascism and employed towards its re-actionary ends . . ."

Youth is interested in the present Congress, at any rate. Among the audience of roughly

two-and-a-half thousand, that packs the Mutuality Hall for five successive days (June 21st to 25th), students and young people predominate.

AT the moment of closing the Congress the following declaration was made:

1. The writers, representatives of thirty-eight countries, who have taken part in the first International Congress of Writers for the Defence of Culture, think the work of the Congress should be extended. They found, therefore, an **International Association of Writers for the Defence of Culture**. This Association is directed by a permanent International Bureau whose mission is to maintain and develop those contacts that the Congress made possible.

2. The International Bureau will stimulate translations between the different countries, will control the quality of those submitted to its judgment, and will endeavor in every way to have them published.

3. The Bureau charges itself, as one of its chief duties, with the translation and publication of works of distinction, both books and manuscripts, which are banned in their own countries, and will obtain for such works the support and authority of its most qualified members.

4. The Bureau will endeavor to make it easy for writers to travel and reside in the various countries, on a basis of mutual hospitality.

5. It will draw up, periodically, lists of works of distinction, published in all countries, which it thinks should have a widespread circulation.

6. It will examine the different methods of advancing the most eminent productions of contemporary literature, notably by the foundation of a world prize in letters.

7. It will prepare in due course a second International Congress of Writers.

8. This Bureau, made up of writers of diverse philosophic, literary, and political tendencies, will be ready to fight on its own ground, which is culture, against war, fascism, and generally speaking, against everything that menaces civilisation.

THE International Association of Writers for defence of culture is directed by a bureau of 112 members. The Bureau has, at its head, a central committee including Andre Gide, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Maxim Gorki, E. M. Forster, and Aldous Huxley.

The Central Committee is assisted by national secretariats, which, united, constitute the secretariat of the international organisation. The English secretariat includes E. M. Forster, Aldous Huxley, John Strachey, Ralph Fox, and others. Katharine Susannah Prichard is to represent Australia.

—AILEEN Y. PALMER, B.A. (hons.).

[Aileen Palmer is a former editor of "Proletariat." She is at present hiking through England, and intends shortly to visit the U.S.S.R.]



# A + B = ?

EVER since, in the year 1918, peace broke out with the Central Powers, there has been a marked tendency for the mass production of munitions to be replaced by the mass production of amateurish theories for the economic salvation of capitalism. From the welter of sound and fury, one of the many schemes emerging was the Douglas Social Credit System. The theory first gained some support in the post-war depression and was resurrected, after a period of hibernation, in 1929.

In Australia, the main outlines of the Douglas theory are too well-known to bear much repetition. Douglas himself, as an engineer and representative of Westinghouse interests in India, was for many years a member of that well-paid and faithful official hierarchy which assists large British investors to take up (and bear away) the White Man's Burden of loot.

He is doubtless familiar with the varied blessings of imperialist Fascism, from the enforcement of the Bengal Ordinances, to the bombing of insurgent tribesmen's families beyond the North-West Frontier. Together with his war-time experience of aircraft and munition manufacture, those years in India ensure that the Major would know precisely what to do when the workers of a hypothetical future Social Credit State became dissatisfied with the purchasing power of their national dividends.

By a demagogic attack on banking capital, Douglas strives to create the illusion that banking and large industrial capital are separate and conflicting powers, whereas even the most superficial examination reveals that the two have long been fused, and for all practical purposes, are controlled by the same groups of men. An enterprise producing consumption goods for the retail market distributes every month but a small part of the total sales price of its goods produced during that period as salaries and wages. The rest of its expenditure takes the form of payments between industries for capital goods, power, or raw materials. Hence the famous fatuity of the A + B Theorem, which deduces a constant and enormous discrepancy between the flow of total purchasing power and the sales price of consumption goods produced in the same time. The payments both to capital goods and to raw materials' industries go in large measure to provide wages for numerous groups of workers who produce nothing for the retail market. Their activities, therefore, do not directly increase the total price of consumption goods on sale, while their wages unquestionably increase the flow of the stream of national purchasing power, and greatly help to close the gap to which Douglas points. There remains the large factor of profit, interest, dividends, and rent, common to all industries, the necessary basis of all capitalist "enterprise." Of this a portion is used for the maintenance of those who receive it, the residual

sums being reinvested. It is clear, therefore, that the ultimate equality of overall purchasing power with the total price of consumption goods produced in unit time, depends on the maintenance of the average profit level as an incentive to the immediate reinvestment of all such residual surplus value. A heavy fall in the average profit level, followed by a rapid accumulation of large capital sums unable to find profitable and safe avenues of reinvestment, has been a marked feature of this, as of every previous major depression.

TRACING the effect back to its cause, the real issue then becomes, "Why does the average rate of return over a long period tend to fall?" That it does so, subject to temporary rises due to imperialist looting of colonial areas, the intensified exploitation of war time, and large scale peace time borrowing, is a plain and sure fact of statistical history.

The law of the falling rate of profit has been proven conclusively by the exhaustive researches of Marx and Engels, and of later investigators.

Few non-Marxian economists care to pay much attention to this awkward fact. Those who do, either, like Gide, regard it as a temporary phenomenon, or else consider it as a very good thing which will ensure a larger share of the industrial product for the worker. Frequently, the same men express both opinions. That the fall in the rate of return inevitably means widespread attacks on working conditions, and the intensification of the class struggle in all its forms, is a conclusion which Douglas and the bourgeois economists studiously avoid, but which bitter experience thrusts every day more clearly beneath our noses. Marx alone explains the fall in the general rate of profit, explains it in terms of the ever-increasing ratio of constant to variable capital, and the Marxian theory of value.

Clearly the inequality of the flow of retail prices and purchasing power is a fact only at times of rapid decrease in the rate of profit, i.e., at times of rising crisis. At times of relative "recovery" the rapid reinvestment of capital actually causes an excess of buying power over the retail sales prices, resulting in a reduction of accumulated stocks and a trade boom. The Douglas A + B theorem is thus true only at times of decreasing trade, and true to a much smaller extent than its author pretends. But the matter of major interest is the fact that he uses the theory to hide the realities of the ever-increasing class struggle.

ON the basis of the theorem, he demands a huge expansion of "social credit" in the form of discounts on retail prices. This credit expansion is to be secured by the "real credit," "real wealth," or "total material assets of the nation." Consumers, should they feel so in-



clined, are to present their receipted accounts for goods to the banks, and demand their national dividend of discount. The debit entries that such payments would necessitate are to be balanced against credit entries due to the continuous appreciation of the nation's physical assets. Unfortunately, the class basis of property ownership within the "nation" would seem to have escaped the Major.

That the owners of the overwhelming proportion of the industrial and other "real assets" of the nation will quietly agree to the issue of considerable sums in book credits, and paper currency on the basis of their own property as nominal collateral security, is thus an unstated but inherent assumption of all social credit theory. It is quite conceivable that, with the advent of a period of intensified economic crisis, the ruling banking and industrial caste may even find it expedient to launch a large scale inflationist attack, both on the wage levels of the workers and the pitiful savings of the lower middle class. Such things have already happened in Germany, France, Japan, and Italy. Even in Australia, a similar plan, involving a large fiduciary issue, has been sponsored by a former Federal Treasurer. So long as the real assets of the nation remain under the control of their present real owners, and the profits derived therefrom continue to warm the cockles of their pocket books, there would appear to be no basic reason why such an inflationary issue should not hide behind the convenient pseudonym of "Social" credit. But if one thing be more certain than another, it is the fact that such a policy will inevitably cause suffering so widespread that it can ultimately be enforced only at the cost of wholesale fascist terror; and this is a proposition proven up to the hilt by all recent experiences of Italy, Germany, Japan, and France; a proposition that will remain true when Douglas is drawing his national dividend of manna in heaven, and when a chaste tablet in Mungana marble beside the footrest at the nineteenth hole of the Rose Bay Golf Links is the sole extant memorial to the life and works of that distinguished inflationist millionaire first known to fame and Queensland politics as Red Ted Theodore.

**B**UT the proof of the Douglas haggis, after all, is in the "Draft Scheme for the Reconstruction of Scotland," wherein we find a series of ten commandments, each more profound than the one before. Here, in "Major Douglas Speaks" (page 91), we unearth practical details withheld from partakers of previous revelations. Thus, in the fourth commandment we learn that a suitable value of the national discount rate for initial purposes would be 25 per cent. "It is important that the figure should not be less than 25 per cent., and it might be reasonably higher." This discount on his purchases is to be recredited to the customer's bank account. Should he draw on this credit, the banker is to be comforted by being told that every credit creates a deposit which cancels the credit, and left to hope for the

best. Later, we are told that the workers are to receive a wage cut of 25 per cent., for which they are to be much more than compensated by their national dividend. Why the wage cut is necessary at all in view of the absolute certainty of the immediate advent of the national dividend is a secret that the Major has thus kept only to himself. Members of any trade union violating a wage agreement, or any worker refusing to accept employment at his calling "under conditions recognised as suitable to that employment" (!) are to be deprived of their national dividend. In his majestic impartiality, Douglas decrees the same terrific punishment for employers who rebel and, out of sheer avaricious obstinacy, refuse to observe the agreement to cut their workers' wages 25 per cent. Such is the ninth commandment, and the tenth is like unto it, for all "Taxation of specific articles, or specific forms of property is to be abolished." Thus the manufacturer is to be presented with a big reduction in his wages bill, the petty business man is to receive his liberal "debt-free" credits, and all large property interests are to be freed of taxation at the expense of the workers, who are to be promised useless inflationary currency as a reward for docile behaviour under heavy wage cuts.

The general tendency of Douglas, towards Fascism, is also clearly shown by his marked anti-Semitism. Like the German Nasties, Douglasites burn to punish Jews, who are poor and defenceless, for the sins of those who are powerful and rich. But in Britain, and the Dominions, the seed of Abraham are proportionally far less numerous than in Central Europe. Neither in the professions nor in petty trade do they compete with the native breed of skinflints on anything like the same scale. The relatively small number who move in the rarefied atmosphere of the higher financial world are apparently the Chosen of God Almighty, or at least of the Bank of England, which is better. They, in any case, are far removed from the influence of any mere popular clamour. Since then, it costs them nothing, the middle classes throughout the Empire firmly believe in giving the Jews "fair play" and liberty to live on the dole like any other freeborn British citizen.

Under present circumstances, Douglas' anti-semitism thus constitutes a serious tactical mistake, being unsuited to the economic class relationship of those to whom it seeks to appeal. While Douglas himself, in faithful imitation of Der Fuhrer, is quite capable of playing the part of a plaster saint, and Oswald Mosley may some day serve him in the capacity of a Goering, it is quite clear that Orage, the movement's leading propagandist, yet has much to learn before he attains to the level of instinctive cunning and psychological insight characteristic of Herr Reichminister, Dr. Josef Goebbels. At this, for the present, we may leave the Major to the tender mercies of the latest, and most highly intelligent of all his converts, the village idiots of Alberta.

A QUEENSLAND STUDENT.



# Public Ill-Health

**I**N a recent article in a Melbourne daily paper, the modern developments of medicine under Capitalism were placed in a very favorable light. The portion of the article which dealt with the prevention of disease, is quoted here.

"Most of all he (i.e., the modern Rip Van Winkle) would be impressed by the advances in preventive medicine—the medicine of the future—the protection against scarlet fever and diphtheria by immunisation, the great improvements in industrial and general hygiene, and in the care of mothers and infants, and, finally, the increase in knowledge concerning the life history of diseases and the development of methods based upon this knowledge to diminish their incidence and control their spread."

The above paragraph occupied about one inch of newspaper column, yet formed portion of a half page magazine article. This proportion is characteristic of Capitalist medicine. Preventive medicine is of very secondary importance; it is "the medicine of the future," and, as such, best left severely alone for the present.

Shortly after the publication of this article, commenced the first annual meeting of the British Medical Association to be held in Melbourne—an historic congress. Did this great gathering, in that part of its programme devoted to discussion on technical subjects, make any attempt whatsoever to solve the problems of the masses of the people—the problems of preventive medicine? Such problems as the prevention of tuberculosis, the elimination of malnutrition, which is becoming increasingly prevalent among working-class people, industrial accidents, the causation of ill-health in general—were these discussed or even mentioned?

**N**O. These problems, essentially those of the masses, were not considered. They are too broad for the narrow confines of Capitalist medical science. For their adequate solution a Socialist society is necessary. Instead, the conference devoted its energy to reviewing the same old questions—the diagnosis and treatment of goitre, the modern treatment of fractures, the causation and pathology of certain rare diseases, etc.

What is the basis of this side tracking of modern medicine? Why is it that so little attention is given to the investigation of the social roots of disease and ill-health, to the investigation of mal-nutrition, to the prevention of syphilis, tuberculosis, or the common cold, to industrial hygiene, to popular education in matters of health?

The answer emerges from an analysis of the nature of preventive medicine, and of its relationship to the fundamentals of modern Capitalist society.

## What Is Preventive Medicine?

**I**T is that part of medical science which deals specifically with the prevention of disease and ill-health, the latter being regarded as the negation of health as apart from actual disease. Many of the people in our cities who are not suffering from actual disease are yet in a state of relative ill-health, because they are unable to obtain certain minimum requirements for health. This almost universal ill-health is the chief predisposing factor in specific cases of disease, and is therefore the greatest problem now confronting medical science, though totally ignored by Capitalist medicine.

What are the minimum requirements for the production of normal health? Food, light, air, warmth, mental and physical exercise, mental and physical rest and satisfaction, freedom from worry, absence of monotony. By food, we mean a diet which is adequate in caloric value and vitamin content, is balanced, and in which the food is presented to the consumer in a variety of ways. By light, air, and warmth, we signify periods spent in the sunlight and open air, such as are not available to the majority of the inhabitants of our inner suburbs. The other requirements speak for themselves.

Judged by these standards, which are but reasonable, is the average health of a Capitalist community likely to be good or bad? There is only one answer—the wide-spread ill-health found in practice is just what is to be expected. How many of the 83 per cent. of Australia's breadwinners (all classes) who have incomes of less than £300 per year, can obtain the above requirements for themselves and dependents?

Can an unemployed worker, who is forced to live on the dole because his labor power has no further market, possibly hope to have a balanced diet including milk, eggs, butter, meat, fruit, and vegetables? Can a worker on the basic wage provide such for his dependents? No. Capitalist economy organized on the basis of the profit motive, tacitly regards the workers' labor as just another commodity to be bought at its market price (i.e., the lowest possible wage); and whose concern is it if, on this basis, the worker cannot nourish himself?

Absence of sunlight and fresh air are characteristic of our slums. These, coupled with the frequent exposure to cold of the poorly clothed inhabitants of these areas, are responsible for much ill-health.

**I**S there sufficient provision for sport, recreation, and culture to-day? Yes, provided that our parks, recreation reserves, and cultural institutions are in use daily, as in the Soviet Union, instead of once weekly as, to all intents and purposes, is the case here. The individual in Capitalism is left to work out his own solution to the problems of recreation and culture, and



the result is that mental and physical stagnation is the order of the day. Preoccupation with the daily job, whether it be manual or brain work, is common; there is neither rest nor relaxation under Capitalist conditions of work.

Mental and physical satisfaction, freedom from worry, absence of monotony—are these the lot of the great masses of humanity to-day? Only in the Soviet Union, where health, not disease as in Capitalist countries, is the main concern of the people. In Capitalist countries mental unrest and distraction over economic problems are universal. Very few of the two million breadwinners of Australia are able to relax for a moment in the eternal struggle for existence, let alone economic security. So they must continue with long hours of toil, which inevitably become monotonous and hateful, with the incessant worry over trifles, which goes on to beaking point, and leads to neurosis and insanity; and the tendency under Capitalism is for all this to increase with the ever-increasing economic insecurity of the masses, forced upon them by the Capitalist rulers in their mad race for profits.

## Capitalist Medicine.

FOR the prevention of actual diseases, a study of their etiology is necessary in order to devise suitable preventive measures. As will be seen, parts of this have been handled very well under Capitalism.

Diseases are classified from the standpoint of etiology, into two or three large groups, and a number of smaller ones. The smaller groups—congenital, endocrine, and constitutional—are purely medical problems and will not be discussed here.

## Infective Diseases.

IT is generally recognised that the bulk of actual human sickness falls into the infective or parasitic group—those diseases resulting from the invasion of the body by germs and other parasites. For the prevention of these diseases, steps must be taken, first to raise to the highest possible level the resistance of the people to infection, and secondly to prevent, if possible, contact between the organism and its human host.

In relation to the first of these, the point must be stressed that in all but a few diseases the resistance of the individual to infection varies directly with his state of health, and as we have seen, Capitalism by its very nature, leads to ill-health among the masses. Capitalist medical science naturally shelves this problem; it concentrates its attention on the exceptional types of disease (diphtheria, scarlet fever, etc.), where the resistance of the individual is built up chiefly by means of vaccines and sera. Such diseases as tuberculosis, rheumatic fever, pneumonia, the common cold—the most widespread diseases, responsible for an immense amount of suffering and disablement—they, or their sequelae, heading the mortality list—Capitalism, and its medical science, are totally unable to deal preventively

with these, because in them the resistance factor is of supreme importance.

The prevention of contact between organism and host is achieved by a variety of measures. Elaborate quarantine systems prevent the entry into a country of diseases to which the race is unaccustomed; e.g., smallpox and plague in Australia. Sewerage is very carefully disposed of, systems of ventilation are devised, water, milk, and food supplies are purified, and all these are rigidly controlled and subject to inspection—all for the purpose of preventing the spread of organisms. For the same purpose, provision is made for the isolation of cases of infectious disease occurring inside a country, and these are made notifiable to the Government. Investigations are made into the life cycles of parasites with a view to cutting them short in the stage where they develop outside of man. Malaria, for instance, endemic in certain countries, becomes a rare disease when the reproduction of the Anopheles mosquito is prevented by pouring kerosene on all water surfaces.

As though to make amends for deficiencies in other directions, this section of preventive medicine is efficiently carried out under Capitalism.

## Occupational Diseases.

MUCH human illness can be traced directly to occupational or industrial causes. This constitutes the second large disease group; it includes lead poisoning, miner's phthisis, heatstroke, and various skin diseases; it includes also injuries and mutilations resulting from industrial accidents. It is possible, by means of numerous special precautions, short spells of work with frequent rests, ventilation, temperature regulation, etc., to reduce the illness of industrial origin to a negligible quantity. Here, again, Capitalism fails badly because too much of this makes production unprofitable to the employing class. The whole of this section of preventive medicine is left to a Government department, being completely divorced from medical science.

Only to the extent that action on the part of the working class has forced the hand of the Government, have provisions been made dealing with this section in the Factories' and Shops' Act and the Health Act. Even so most of these provisions are mere legal enactments without enforcement or supervision, and it behoves the working masses, by means of further concerted action, to see that this state of affairs is altered.

## Neoplastic Diseases.

LITTLE need be said of the neoplastic group of diseases—the cancers and tumors—except that early diagnosis makes all the difference to the outlook of the patient and to the success of the treatment carried out. Capitalist medicine, in practice, neglects the early beginnings of disease—it throws the onus of the discovery of his illness on the patient. It is in the case of cancer that the result of this is best seen. In Capitalist countries the majority of cases of



cancer have developed to a hopeless stage before the symptoms drive the patient to the doctor. There is only one way to combat this; namely, by a system of regular medical inspection at quarterly or half-yearly intervals available to all, such as is provided in the factories of the Soviet Union. By this means, not only cancer, but the whole gamut of diseases of insidious onset are detected at the earliest moment, thus giving the therapist the most favorable conditions for success in treatment.

**E**NOUGH has been said to reveal how little of preventive medicine exists under Capitalism. We have "the protection against scarlet fever and diphtheria by immunisation," some "improvements in industrial and general hygiene and in the care of mothers and infants," and some "knowledge concerning the life history of diseases" so that we are able to "diminish their incidence and control their spread"—that is all. Only those measures which are profitable to the bourgeoisie, which are necessary in the interests of the bourgeoisie, or which have been forced into existence by working class action, only these are undertaken. The bulk of preventive medicine is profitable neither to the bourgeoisie nor its medical servants, public or private, nor can it be made so. Nay, more, to carry it out in full necessitates the abolition of the Capitalist social system, and the substitution of Socialism, increasingly victorious in all fields in Soviet Russia.

### Socialist Medicine.

**I**N the Soviet Union there is no differentiation of medical science into the two departments of preventive and curative medicine. Medicine, as a whole, is organised along preventive lines. Health is considered in a positive instead of a negative sense—every attempt is made to promote it. The connections of medical science with social and economic problems are fully appreciated, and the medical man assists in the overcoming of these problems since he knows that there is a necessary stage of the fight for the prevention of disease and the promotion of health.

Every aspect of work in the Soviet Union has in view the maintenance of the health of the workers. The short working day and week, the rest homes, the universally established factory health nuclei, the regular medical inspections, the special working conditions for expectant women and mothers of infants, and above all, the absolute economic security provided by the comprehensive system of national insurance—all these make for physical health and mental well-being. In addition, the unstinted use of every form of the propaganda machine for popular education in health matters, the healthy attitude to matters of sex, to abortion and contraception, to marriage and divorce, these also make for a healthy population. Venereal disease is regarded as a medico-social problem, and is treated by the gradual liquidation of its principal source, prostitution.

For dangerous or disease producing occupations, besides shorter hours of work and longer

vacations, there are all sorts of special rules designed to minimise the risk of accidents or the tendency to occupational disease. Each factory has a workers' committee which designs these steps in detail and sees that they are carried out. Empty legal enactments are an anachronism here.

For actual disease, which is discovered in its earliest stages in the factory or on the job, there are a variety of institutions providing every form of treatment, thorough organisation and full co-operation being the keynote.

The ordinary health measures such as quarantine, isolation of infectious cases, purification of food and water supplies, etc., are carried out in the Soviet Union as elsewhere.

Finally, the complete co-ordination of all sections of medicine, including preventive and curative medical practice, medical training, research, medical supplies, and the planning and financing of medical services—this is the most noteworthy feature of Soviet medicine. RW  
RW

### Immediate Aims.

**B**UT the foregoing statements do not exclude the possibility of improvements in health services under Capitalism. At present the hospitals here are hopelessly inadequate to deal with the sickness of the people. Modern medical practice has come to depend largely on efficiently equipped hospitals—but these are not readily available. The main question is one of finance.

The need for more and better equipped public hospitals, for more and better equipped tributary institutions, such as dispensaries, implies some form of social insurance for which the funds should be raised by taxation of unearned incomes and by the diversion of money now wasted in war expenditure. Such a system would involve a co-ordination of existing medical services and the provision of new ones. It would mean a step forward. But the bourgeoisie will not provide such a scheme apart from the pressure of the masses. It will try to "improve" the health services by making the masses pay directly for the services in various contributory schemes.

Medical students and doctors should join with the masses of the people in demanding better health services.

—K. G. OUTHRED, M.B., B.S.  
—A. H. FINGER, M.B., B.S.

[Ken Outhred and Alan Finger are both former members of the Labour Club. They graduated in 1934, and are at present acting as resident medical officers at Melbourne Hospital.]

### Quentin Leaves Us.

**Y**ES, our gentle philosopher, Q. B. Gibson, has departed for Oxford, reeking to high heaven of bourgeois academic honors. He was given a tearful farewell by the Labor Club, and bears revolutionary greetings to the October Club. He intends to spend some time in the U.S.S.R.

He expects to return to a Soviet Australia, and has promised to leave a Soviet Britain behind him.

He has been appointed our special correspondent in England and the U.S.S.R.