

soles himself for his term of exile with the thought that he is nearly certain to 'bag' a panther.

About the wood and up the mountain tracks wander pink-cheeked 'tommies' getting over the fever of the plains in the clear mountain air. Fair haired children scramble like Kim over the old Portuguese guns which are still mounted in the bastions, and which Shivaji captured three hundred years ago from the European invaders settled at Goa and Bombay. Their mothers sit on the walls nearby and gossip in all the country dialects of old England and Scotland. Their talk is interesting enough — of Cairo, Malta, Cyprus, the West Indies, Hongkong, but if the frowning walls of the upper fort could only talk even the women from the married lines would be silent and the children would cower in terror. This bastion would tell how once its garrison leaped 1800 feet into eternity in shame at having been surprised by an invading force. From that bastion which faces oceanwards prisoners were flung down the precipice wrapped tight in country blankets so that they should continue to roll to the very bottom of the mountain.

When they were building the bastion called Shindi-Buruj its foundations gave way so frequently at the edge of the mountain crest that in obedience to the dream of the Royal builder a youth and his girl wife were buried alive as a sacrifice to the gods: the foundations then stood firm! The record was engraved on two copper plates and afterwards found in the Commissioner's office in Poona. Nearby, five thousand gold bricks of treasure were buried for safety at the same time. It is believed they have never been removed. To-day they would be worth fully £3,000,000.

If those grim grey walls would only speak! But I believe it would interest us even more if they could tell us, from the wisdom gained of the vicissitudes of the past, what India may expect in the future. We do not lack prophets. Nor are they all optimists.

W. Ashley-Brown.

Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment.

THE CASE FOR COMMUNISM

CAPITALISM AND THE MARKET

THE World Economic Conference reflected the whole rottenness, the utter breakdown, the insoluble contradictions of world capitalism. It was in fact, a meeting of the General Staff of the world bourgeoisie to prevent the threatened revolutionary upsurge of the proletarian masses. Yet 'if normal life is to begin again the World Economic Conference must be a success' said the communiqué from the Italian Finance Minister who speaks with the voice of Fascism, of bourgeois counter revolution, across the Atlantic to the leader and instigator of Fascist reaction in America, the land of blatant capitalism minus the redeeming feature of European feudal remnants. The biggest of all international conferences of the bourgeoisie of sixty-seven countries has come to a vain and inglorious end. It was in fact sterile two weeks after it began when it rejected the planned stabilization of currencies proposed by Roosevelt.

It was clear to every Marxist that the conference could not solve the world economic crisis, could not solve the problem of external markets which is the basic problem with which capitalism is faced and without the solution of which capitalism cannot stabilize its economy, even through the political channels of bloodstained capitalist reaction — through Fascism.

The problem of the crisis presents itself to the orthodox bourgeois economists in one way only. Markets must be found for the export of the surplus commodities produced by the toiling proletariat but not consumed by it if profit is to be made. Markets must be found by the imperialist powers for the export of capital or super profits in face of the impossibility of internal investment, but as Sir Arthur Salter, who is honest if limited by his class outlook, points out, the export of capital means lending. Lending caused the crisis and only lending can cure it whilst simultaneously making it worse.

WAR AND THE MARKET

War alone can to an extent solve the crisis. The heinous fratricidal strife of brother against brother, the world plunged into another welter of blood, is a partial solution, and the bourgeoisie are aware of it and prepare for it. The sacrifice of the proletariat to profit is the basis of capitalism. The sacrifice of proletarian bodies is the way to a solution for the bourgeoisie, but the imperialist contradictions proved to be so manifold and their ramifications so complicated that the conference was unable to create a permanent bloc for the next world war.

SOVIET UNION AND THE MARKET

It is literally true that of every nation represented at the conference, only the Soviet Union achieved any success. The various non-aggressive pacts, normal trading relations with Great Britain, recognition by America and a strengthening of the Soviet's drive for world peaceful relations — thus again demonstrated the insolubility of the contradictions existing internally and externally between the world imperialist powers and the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

CAPITALISM AND THE MARKET

Capitalism arose on the basis of the external market. Says Lenin 'The necessity of an outer market for a capitalist country cannot be explained at all on the basis of the laws for the realization of a social product but only from the fact that capitalism appears only as the result of a highly developed commodity circulation which oversteps national boundaries. Therefore it is impossible to conceive of a capitalist country without foreign trade and in fact such a country does not exist. As the reader can observe the cause is an historical one. Says Marx 'As a revolutionary I am a free trader'. Each country today is protected by a vast and scientific technique fabricated by its federation of capitalist concerns which form its State because the bourgeoisie realize that free trade means free development, over development, decay, death.

CAPITAL AND THE MARKET

The organic composition of capital rises with the over development of capitalism. Competition on the world market determines prices. The margin which price leaves over costs of production determines profit. Price in the last analysis is merely the monetary expression of value and the latter alone is determined by the quantity of labour power fixed in the commodity. How, then, to reduce the costs of production. Labour power built into a machine will produce a larger volume of goods for a given expenditure of human energy, therefore at less wage costs. The value of commodities is decreased by the machine. The federated firms of one national State, by the introduction of more and more machinery into their monopolized industries substitute nature's power, water, steam, coal, oil, electricity as prime movers and energy transmitters in place of the human labour power utilized by capitalism of the nineteenth century. Each national State can now sell devalued commodities at a lower price on the world market and still maintain a margin of profit, but by doing so each State relinquishes the use of part of its proletariat which formerly received wages. In seeking a foreign market each State reduces its home market which is the foreign market of every other national State. In addition to this the substitution of machinery transfers capital from variable capital which formerly circulated as wages and provided purchasing power internally, to constant or fixed capital in the form of machinery, which circulates only as the machine wears out, necessitating replacement. World competition between States organized as business executives of the bourgeoisie reduces world purchasing power, reduces the world market, devalues commodities, reduces prices, requires greater masses of fixed capital to produce a proportionately smaller scale of profit, bankrupts the individual producer, monopolizes the means of production into fewer hands, concentrates capital, centralizes the means of production in huge organized, highly mechanized factories, contracts the world market by impover-

ishing all peoples except those who manipulate the State and use it as the instrument of their economic wills. The transference of capital from variable to constant capital is called the raising of the organic composition of capital. It eliminates the petty producer, the *petit bourgeois*, monopolizes the means of production and so degrades the proletariat that it becomes revolutionary and organizes within itself a steel framework, a political party, under rigid revolutionary discipline, the Communist Party, which leads the struggle and gives it definite form.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND WAR

The bourgeoisie must eliminate competition within each State, must protect itself in its prison cell of economic nationalism, must reorganize its State from one of a society of free producers with the State looking on to see fair play, into an interwoven society of national monopolies owning and controlling the State as its business executive in the international field of secret diplomacy and price fixing agreements, and for the bloody suppression of the proletariat internally. This is a first step towards a world system of highly Fascized, imperialist predatory States of the bourgeoisie seeking to monopolize weaker States, seeking spheres of influence for markets, leading to the sanguinary struggle of the second world war. War means the binding together of several states (in the profit driven insane minds of the bourgeoisie). Mass murder will allow 'peaceful Christian democracy' to organize fresh combinations of peace lovers and disarmament advocates for the purpose of gaining material advantage over other combinations of spiritually minded democrats who seek only to serve humanity.

FASCISM AND WAR

Fascism and imperialist war is the direct outcome of former individual producers banding together within the precincts of their states for the purpose of strengthening their competitive power on the world market. The dialectic growth of a world of competing individuals into a world of competing states is the process

of the transformation of capitalism into Fascism, the most bloody and menacing aspect of marauding, predatory imperialism.

FASCISM, ANARCHY, AND WAR

'The increased productive forces of capitalism are colliding more and more with the limitation of the inner markets which have still further narrowed in a number of imperialist countries by the ruin brought by the post-war period and by the increasing pauperization of the masses of the peasantry in the colonial countries and with the structure of the world economic system whose contradictions have been intensified by the new fundamental antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the countries of capitalism and which have become much more complicated' (Resolution of the XI plenum of the Executive Council of the Comintern). 'Capitalist relative stabilization is at an end; we now face a transition period to a new round of wars and revolutions' (XII plenum). These two extracts sum up the general condition of the phase in which capitalist economy today finds itself. Fascism or autarchy can offer monopoly capitalism no solution. War, though a partial solution, hastens the revolutionary upsurge of the world proletariat.

THE STATE

The State has passed through many vicissitudes. Unless there has been a class to suppress and maintain in economic subordination there never has been a State. This is an historical axiom. When the question of the state arises the question of government is implied. Who are the governors and whom the governed? A classless society requires no government for there is no one to govern. Where there is government there must be classes. Democracy means government by the people. A democratic State means simply a contradiction, a social impossibility. If there is government by the people then that people must be classless to be able to govern equally. But if this people is classless, government is

unnecessary and indeed impossible because where there is government there must be governors and governed so therefore there must be social unequals. Where there is government there is also a state which must be a state of the governors. This being so the State is a dictatorship. The present State is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, of the capitalist class. The suppressed class is the proletariat and the State is the instrument of class domination used to suppress it. In due course this State will be overthrown and the working class will establish its class domination by means of a workers' State. If this were not a matter of future history the human race itself would in due course be exterminated by the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the proletariat has a purpose, an historical mission to fulfil. Its purpose is to lift the human race to the level of a classless society of communal effort where there will be no government by anyone, therefore no democracy, for democracy cannot exist where there is no government.

Democracy is not a reality. It has never existed and never will. It is the wish-dream of a deluded people. It is a subjective psychological social phenomenon. It is grasped as such, and used by the bourgeoisie to veil the reality of the dictatorship of capitalism. This veiling, commencing in the subjective field, continues in it and uses education, literature, idealism, art, religion, politics, parliament, social group institutions to perpetuate the illusion. Where these fail it uses property, prisons, police, army, navy, law, and arbitration courts to physically suppress the exploited class. At a later stage these subjective methods are discarded to a large extent and the dictatorship of capitalism assumes the final and most frightful form, open inhuman Fascism. The economic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and the methods of distribution of the resultant commodities arise as an aggregate social phenomenon due to the economic activities of every human within the system. These contradictions being insoluble and uncontrollable concentrate wealth and impoverish the masses who threaten revolt. While this has been going on the State

changes its form and openly amalgamates with the huge trusts resulting from the concentration of capital. This process is now well advanced as can be easily observed. The economic forces which eventually will drive the proletariat, already organized, to open revolt at the same time strengthen the State and amalgamate it more closely with capital. Thus the class struggle assumes more savage forms. Greater clashes take place between a more and more powerful working class and a State always gaining in strength. The leadership of the social democratic or labour parties, once opponents of the State, become its most valuable asset, and proletarian organization assumes new forms as a result. All nostrums such as Utopian socialism, social credit schemes, nationalization of banking, single tax, and modified capitalism (no doubt there were advocates of modified feudalism prior to the overthrow of that system in Europe and England) are thrown to the winds and the final question becomes one of struggle. 'On the eve of the reconstruction of society the final question must always be : Combat or death, bloody struggle or extinction; it is thus that the question is irresistibly put.'

THE TASK OF THE PROLETARIAT

Man has been divorced from his instruments of production by a series of historical processes. It is the mission of the proletariat to establish this old historical union in a new historical form. Just as it was the destiny of the middle classes to free humanity from the fetters of feudalism and serfdom so it is the destiny of the working class which sprang into existence as a result of the rise to power of the middle classes to free humanity from the thralls of capitalism and wage slavery. However, this task cannot be done until the historical conditions for it have been fulfilled and this fulfilment lies not alone in the subjective field of man's consciousness but in the maturing of the conditions of his outward existence. Communism is the first epoch of man's really human history. The proletariat alone can consciously take up history and raise mankind from his hitherto

animal existence of necessity, place him in the human kingdom of freedom and start him on the way to a really human chapter of his history. Of the four great epochs, slavery, serfdom, wage slavery, and communism, the last alone is but the commencement of man's life where he has at last forever cast behind him the vestigial remnants of his animal existence in the story of his evolutionary process. Communism will at last give way to anarchy, but this is merely at present a vision of the future.

REALISM AND IDEALISM

Until the last form of society containing class antagonism gives way to a classless society, social evolution must take place by means of political revolution. Moreover, would it be a matter for astonishment if a society founded upon a brutal class conflict had for its final dénouement a brutal hand to hand conflict? Examine the part played by the State during a strike, and then draw the conclusion as to what would happen in a really great crisis. All teachings of idealism are useless. If all men became suddenly converted to Christianity and were determined that the present conditions of labour were unchristian, these conditions must either remain or they must not. If they remain men could not act according to their new found ideals. The conditions preclude it. If they were not to remain chaos would follow, bringing starvation in its train. To believe that men's consciousness, instincts, and habits can be altered before the material conditions which determine these things are altered is mere philosophic nonsense. Those who believe otherwise are incapable of thinking. The conditions of production of capitalism are such that every negative social aspect which is so evident today is the direct result of these conditions. Moreover, these conditions are the cause of the class struggle and will so develop that the struggle must become more brutal, more savage. Capitalism can no longer continue to feed its wage slaves. The outer markets upon which the system depended are dwindling. Capitalism is dying, and cannot be revived.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT

The result of all this must be a filtering through to the minds of the proletariat that it is necessary to act to save itself. It will act. It will save itself and in so doing will save mankind. That this is necessary appears in the minds of some sooner than in others. These band themselves together into a political party. The world revolution commenced with the formation of the Third International. This organization now numbers many millions. It organizes the proletariat in every country to prepare for the general political strike directed against the constitution of the bourgeois State, followed by the armed uprising, civil war and revolution. It organizes the working class step by step about their immediate economic demands for higher wages, more food relief, clothes, homes, food, peace, bread, freedom. It consolidates its mass organizations and strengthens them by building the steel framework of the Communist Party. It is impossible for the capitalist State to prevent this because it is impossible for the State to prevent the economic conditions of capitalism impoverishing the working class. As Communists are merely members of the working class they cannot be isolated or suppressed. At the present moment the Communist Party of Germany still functions in its entirety. The international weekly organ of the Communist International, formerly printed in Berlin, is still distributed weekly in every country of the world. Communism is not a Russian idea. The workers of Russia were the first section of the Comintern to be victorious. It appears that the German section will be next but world events alone will determine this.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

On the workers in any country gaining political power they will immediately set up a dictatorship, not a personal but a class dictatorship. The bourgeoisie will be expropriated. The factories will be collectivized and the workers armed. The economic life of the coun-

try will be placed under the guidance of a supreme economic council and production will be planned. Importing and exporting will take place according to the needs of the people. Agriculture will be collectivized and mechanized. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat is planning possible. Capitalist anarchy precludes it. Only the proletariat is homogeneous in its objects, aims, and demands. The heterogeneity of capitalist interests bars the way to all planned or concerted effort. The raising of wages until consumption balances with production, the housing question, education, organized sport, the battle against alcohol and prostitution, all these things are only possible of fulfilment when the beastly exploitation of man by man has been banished from the earth. Then and then alone can men live as brothers. Then and then alone will the government of people be replaced by the administration of things, so that with Swinburne we may cry —

'Glory to man in the highest
for he is the master of things'.

Cardiff, N.S.W.

J. R. Mitton.

FRANCE, GERMANY AND DISARMAMENT *

HERE is a serious obstacle which must be surmounted by English students of German policy since the war. It is absolutely essential to clear our minds on the one hand from the dregs of war-time propaganda, and on the other hand from the marked tendency of English opinion since the war to sympathize with Germany and criticize France without a thorough examination of the facts.

With this caution in mind, let us go back to the pre-war years in Germany; and we will find that the German was, like the Englishman and the Frenchman, quite convinced that his country was not only a peace-loving country, but one of the principal guarantors of world peace. 'We have proved our love of peace by our deeds', said Stresemann in 1907;† 'We have never abused our might; indeed the only use we have made of our hundreds of thousands of soldiers has been to safeguard the cause of peace. It is because we entertain an unqualified desire for peace and the advancement of civilization that we tell the people that "A strong fleet is our crying need".' Indeed it seems clear that the average German in 1914 was peaceably minded. True enough, he saw clouds on the horizon. Industrially, Germany was overhauling England, and foolish persons in both countries failed to realize that Germany's gain was not necessarily England's loss. It is said that the German ambassador in Washington spent much of his time replying to British propaganda‡ and even well-disposed Germans were bound to hear talk of a 'preventive war' to crush the German navy before it became too strong. They

* An address delivered to a Conference of the League of Nations Union (University Group) and the Student Christian Movement on August 5th, 1933. [continued from *The Morpeth Review*, October, 1933.]

† *Essays and Speeches*, pp. 61—62

‡ Stresemann, *Essays and Speeches*, p. 60.